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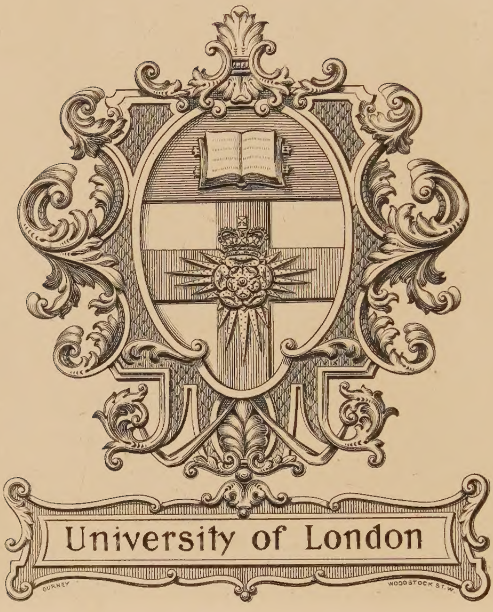

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# HANSARD'S

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THIRD SERIES:

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WILLIAM IV.

## 49° VICTORIÆ, 1886.

VOL. CCCVI.

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TO

THE NINETEENTH DAY OF JUNE 1886.

**FIFTH VOLUME OF THE SESSION.**

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# TABLE OF CONTENTS

TO

# VOLUME CCCVI.

---

## THIRD SERIES.

---

### LORDS, TUESDAY, MAY 25.

*Page*

**Infants Bill** (No. 86)—

House in Committee (according to Order) .. .. .. 2

Amendments made; the Report thereof to be received on *Friday* next; and Bill to be *printed*, as amended. (No. 125.)

**Trees (Ireland) Bill**—

Commons reasons for disagreeing to some of the amendments made by the Lords, and Commons amendments to Lords amendments, *considered* (according to order): Certain of the amendments *not insisted on;* a consequential amendment made; one amendment to which the Commons disagree, *insisted on;* Commons amendments *agreed to,* with an amendment: A Committee appointed to prepare a reason to be offered to the Commons for the Lords insisting on one of their amendments; the Committee to meet *forthwith:* Report from the Committee of the reason prepared by them, read, and *agreed to;* and Bill returned to the Commons with the amendments and reason.

**Sale of Intoxicating Liquors on Sunday (Durham) Bill** (No. 123)

*Moved,* "That the Bill be now read $3^a$,"—(*The Lord Bishop of Durham*) 5

Amendment *moved,* to leave out ("now,") and add at the end of the Motion ("this day six months,")—(*The Earl of Wemyss.*)

After debate, on Question, that ("now") stand part of the Motion? their Lordships *divided;* Contents 70, Not-Contents 97; Majority 27.—*Resolved* in the *negative.*

Division List, Contents and Not-Contents .. .. 22

Bill to be read $3^a$ on *this day six months.* [7.0.]

### COMMONS, TUESDAY, MAY 25.

### *QUESTIONS.*

The Magistracy (Ireland)—The Coronership of Antrim—Question, Mr. T. M. Healy; Answer, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. John Morley) .. .. .. .. .. 24

The Maharajah Dhuleep Singh—Question, Mr. Hanbury; Answer, The Under Secretary of State for India (Mr. Stafford Howard) .. 25

The Island of Tristan D'Acunha—Question, Mr. Baden-Powell; Answer, The Under Secretary of State for the Colonies (Mr. Osborne Morgan) .. .. .. .. .. 26

Education Department—Inspection of Elementary Schools—Question, Mr. Henry Allen; Answer, The Vice President of the Council (Sir Lyon Playfair) .. .. .. .. 27

State of Ireland—The House League—Question, Lord George Hamilton; Answer, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. John Morley) .. .. .. .. .. 27

Post Office (Ireland)—Allowances to Letter Sorters—Question, Mr. Crilly; Answer, The Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Henry H. Fowler) .. .. .. .. .. 28

The Colonial Exhibition—Duties on Foreign Gold and Silver Plate—Question, Mr. Kimber; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer (Sir William Harcourt) .. .. .. .. 29

Palace of Westminster—Palace Yard—A Glass Shelter—Question, Mr. William Beckett; Answer, Mr. Leveson Gower (A Lord of the Treasury) .. .. .. .. .. 29

Excise—Rice, &c., used in Brewing—Question, Colonel Hamilton; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer (Sir William Harcourt) .. 29

Tariff and Customs Act—Sec. 179—Question, Mr. King; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer (Sir William Harcourt) .. .. 30

Indian Income Tax Act—Question, Mr. King; Answer, The Under Secretary of State for India (Mr. Stafford Howard) .. .. 30

Poor Law — Fires in Union Workhouses — Question, Mr. Llewellyn; Answer, The President of the Local Government Board (Mr. Stansfeld) 31

Fisheries (England and Wales)—The Morecambe Bay Cockle Fishery—Question, Lord Edward Cavendish; Answer, The Secretary to the Board of Trade (Mr. C. T. D. Acland) .. .. .. 32

Burgh Police and Health (Scotland) Bill—Question, Mr. Buchanan; Answer, The Lord Advocate (Mr. J. B. Balfour) .. .. 32

Registration (Ireland)—Production of Rate Books—Question, Mr. William O'Brien; Answer, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. John Morley) .. .. .. .. .. 33

Navy—Widows of Seamen and Marines—Question, Lord Charles Beresford; Answer, The Civil Lord of the Admiralty (Mr. R. W. Duff) 33

Sittings and Adjournment of the House—The Derby Day—Order—Questions, Sir George Campbell; Answers, Mr. Speaker .. 34

## *MOTION.*

Sittings and Adjournment of the House—The Derby Day—

*Moved*, "That this House, at its rising, do adjourn until Thursday next," —(*Mr. Labouchere*) .. .. .. .. 35

After short debate, Question put:—The House *divided;* Ayes 251, Noes 150; Majority 101.—(Div. List, No. 106.)

## *ORDERS OF THE DAY.*

**Government of Ireland Bill** [Bill 181]—Second Reading [Adjourned Debate] [Sixth Night]—

Order read, for resuming Adjourned Debate on Amendment proposed to Question [10th May], "That the Bill be now read a second time:"—Question again proposed, "That the word 'now' stand part of the Question:"—Debate *resumed* .. .. .. 40

After long debate, *Moved*, "That the Debate be now adjourned,"—(*Mr. Rigby:*)—Motion *agreed to:*—Debate *further adjourned* till *Thursday.*

**Public Health Acts (Improvement Expenses)** (*re-committed*) **Bill** [Bill 7]—

Bill *considered* in Committee [*Progress* 18*th May*] .. .. 126

After some time spent therein, Bill *reported;* as amended, to be *considered* upon *Thursday* 3rd June, and to be *printed.* [Bill 230.]

## *MOTIONS.*

**Metropolitan Fire Brigade Expenses (No. 2) Bill**—*Ordered* (*Colonel Edwin Hughes, Mr. Dixon-Hartland, Sir Richard Temple, Mr. Baumann, Mr. Isaacs, Mr. Tatton Egerton, Mr. Baggallay*); *presented,* and read the first time [Bill 231] .. 150

**Peterhead Harbour of Refuge Bill**—*Ordered* (*Mr. Duff, Mr. Hibbert, Mr. Henry H. Fowler, The Lord Advocate, Mr. Solicitor General for Scotland*); *presented,* and read the first time [Bill 232] .. .. .. .. 151

ULSTER CANAL AND TYRONE NAVIGATION BILL—

*Ordered,* That the Order [13th May] That the Select Committee on the Ulster Canal and Tyrone Navigation Bill do consist of Nine Members, Five to be nominated by the House, and Four by the Committee of Selection, be read and discharged.

*Ordered,* That the Select Committee do consist of Eleven Members, Seven to be nominated by the House, and Four by the Committee of Selection.

*Ordered,* That Mr. Healy and Mr. Sexton be added to the Committee,—(*Mr. Henry H. Fowler*) .. .. .. .. .. 151

[2.30.]

## LORDS, THURSDAY, MAY 27.

PRIVATE BILLS (STANDING ORDER No. 128)—

Report from the Select Committee *considered*

Motion, The Lord Chancellor (Lord Herschell) .. .. 152

After short debate, Motion *agreed to;* and *resolved* accordingly:—The said Standing Order to be *printed.* (No. 126.)

**Crofters (Scotland) (No. 2) Bill** (No. 95)—

House in Committee (according to order) .. .. .. 156

Amendments made; the Report thereof to be received on *Monday* next; and Bill to be *printed,* as amended. (No. 127.) [8.45.]

## COMMONS, THURSDAY, MAY 27.

## *PROVISIONAL ORDER BILLS.*

**Local Government Provisional Order (Highways) Bill**—*Ordered* (*Mr. Borlase, Mr. Stansfeld*); *presented,* and read the first time [Bill 235] .. .. 185

**Local Government Provisional Orders (Poor Law) (No. 7) Bill**—*Ordered* (*Mr. Borlase, Mr. Stansfeld*); *presented,* and read the first time [Bill 236] .. 185

**Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 5) Bill**—*Ordered* (*Mr. Borlase, Mr. Stansfeld*); *presented,* and read the first time [Bill 237] .. .. 186

**Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 6) Bill**—*Ordered* (*Mr. Borlase, Mr. Stansfeld*); *presented,* and read the first time [Bill 238] .. .. 186

## *PRIVATE BUSINESS.*

*Belfast Main Drainage Bill*—

*Moved,* "That the Bill, as amended, be considered upon Monday next,"—(*Sir James Corry*) .. .. .. .. 186

After short debate, *Ordered,* That the Bill be taken into Consideration on Monday next.

[*May* 27.] *Page*

## *QUESTIONS.*

INDIA (BOMBAY)—THE INDIAN FACTORY ACT, 1885—Question, Sir James Fergusson; Answer, The Under Secretary of State for India (Mr. Stafford Howard) .. .. .. .. 187

INDIA—ADULTERATION OF WHISKY AT THE CALCUTTA CUSTOM HOUSE—Question, Sir Robert Fowler; Answer, The Under Secretary of State for India (Mr. Stafford Howard) .. .. .. 187

AFRICA (WEST COAST)—THE CONGO—Question, Mr. Hutton; Answer, The Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Mr. Bryce) .. 188

STATE OF IRELAND—CONDUCT OF EMERGENCY MEN AT BALLINAMORE, Co. LEITRIM—Question, Mr. Hayden; Answer, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. John Morley) .. .. .. .. 188

THE CHARITY COMMISSIONERS—THE TRUSTS OF DEDHAM GRAMMAR SCHOOL—Question, Captain Price; Answer, The Vice President of the Council (Sir Lyon Playfair) .. .. .. .. 189

THE MAGISTRACY (IRELAND)—MR. J. PORTER PORTER, J.P., MAGHERACROSS, Co. FERMANAGH — Question, Mr. William Redmond; Answer, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. John Morley) .. .. 189

IRELAND—POPULATION FOR 1886—Questions, Colonel Blundell, Mr. Sexton; Answers, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. John Morley) .. 190

LANDLORD AND TENANT (SCOTLAND)—EVICTION AT ARDNAMURCHAN—Question, Mr. Macfarlane; Answer, The Lord Advocate (Mr. J. B. Balfour) .. .. .. .. .. 190

THE MAGISTRACY (IRELAND)—PETTY SESSIONS AT TEMPO—Questions, Mr. William Redmond; Answers, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. John Morley) .. .. .. .. 191

THE REPRODUCTIVE LOAN FUND (IRELAND)—LOANS TO FISHERMEN—Question, Mr. W. J. Corbet; Answer, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. John Morley) .. .. .. .. 191

ARMY (AUXILIARY FORCES)—COLONELS OF THE IRISH MILITIA—Question, Sir Thomas Esmonde; Answer, The Secretary of State for War (Mr. Campbell-Bannerman) .. .. .. .. 192

METROPOLIS—THE POLICE—CAPTURE OF DOGS IN THE STREETS—Questions, Mr. Dawson; Answers, The Judge Advocate General (Mr. Mellor) .. 192

PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS — REGISTRATION OF VOTERS—Question, Mr. Jasper More; Answer, The President of the Local Government Board (Mr. Stansfeld) .. .. .. .. 193

NAVY—THE DOCKYARDS—PAY OF JOINERS—Question, Captain Price; Answer, The Civil Lord of the Admiralty (Mr. R. W. Duff) .. 194

SWEDEN AND NORWAY—POLITICAL RELATIONS AND INTERNAL CONDITION—Question, Mr. W. H. Smith; Answer, The Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Mr. Bryce) .. .. .. 194

THE MAGISTRACY (IRELAND)—MR. VESEY FITZGERALD, R.M.—Question, Mr. Lalor; Answer, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. John Morley) .. .. .. .. .. 194

EDUCATION (SCOTLAND) — ROSSKEEN SCHOOL BOARD, ROSS-SHIRE — THE TEACHERS—Question, Mr. Macdonald Cameron; Answer, The Lord Advocate (Mr. J. B. Balfour) .. .. .. 195

THE MAGISTRACY (IRELAND)—MR. FRANK BROOK, J.P., OF BROOKBOROUGH, Co. FERMANAGH—Questions, Mr. William Redmond, Mr. Johnston; Answers, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. John Morley) .. 197

COMMISSIONERS OF IRISH LIGHTS—ALLOWANCES TO LIGHTKEEPERS—Question, Mr. William O'Brien; Answer, The Secretary to the Board of Trade (Mr. C. T. D. Acland) .. .. .. 198

[*May* 27.]

Page

LANDLORD AND TENANT (IRELAND)—THE LAW OF EJECTMENT NOTICES—CASE OF TIMOTHY CONWAY, OF DOON, CO. LIMERICK—Question, Mr. Finucane; Answer, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. John Morley) .. .. .. .. .. 198

COMMISSIONERS OF NATIONAL EDUCATION (IRELAND)—MODEL SCHOOLS—COMPULSORY PREPAYMENT ON ADMISSION — Question, Mr. Finucane; Answer, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. John Morley) .. 199

ARMY (AUXILIARY FORCES)—THE CAVAN MILITIA—CAPTAIN LESLIE—Question, Mr. William Abraham (Limerick, W.); Answer, The Secretary of State for War (Mr. Campbell-Bannerman) .. .. 200

ARMY (INDIA)—CASE OF BRIGADE-SURGEON ROSS — Question, Mr. King; Answer, The Under Secretary of State for India (Mr. Stafford Howard) 200

SPAIN—THE COMMERCIAL CONVENTION—DUTIES ON IRON—Question, Mr. Jacks; Answer, The Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Mr. Bryce) .. .. .. .. .. 201

METROPOLIS — THE PARKS—GREENWICH PARK—HOURS OF ADMISSION—Question, Mr. Evelyn; Answer, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Childers) .. .. .. .. 202

CONTAGIOUS DISEASES (ANIMALS) (IRELAND) — GLANDERS — COMPULSORY SLAUGHTER OF A HORSE—COMPENSATION—Question, Major Saunderson; Answer, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. John Morley) 202

PRISONS (ENGLAND AND WALES)—TRANSFERENCE OF CONVICTS—Question, Sir Robert Fowler; Answer, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Childers) .. .. .. .. 203

NAVY—H.M.S. "COLLINGWOOD"—BURSTING OF THE 43-TON GUN—Questions, Sir Henry Tyler, Admiral Field, Colonel Salis-Schwabe; Answers, The Secretary of State for War (Mr. Campbell-Bannerman) .. 203

CRIME AND OUTRAGE (IRELAND) — "BOYCOTTING" — CASE OF PATRICK DEVANY, ROSSCAHILL, CO. GALWAY—Question, Captain M'Calmont; Answer, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. John Morley) .. 206

CRIME AND OUTRAGE (IRELAND)—THE DISTURBANCES AT LISTOWEL—Question, Captain M'Calmont; Answer, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. John Morley) .. .. .. .. 207

THE ROYAL IRISH CONSTABULARY—PROMOTION — Question, Mr. Arthur O'Connor; Answer, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. John Morley) .. .. .. .. .. 207

SPAIN—THE COMMERCIAL CONVENTION—THE WINE DUTIES—Question, Mr. Baden-Powell; Answer, The Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Mr. Bryce) .. .. .. .. 209

SECRET SERVICE MONEY—Question, Sir Julian Goldsmid; Answer, The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. E. Gladstone) .. .. 209

GOVERNMENT OF IRELAND AND SALE AND PURCHASE OF LAND (IRELAND) BILLS — Questions, Mr. Norris; Answers, The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. E. Gladstone) .. .. .. 210

H.M. BIRTHDAY—TROOPING OF THE COLOURS—Question, Sir John R. Mowbray; Answer, The Secretary of State for War (Mr. Campbell-Bannerman) .. .. .. .. .. 210

GOVERNMENT OF IRELAND BILL—MEETING AT THE FOREIGN OFFICE—Questions, Sir Michael Hicks-Beach; Answers, The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. E. Gladstone) .. .. .. 211

## *ORDERS OF THE DAY.*

**Arms (Ireland) Bill** [Bill 205]—

Order for Committee read:—*Moved*, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair,"—(*Mr. John Morley*) .. .. .. 213

*Arms* (*Ireland*) *Bill*—continued.

Amendment proposed,

To leave out from the word "That," to the end of the Question, in order to add the words "in the opinion of this House, no measure dealing with the disarmament of Orange districts will be satisfactory or impartially administered which requires to be put in force by a proclamation of the Irish Privy Council, composed almost entirely of members of or sympathisers with the Orange organisation,"—(*Mr. T. M. Healy,*)—instead thereof.

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question:"—After debate, Question put:—The House *divided;* Ayes 180, Noes 104; Majority 76.—(Div. List, No. 108.)
Main Question put, and *agreed to:*—Bill *considered* in Committee .. 236
After long time spent therein, Bill *reported.*
*Moved,* "That the Bill, as amended, be considered To-morrow,"—(*Mr. John Morley*) .. .. .. .. .. 294
Amendment proposed, to leave out "To-morrow," and insert "upon Monday next,"—(*Mr. T. M. Healy.*)
Question proposed, "That 'To-morrow' stand part of the Question:"—After short debate, Question put, and *agreed to.*
*Moved,* "That the Bill be reprinted,"—(*Mr. T. M. Healy:*)—Motion *agreed to:*—Bill to be *printed.* [Bill 240.]

**Government of Ireland Bill** [Bill 181]—SECOND READING [ADJOURNED DEBATE]—

Adjourned Debate on Amendment on Second Reading [10th May] *further adjourned* till *To-morrow.*

---

PARLIAMENT—ADJOURNMENT OF THE HOUSE—

*Moved,* "That this House do now adjourn,"—(*Lord Randolph Churchill*) 295
After short debate, Question put, and *agreed to.* [12.30.]

LORDS, FRIDAY, MAY 28.

PARLIAMENT—THE TABLE OF THIS HOUSE—Observations, The Marquess of Salisbury; Reply, The Secretary of State for the Colonies (Earl Granville) .. .. .. .. .. 298

**Labourers (Ireland) Act Amendment Bill** (No. 130)—

*Moved,* "That the Report of the Amendments be received,"—(*The Lord FitzGerald*) .. .. .. .. .. 298
Amendment *moved,* to leave out from the word ("that") to the end of the Motion and insert ("the Bill be re-committed to a Committee of the Whole House,")—(*The Earl of Limerick.*)
On question, Whether to agree to the said Amendment, *resolved* in the *negative:* Then the original motion (by leave of the House) *withdrawn.*
*Moved,* "That the Report of the Amendments be received on Friday next:" The said motion *agreed to.*

**Contagious Diseases (Animals) Bill** (No. 122)—

*Moved,* "That the Bill be now read 2ª,"—(*The Lord President of the Council, Earl Spencer*) .. .. .. .. 299
After short debate, Motion *agreed to:*—Bill read 2ª accordingly, and *committed* to a Committee of the Whole House on *Tuesday* next.

**Infants Bill** (No. 125)—

Amendments *reported* (according to order) .. .. .. 304
Bill to be read 3ª on *Monday* next.

THE PROPOSED COLONIAL INFORMATION DEPARTMENT—Question, Observations, The Earl of Harrowby; Reply, The Secretary of State for the Colonies (Earl Granville) .. .. .. .. 305

[*May* 28.]

Page

**Butter Substitutes Regulation Bill** [H.L.]—*Presented* (*The Lord Vernon*); read 1ª (No. 128) .. .. .. .. .. 305

[5.45.]

## COMMONS, FRIDAY, MAY 28.

## QUESTIONS.

Metropolitan Asylums Board—Annual Inspection of Asylums—Question, Mr. Sclater-Booth; Answer, The President of the Local Government Board (Mr. Stansfeld) .. .. .. 306

Dominion of Canada—Extradition Act, 1877—Question, Mr. Howard Vincent; Answer, The Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Mr. Bryce) .. .. .. .. .. 307

Poor Law (Ireland)—Belfast Board of Guardians—Question, Mr. Crilly; Answer, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. John Morley) .. 308

Post Office—Post Cards—Question, Mr. Henniker Heaton; Answer, The Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Henry H. Fowler) .. 309

Licensing Laws, 1883-4-5—Returns—Question, Mr. Henniker Heaton; Answer, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Childers) .. .. .. .. .. 309

Government of Ireland Bill—Civil Servants—Questions, Mr. Stanley Leighton; Answers, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. John Morley) .. .. .. .. .. 309

Merchant Shipping Acts—Grain Bags—Russian Regulations—Questions, Mr. King, Mr. Saunders; Answers, The Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Mr. Bryce) .. .. .. 311

Local Government—Rating of Lunatic Asylums, &c.—Questions, Mr. Kimber; Answers, The President of the Local Government Board (Mr. Stansfeld) .. .. .. .. .. 312

Sea Fisheries (Ireland)—Trawling on the Coast of Donegal—Question, Mr. Bernard Kelly; Answer, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. John Morley) .. .. .. .. 312

Post Office—Mails to the Outer Isles (Scotland)—Questions, Mr. Macfarlane; Answers, The Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Henry H. Fowler) .. .. .. .. .. 313

Fishing Privileges (Scotland)—Return — Question, Mr. Macfarlane; Answer, The Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Henry H. Fowler) .. 313

Army—Artillery Barracks at Scarborough — Question, Sir George Sitwell; Answer, The Secretary of State for War (Mr. Campbell-Bannerman) .. .. .. .. .. 314

Bulgaria—Alleged Conspiracy—Question, Sir Robert Peel; Answer, The Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Mr. Bryce) .. 314

The Parks (Metropolis)—Greenwich Park—Hours of Opening—Question, Mr. Evelyn; Answer, Mr. Leveson Gower (A Lord of the Treasury) .. .. .. .. .. 315

The Colonial and Indian Exhibition—Duties on Gold and Silver Plate—Question, Mr. Kimber; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer (Sir William Harcourt) .. .. .. 315

Piers and Harbours (Ireland)—Arklow Harbour Works—Question, Mr. W. J. Corbet; Answer, The Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Henry H. Fowler) .. .. .. .. .. 316

Post Office—Abstraction of Newspapers — Question, Mr. Henniker Heaton; Answer, The Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Henry H. Fowler) .. .. .. .. .. 316

Government of India—The Joint Committee—Question, Sir George Campbell; Answer, The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. E. Gladstone) .. .. .. .. .. 316

[*May* 28.] *Page*

ADJOURNMENT—NEW RULES OF PROCEDURE (RULE 2)—ADJOURNMENT OF THE HOUSE—GOVERNMENT OF IRELAND BILL—POLICY OF THE GOVERNMENT—Observations, Sir Michael Hicks-Beach; Reply, The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. E. Gladstone) .. .. .. 317

*Moved*, "That this House do now adjourn,"—(*Sir Michael Hicks-Beach*:)—After debate, Question put:—The House *divided;* Ay 1, Noes 405; Majority 404.—(Div. List, No. 110.)

The Entry in the Votes .. .. .. .. 354

## ORDERS OF THE DAY.

**Government of Ireland Bill** [Bill 181] SECOND READING [ADJOURNED DEBATE] [SEVENTH NIGHT]—

Order read, for resuming Adjourned Debate on Amendment proposed to Question [10th May], "That the Bill be now read a second time:"—Question again proposed, "That the word 'now' stand part of the Question:"—Debate *resumed* .. .. .. 354

After long debate, *Moved*, "That the Debate be now adjourned,"—(*The Secretary to the Treasury, Mr. Henry H. Fowler*:)—Motion *agreed to*:—Debate *further adjourned* till *Monday* next.

**Arms (Ireland) Bill** [Bill 205]—

Bill, as amended, *considered* .. .. .. .. 417

*Moved*, "That the Bill be now read the third time,"—(*The Chief Secretary for Ireland, Mr. John Morley*:)—Question put:—The House *divided;* Ayes 156, Noes 65; Majority 91.—(Div. List, No. 111.)

Bill read the third time, and *passed*.

**Losses by Riot (Compensation) Bill** [Bill 209]—

Bill *considered* in Committee [*Progress 24th May*] .. .. 418

After short time spent therein, Bill *reported;* as amended, to be considered upon *Tuesday* next.

**West Indian Incumbered Estates Bill** [*Lords*] [Bill 233]—

*Moved*, "That the Bill be now read a second time,"—(*The Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, Mr. Osborne Morgan*) .. .. 422

After short debate, Motion *agreed to*:—Bill read a second time, and *committed* for *Monday* next.

**British North America Bill** [*Lords*] [Bill 234]—

*Moved*, "That the Bill be now read a second time,"—(*The Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, Mr. Osborne Morgan*) .. .. 423

After short debate, Motion *agreed to*:—Bill read a second time, and *committed* for *Monday* next.

**Parliamentary Elections (Returning Officers) Act (1875) Amendment Bill** [Bill 211]—

Bill *considered* in Committee [*Progress 24th May*] .. .. 424

After short time spent therein, Bill *reported;* as amended, to be considered on *Monday* next, and to be *printed*. [Bill 241.]

**Municipal Boundaries (Dublin) Bill** [Bill 20]—

Order for Second Reading read .. .. .. 425

Second Reading *deferred* till *Wednesday* 9th June.

---

**Conveyancing (Scotland) Act (1874) Amendment (No. 2) Bill**—*Ordered* (*The Lord Advocate, Mr. Solicitor General for Scotland*); *presented*, and read the first time [Bill 242] .. .. .. .. .. 426

[1.15.]

# TABLE OF CONTENTS.

## LORDS, MONDAY, MAY 31.

*Page*

**Friendly Societies Act (1875) Amendment Bill** (No. 99)—
*Moved,* "That the Bill be now read $2^{a}$,"—(*The Lord Greville*) .. 426
After short debate, *Resolved* in the *negative* :—Bill (by leave of the House) *withdrawn.*

THE FOOD SUPPLY—SALE OF IMPORTED MEAT—Question, Observations, Lord Lamington; Reply, Lord Houghton .. .. 436

NAVY—H.M.S. "COLOSSUS"—THE 43-TON GUNS—Question, Observations, The Earl of Ravensworth; Reply, The First Lord of the Admiralty (The Marquess of Ripon) .. .. .. .. 437

NAVY—H.M.SS. "NILE" AND "TRAFALGAR"—Question, Observations, Viscount Sidmouth; Reply, The First Lord of the Admiralty (The Marquess of Ripon) .. .. .. .. 445

**Crofters (Scotland) (No. 2) Bill** (No. 127)—
Amendments *reported* (according to order) .. .. .. 447
Bill to be read $3^{a}$ *To-morrow;* and to be *printed* as amended. (No. 134.)

POST OFFICE (IRELAND)—MAIL SERVICE BETWEEN LONDONDERRY AND DUBLIN—Question, The Earl of Belmore; Answer, The Postmaster General (Lord Wolverton) .. .. .. .. 448

**Patriotic Fund Bill** [H.L.]—*Presented* (*The Lord Sandhurst*); read $1^{a}$ (No. 131) .. 449

**Tramways Order in Council (Ireland) Bill** [H.L.]—*Presented* (*The Lord FitzGerald*); read $1^{a}$ (No. 132) .. .. .. .. .. 449

**Patents Amendment Bill** [H.L.]—*Presented* (*The Lord Chancellor*); read $1^{a}$ (No. 133) 449
[7.0.]

## COMMONS, MONDAY, MAY 31.

### *PRIVATE BUSINESS.*

*Belfast Main Drainage Bill (by Order)*—
*Moved,* "That the Bill be now taken into Consideration,"—(*Sir James Corry*) .. .. .. .. .. 450
After debate, *Moved,* "That the Debate be now adjourned,"—(*Mr. Dillon*:)—After further short debate, Question put, and *agreed to.*
*Moved,* "That the Debate be adjourned till Monday, the twenty-eighth day of June next,"—(*Mr. Sexton*) .. .. .. 486
Amendment proposed, to leave out the word "twenty-eighth," in order to insert the word "twenty-first,"—(*Sir James Corry,*)—instead thereof.
Question proposed, "That the word 'twenty-eighth' stand part of the Question:"—After short debate, Question put, and *negatived.*
Question, "That the word 'twenty-first' be there inserted," put, and *agreed to.*
Main Question, as amended, put, and *agreed to*:—Debate *adjourned* till *Monday* 21st June.

### *QUESTIONS.*

CONTAGIOUS DISEASES OF CATTLE—M. PASTEUR'S DISCOVERIES—Question, Sir Richard Paget; Answer, The Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster (Sir Ughtred Kay-Shuttleworth) .. .. .. 488

POST OFFICE (IRELAND)—PAY OF LETTER CARRIERS—Question, Mr. Gilhooly; Answer, The Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Henry H. Fowler) .. .. .. .. .. 488

[*May* 31.] Page

SALMON FISHERIES (IRELAND) — THE RIVER SHANNON — Question, Mr. Jordan; Answer, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. John Morley) 489

CUSTOMS DEPARTMENT—REDUNDANT CLERKS — Question, Mr. M'Culloch; Answer, The Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Henry H. Fowler) .. 490

WAR DEPARTMENT—THE STEAMERS ON THE NILE—Question, Mr. W. H. Smith; Answer, The Secretary of State for War (Mr. Campbell-Bannerman) .. .. .. .. .. 491

REPUBLIC OF HAYTI—IMPRISONMENT OF A BRITISH SUBJECT—Question, Sir Henry Holland; Answer, The Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Mr. Bryce) .. .. .. .. 492

THE CURRENCY—CIRCULATION OF FOREIGN COPPER COIN—Question, Mr. Montagu; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer (Sir William Harcourt) .. .. .. .. .. 492

PUBLIC PETITIONS — PETITIONS AGAINST HOME RULE — Question, Mr. Biggar; Answer, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. John Morley) .. .. .. .. .. 493

ARMY CONTRACTS—REGIMENTAL SUPPLIES — Question, Mr. Hooper; Answer, The Secretary of State for War (Mr. Campbell-Bannerman) .. 493

POOR LAW (IRELAND)—THE CLAREMORRIS UNION—DESTITUTION—Question, Mr. James O'Brien; Answer, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. John Morley) .. .. .. .. 494

CONTAGIOUS DISEASES (ANIMALS) ACTS—ABORTION AMONG CATTLE—Question, Mr. Ainslie; Answer, The Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster (Sir Ughtred Kay-Shuttleworth) .. .. .. 495

ARMY DISCIPLINE ACT—REDRESS OF WRONG—APPEALS—Question, Mr. R. Power; Answer, The Secretary of State for War (Mr. Campbell-Bannerman) .. .. .. .. .. 495

WAR DEPARTMENT—THE 43-TON GUNS—Question, Sir Henry Tyler; Answer, The Secretary of State for War (Mr. Campbell-Bannerman) .. 496

WESTMINSTER ABBEY—RESTORATION—Question, Mr. W. H. Smith; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer (Sir William Harcourt .. 496

SALE OF CROWN LANDS (IRELAND)—THE FORT OF CULMORE—Questions, Mr. T. M. Healy; Answers, The Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Henry H. Fowler) .. .. .. .. .. 497

PRISONS (IRELAND)—IMPRISONMENT OF MAURICE MOLONY AND OTHERS—Question, Mr. Lalor; Answer, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. John Morley) .. .. .. .. 498

NATIONAL EDUCATION (IRELAND)—SCIENCE AND ART DEPARTMENT—THE MAY EXAMINATIONS—ELIGIBILITY OF PUPILS IN NATIONAL SCHOOLS TO EARN PAYMENTS—Question, Mr. Patrick O'Brien; Answer, The Vice President of the Council (Sir Lyon Playfair) .. .. 499

LAW AND POLICE (IRELAND)—RIOTING AT DOWNPATRICK—Questions, Mr. Shirley, Mr. Small, Mr. T. M. Healy; Answers, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. John Morley) .. .. .. 499

THE MAGISTRACY (IRELAND)—THE CORONERSHIP OF NORTH ANTRIM—Question, Mr. T. M. Healy; Answer, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. John Morley .. .. .. .. 500

NAVY—DEVONPORT DOCKYARD — THE QUEEN'S BIRTHDAY — Question, Captain Price; Answer, The Secretary of State for War (Mr. Campbell-Bannerman) .. .. .. .. .. 501

POST OFFICE—POSTAGE TO AUSTRALIA—Question, Mr. Henniker Heaton; Answer, The Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Henry H. Fowler) .. 501

STATE OF IRELAND—MOCK FUNERAL AT WOODFORD, CO. GALWAY—Questions, Captain M'Calmont, Mr. Johnston; Answers, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. John Morley) .. .. .. 502

ECCLESIASTICAL COMMISSIONERS—EVICTIONS NEAR BREAM'S BUILDINGS, CHANCERY LANE—Question, Mr. Ince; Answer, The Secretary to the Board of Trade (Mr. C. T. D. Acland) .. .. .. 502

NATIONAL EDUCATION (IRELAND)—DISMISSAL OF THE SCHOOLMISTRESS OF BALLYCAREW, CO. WEXFORD—Question, Mr. John Redmond; Answer, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. John Morley) .. .. 504

MERCHANDIZE MARKS ACT, 1862—Question, Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett; Answer, The Secretary to the Board of Trade (Mr. C. T. D. Acland) .. 505

THE GOVERNMENT OF IRELAND AND THE LAND PURCHASE BILLS—Question, Mr. Heneage; Answer, The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. E. Gladstone) .. .. .. .. .. 505

## *ORDERS OF THE DAY.*

**Government of Ireland Bill** [Bill 181] SECOND READING [ADJOURNED DEBATE] [EIGHTH NIGHT]—

Order read, for resuming Adjourned Debate on Amendment proposed to Question [10th May], "That the Bill be now read a second time:"—Question again proposed, "That the word 'now' stand part of the Question:"—Debate *resumed* .. .. .. 506

After long debate, *Moved*, "That the Debate be now adjourned,"—(*Mr. J. Chamberlain*:)—Question put, and *agreed to*:—Debate *further adjourned* till *To-morrow*.

**Medical Acts Amendment Bill** [Bill 163]—

Bill *considered* in Committee [*Progress* 17*th May*] .. .. 591

After some time spent therein, Committee report Progress; to sit again *To-morrow*.

**Freshwater Fisheries Bill** [Bill 218]—

Bill *considered* in Committee, and *reported*; to be *printed*, as amended. [Bill 244] .. .. .. .. 611

*Moved*, "That the Bill be re-committed *pro formâ*,"—(*The Secretary to the Board of Trade, Mr. C. T. D. Acland*:)—After short debate, Question put, and *agreed to*:—Bill *recommitted* for *Thursday*.

**Parliamentary Elections (Returning Officers) Act (1875) Amendment Bill** [Bill 241]—

Bill, as amended, *considered* .. .. .. .. 611

Further Proceeding on Consideration, as amended, *deferred* till *Thursday*.

**Jurors' Detention Bill** [Bill 202]—

Bill *considered* in Committee .. .. .. .. 612

After short time spent therein, Bill *reported*; as amended, to be considered *To-morrow*.

---

**Revising Barristers Appointment Bill**—*Ordered* (*Mr. Attorney General, Mr. Secretary Childers*); *presented*, and read the first time [Bill 245] .. .. 613

[2.45.]

## LORDS, TUESDAY, JUNE 1.

*Gravesend and Northfleet Docks and Railways Bill*—

*Moved*, "That the Examiners' Certificate of non-compliance with the Standing Orders be referred back to the Standing Orders Committee,"—(*The Earl Cadogan*) .. 613

After short debate, on Question? their Lordships *divided*; Contents 52, Not-Contents 54; Majority 2:—*Resolved* in the *negative*.

*Hillhead and Kelvinside (Annexation to Glasgow) Bill*—

*Moved*, "That the Bill be now read 2ª,"—(*The Lord Balfour*) .. 619

Amendment *moved*, to leave out ("now,") and add at the end of the Motion ("this day six months,")—(*The Marquess of Tweeddale*:)—After short debate, on Question, That ("now") stand part of the Motion? *Resolved* in the *affirmative*:—Bill read 2ª accordingly, and *committed*: The Committee to be proposed by the Committee of Selection.

**Arms (Ireland) Bill** (No. 129)—

*Moved*, "That the Bill be now read 2ª,"—(*The Lord President of the Council, Earl Spencer*) .. .. .. .. 632

After debate, Motion *agreed to*:—Bill read 2ª accordingly:—Committee *negatived*: Then Standing Order No. XXXV. *considered* (according to order), and *dispensed with*: Bill read 3ª, and *passed*.

**Crofters (Scotland) (No. 2) Bill** (No. 134)—

*Moved*, "That the Bill be now read 3ª,"—(*The Secretary for Scotland, The Earl of Dalhousie*) .. .. .. .. 659

Amendment *moved*, to leave out ("now,") and add at the end of the Motion ("this day six months,")—(*The Earl of Wemyss*.)

On Question, That ("now") stand part of the Motion? *Resolved* in the *affirmative*.

Bill read 3ª accordingly:—On Question, That the Bill do pass?

An Amendment *moved*, and *negatived*:—Bill *passed*, and sent to the Commons; and to be *printed*, as amended. (No. 139.)

STATE OF IRELAND—POLICE PROTECTION—Question, The Earl of Longford; Answer, The Lord President of the Council (Earl Spencer) .. 661

**Sea Fishing Boats (Scotland) Bill** [H.L.]—*Presented* (*The Earl of Dalhousie*); read 1ª (No. 140) .. .. .. .. .. 661

[8.45.]

## COMMONS, TUESDAY, JUNE 1.

## QUESTIONS.

LOCAL TAXATION—THE COUNTY RATE—CONTRIBUTIONS BY TOWNS HAVING SEPARATE QUARTER SESSIONS—Question, Mr. Powell Williams; Answer, The Under Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Broadhurst) .. .. .. .. .. 662

TRADE AND COMMERCE—ACTION OF H.M. DIPLOMATIC AND CONSULAR REPRESENTATIVES—INDIAN AND COLONIAL CHAMBERS OF COMMERCE—Questions, Mr. Howard Vincent; Answers, The Under Secretary of State for the Colonies (Mr. Osborne Morgan), The Under Secretary of State for India (Mr. Stafford Howard) .. .. .. 662

REPUBLIC OF HAYTI—IMPRISONMENT OF A BRITISH SUBJECT—Question, Mr. F. W. Maclean; Answer, The Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Mr. Bryce) .. .. .. .. 663

THE MAGISTRACY (IRELAND)—ELECTION OF A PETTY SESSIONS CLERK, Co. CAVAN—Question, Mr. A. Blane; Answer, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. John Morley) .. .. .. .. 664

THE ENSILAGE COMMISSION—THE EXPENSES—Question, Mr. Thorold Rogers; Answer, The Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Henry H. Fowler) .. .. .. .. .. 664

ROYAL IRISH CONSTABULARY—THE RATHFRILAND POLICE—Question, Mr. Small; Answer, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. John Morley) .. 665

INLAND REVENUE DEPARTMENT—SALARIES—Question, Mr. Pickersgill; Answer, The Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Henry H. Fowler) .. 665

THE ADMIRALTY — PAY OF COASTGUARDSMEN—Question, Colonel King-Harman; Answer, The Secretary to the Admiralty (Mr. Hibbert) .. 666

ROYAL IRISH CONSTABULARY—SEIZURES FOR RENT IN KERRY—Question, Mr. Sheehan; Answer, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. John Morley) 666

POST OFFICE CONTRACTS—CONVEYANCE OF MAILS TO INDIA—Question, Mr. R. T. Reid; Answer, The Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Henry H. Fowler) .. .. .. .. .. 668

ADMIRALTY — CORPS OF NAVAL VOLUNTEERS AT GREAT YARMOUTH —Question, Sir Whittaker Ellis; Answer, The Secretary to the Admiralty (Mr. Hibbert) .. .. .. .. 668

CHARITY COMMISSIONERS—TUNBRIDGE SCHOOL ENDOWMENTS—Question, Sir Julian Goldsmid; Answer, The Vice President of the Council (Sir Lyon Playfair) .. .. .. .. 668

GOVERNMENT OF IRELAND BILL—THE ARCHIVES OF DUBLIN CASTLE—Question, Mr. Mitchell Henry; Answer, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. John Morley) .. .. .. .. 669

WAR DEPARTMENT—REGIMENTAL BANDS AT PUBLIC FESTIVALS — Question, Mr. Labouchere; Answer, The Secretary of State for War (Mr. Campbell-Bannerman) .. .. .. .. 669

GOLD AND SILVER PLATE IN THE COLONIAL EXHIBITION—CUSTOMS DUTY—DEALERS' LICENCES—Question, Mr. Kimber; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer (Sir William Harcourt) .. .. 670

ADMIRALTY—TACTICAL EVOLUTIONS AT HIGH SPEED—Questions, Commander Bethell; Answers, The Secretary to the Admiralty (Mr. Hibbert) .. 671

ADMIRALTY—H.M.SS. "NILE" AND "TRAFALGAR" — Question, Mr. Shaw Lefevre; Answer, The Secretary to the Admiralty (Mr. Hibbert) .. 671

PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS — EXPENSES OF CANDIDATES—Questions, Mr. Labouchere, Mr. T. P. O'Connor, Mr. T. M. Healy; Answers, The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. E. Gladstone) .. .. 672

GOVERNMENT OF IRELAND BILL—THE MEETING AT THE FOREIGN OFFICE—Question, Mr. Ince; Answer, The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. E. Gladstone) .. .. .. .. 674

DRAINAGE LOANS (IRELAND)—Question, Colonel Nolan; Answer, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. John Morley) .. .. .. 674

## *ORDERS OF THE DAY.*

**Government of Ireland Bill** [Bill 181] SECOND READING [ADJOURNED DEBATE] [NINTH NIGHT]—

Order read, for resuming Adjourned Debate on Amendment proposed to Question [10th May], "That the Bill be now read a second time:" —Question again proposed, "That the word 'now' stand part of the Question:"—Debate *resumed* .. .. .. 675

After long debate, *Moved*, "That the Debate be now adjourned,"—(*Mr. T. P. O'Connor*:)—After further short debate, Question put, and *agreed to*:—Debate *further adjourned* till *Thursday*.

**Jurors' Detention Bill** [Bill 202]—

Bill, as amended, *considered* .. .. .. .. 781

After short debate, Bill to be read the third time *To-morrow*.

**Bankruptcy (Agricultural Labourers' Wages) Bill**—

Lords Amendments *considered*, amended, and *agreed to* .. .. 781

WAYS AND MEANS—

*Considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

*Resolved*, That, on a day to be fixed by the Commissioners of the Treasury, the Duties of Customs now payable on Wine shall cease, and in lieu thereof there shall be charged and paid the duties following (that is to say):—

Ways and Means—Committee—*continued.*

| | | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Wine not exceeding 30 degrees of proof spirit | the gallon | 1 | 0 |
| Wine exceeding 30, but not exceeding 42, degrees of proof spirit | the gallon | 2 | 6 |
| And for every degree, or part of a degree, beyond the highest above charged, an additional duty | the gallon | 0 | 3 |

The word "degree" does not include fractions of the next higher degree.
"Wine" includes lees of wine,—(*Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer*) .. 782

Resolution to be reported upon *Thursday;* Committee to sit again *To-morrow.*

## *MOTIONS.*

**Quarries Regulation Bill**—*Ordered* (*Mr. Secretary Childers, Mr. Broadhurst*); *presented,* and read the first time [Bill 250] .. .. .. 782

**Conveyancing (Scotland) Acts Amendment Bill**—*Ordered* (*The Lord Advocate, Mr. Solicitor General for Scotland*); *presented,* and read the first time [Bill 251] .. 782

**Poor Law Loans and Relief (Scotland) Bill**—*Ordered* (*The Lord Advocate, Mr. Solicitor General for Scotland*); *presented,* and read the first time [Bill 252] .. 782

**Railway Regulation Bill** [Bill 97]—

*Ordered,* That the Select Committee do consist of Sixteen Members:—List of the Committee .. .. .. .. .. 783

[1.15.]

## COMMONS, WEDNESDAY, JUNE 2.

## *MOTION.*

Sittings and Adjournment of the House—Ascension Day—Committees—Resolution—

*Moved,* "That Committees shall not sit To-morrow, being Ascension Day, until Two of the clock, and have leave to sit until Six of the clock, notwithstanding the sitting of the House,"—(*The Chief Secretary for Ireland, Mr. John Morley*) .. .. 783

After short debate, Question put:—The House *divided;* Ayes 63, Noes 22; Majority 41.—(Div. List, No. 114.)

## *ORDER OF THE DAY.*

**Registration of Voters (Ireland) Bill** [Bill 13]—

*Moved,* "That the Bill be now read a second time,"—(*Mr. Dillon*) .. 784

Amendment proposed, to leave out the word "now," and at the end of the Question to add the words "upon this day six months,"—(*Mr. Lewis.*)

Question proposed, "That the word 'now' stand part of the Question:"—After debate, *Moved,* "That the Debate be now adjourned,"—(*Colonel King-Harman:*)—After further short debate, Question put:—The House *divided;* Ayes 133, Noes 249; Majority 116.—(Div. List, No. 115.)

Question again proposed, "That the word 'now' stand part of the Question" .. .. .. .. .. 816

After short debate, *Moved,* "That this House do now adjourn,"—(*Sir James Corry:*)—Question put:—The House *divided;* Ayes 98, Noes 201; Majority 103.—(Div. List, No. 116.)

It being after a quarter of an hour before Six of the clock, the Debate stood adjourned till *To-morrow.*

## MOTIONS.

**Steam Engines and Boilers Bill**—*Ordered* (*Mr. William Crawford, Mr. Burt, Mr. John Wilson* (*Durham*), *Mr. William Abraham* (*Glamorgan*), *Mr. Pickard, Mr. Fenwick, Mr. A. H. Dyke Acland*); *presented*, and read the first time [Bill 253] .. 825

**Deeds of Arrangement Bill**—*Ordered* (*Mr. Brinton, Mr. Colman*); *presented*, and read the first time [Bill 254] .. .. .. .. 825

**Sanitary Registration of Buildings Bill**—*Ordered* (*Dr. Farquharson, Sir Henry Roscoe, Sir Guyer Hunter, Dr. Cameron*); *presented*, and read the first time [Bill 255] 825

[6.0.]

## COMMONS, THURSDAY, JUNE 3.

## MOTION.

**Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 7) Bill**—*Ordered* (*Mr. Borlase, Mr. Stansfeld*); *presented*, and read the first time [Bill 256] .. .. 826

## QUESTIONS.

MINES REGULATION ACT, 1872—HOURS OF WORK OF WOMEN ON "PIT BANKS"—Question, Mr. J. Wilson (Durham, Houghton-le-Spring); Answer, The Under Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Broadhurst) .. .. .. .. .. 826

COLONIAL STATISTICAL TABLES—Question, Mr. Octavius Morgan; Answer, The Secretary to the Board of Trade (Mr. C. T. D. Acland) .. 827

ARMY—DISCHARGED SOLDIERS—CASE OF MICHAEL NOONE, 1ST BATTALION, ROYAL IRISH RIFLES—Question, Mr. Hayden; Answer, The Secretary of State for War (Mr. Campbell-Bannerman) .. .. 827

ADMIRALTY—THE ROYAL NAVAL VOLUNTEERS—Question, Mr. Buchanan; Answer, The Secretary to the Admiralty (Mr. Hibbert) .. 828

NAVY—COAL DEPÔT FOR H.M. SHIPS OF WAR AT ST. LUCIA (WEST INDIES)—Question, General Sir William Crossman; Answer, The Secretary to the Admiralty (Mr. Hibbert) .. .. .. 828

OFFICE OF WORKS—THE CONSULTING SURVEYOR—Question, General Sir William Crossman; Answer, Mr. Leveson Gower (A Lord of the Treasury) .. .. .. .. .. 829

SOUTH AFRICA—THE CHIEF MONTSIOA—Question, Mr. Baden-Powell; Answer, The Under Secretary of State for the Colonies (Mr. Osborne Morgan) .. .. .. .. .. 829

ADMIRALTY—THE NAVAL RESERVE—CHIEF GUNNERS AND GUNNERS IN THE DOCKYARDS—Question, Captain Price; Answer, The Secretary to the Admiralty (Mr. Hibbert) .. .. .. .. 831

WAR OFFICE—CHARGES AGAINST "THE ORDNANCE DEPARTMENT"—Question, Sir Edward Watkin; Answer, The Secretary of State for War (Mr. Campbell-Bannerman) .. .. .. .. 831

PATENT LAW—ENSILAGE APPLIANCES—Question, Mr. Beach; Answer, The Secretary to the Board of Trade (Mr. C. T. D. Acland) .. 831

THE DIPLOMATIC SERVICE—CONSULS AND DIPLOMATIC AGENTS ABROAD—Question, Mr. Hutton; Answer, The Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Mr. Bryce) .. .. .. 832

THE MAGISTRACY (IRELAND)—CATHOLIC JUSTICES, CO. DONEGAL—Question, Mr. Arthur O'Connor; Answer, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. John Morley) .. .. .. .. 833

[*June* 3.] *Page*

CRIME AND OUTRAGE (IRELAND)—"BOYCOTTING" THE REV. JOHN FLEMING—Question, Captain M'Calmont; Answer, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. John Morley) .. .. .. .. 833

CRIME AND OUTRAGE (IRELAND)—"BOYCOTTING," CO. SLIGO—Question, Captain M'Calmont; Answer, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. John Morley) .. .. .. .. 834

POOR LAW (IRELAND) — BOARDS OF GUARDIANS — ELECTION AT MANORHAMILTON—Question, Mr. Conway; Answer, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. John Morley) .. .. .. .. 835

LAW AND POLICE—ARREST OF SIR THOMAS FERMOR-HESKETH—Questions, Sir R. Assheton Cross; Answers, The Chancellor of the Exchequer (Sir William Harcourt) .. .. .. .. 835

POST OFFICE—TRANSMISSION OF NEWSPAPERS TO INDIA AND AUSTRALIA—Question, Mr. Henniker Heaton; Answer, The Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Henry H. Fowler) .. .. .. 837

PALACE OF WESTMINSTER—VENTILATION OF THE HOUSE — REPORT OF THE SELECT COMMITTEE—Questions, Mr. Isaacs, Mr. F. S. Powell; Answers, Mr. Leveson Gower (A Lord of the Treasury) .. .. 837

REGISTRATION OF VOTERS (IRELAND) — ASSISTANT REVISING BARRISTERS — Question, Mr. Maurice Healy; Answer, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. John Morley) .. .. .. .. 838

THE ROYAL COMMISSION ON EDUCATION—PHYSICAL TRAINING IN ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS—Question, Mr. Buxton; Answer, Sir R. Assheton Cross .. 839

VENEZUELA—COMPLAINTS AGAINST VENEZUELAN AUTHORITIES — SEIZURE OF BRITISH MERCHANT VESSELS—Question, Mr. Kimber; Answer, The Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Mr. Bryce) .. 839

CRIME AND OUTRAGE (IRELAND)—ARREST OF A MOONLIGHTER—AN OFFICIAL LETTER—Question, Captain M'Calmont; Answer, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. John Morley) .. .. .. 841

LAW AND JUSTICE — IRISH APPEALS TO THE HOUSE OF LORDS — Question, Mr. Biggar; Answer, The Attorney General (Sir Charles Russell) .. 841

INLAND REVENUE — SUPERANNUATION OF AN EXCISE OFFICER — Question, Colonel Sandys; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer (Sir William Harcourt) .. .. .. .. 842

AGRICULTURAL DEPARTMENT OF THE PRIVY COUNCIL—THE CATTLE MARKETS OF THE UNITED KINGDOM — Question, Viscount Ebrington; Answer, The Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster (Sir Ughtred Kay-Shuttleworth) .. .. .. .. .. 842

WAR DEPARTMENT—REGIMENTAL BANDS AT POLITICAL MEETINGS — Question, Mr. Labouchere; Answer, The Secretary of State for War (Mr. Campbell-Bannerman) .. .. .. .. 843

LAW AND JUSTICE (SCOTLAND)—DISCHARGE OF PRISONERS AT BARLINNIE — Question, Mr. Baird; Answer, The Lord Advocate (Mr. J. B. Balfour) 843

METROPOLITAN IMPROVEMENTS—THE NEW ROADS AT HYDE PARK CORNER —Question, Mr. Labouchere; Answer, Mr. Leveson Gower (A Lord of the Treasury) .. .. .. .. 844

VACCINATION IN THE ISLAND OF RUGEN — Question, Mr. Arthur O'Connor; Answer, The Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Mr. Bryce) 844

PALACE OF WESTMINSTER — VENTILATION OF THE HOUSE—REPORT OF THE SELECT COMMITTEE—Question, Lord Randolph Churchill; Answer, The Chairman of the Metropolitan Board of Works (Sir James M'Garel-Hogg) .. .. .. .. .. 845

GOVERNMENT OF IRELAND BILL—TERMINATION OF THE DEBATE—Questions, Sir Michael Hicks-Beach, Mr. Labouchere, Mr. Bradlaugh, Mr. Molloy; Answers, The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. E. Gladstone) 845

## *ORDERS OF THE DAY.*

**Government of Ireland Bill** [Bill 181] SECOND READING [ADJOURNED DEBATE] [TENTH NIGHT]—

Order read, for resuming Adjourned Debate on Amendment proposed to Question [10th May], "That the Bill be now read a second time:" —Question again proposed, "That the word 'now' stand part of the Question:"—Debate *resumed* .. .. .. 847

After long debate, *Moved*, "That the Debate be now adjourned,"—(*Mr. Illingworth:*)—Motion *agreed to:*—Debate *further adjourned* till *To-morrow.*

**Crofters (Scotland) (No. 2) Bill**—

Lords Amendments *considered* .. .. .. .. 957

Several *agreed to*, one amended, and *agreed to;* subsequent Amendments *agreed to.*

WAYS AND MEANS—Resolution [June 1] *reported*, and *agreed to:*—Bill *ordered* (*Mr. Courtney, Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Henry H. Fowler.*)

**Terms of Removal (Scotland) Bill** [Bill 187]—

Bill *considered* in Committee [*Progress* 10*th May*] .. .. 967

After short time spent therein, Bill *reported;* as amended, to be considered *To-morrow.*

**International and Colonial Copyright Bill** [Bill 156]—

Bill, as amended, *considered* .. .. .. .. 972

Amendments made; Bill read the third time, and *passed.*

**Public Health Acts (Improvement Expenses) Bill** [Bill 230]—

Bill as amended, *considered* .. .. .. .. 973

Amendments made:—*Moved*, "That the Bill be now read the third time,"—(*Mr. Dodds:*)—Question put, and *agreed to:*—Bill *passed.*

**Parliamentary Elections (Returning Officers) Act (1875) Amendment Bill** [Bill 241]—

Further Proceeding on Consideration, as amended, *resumed* .. 981

A Clause *added:*—*Moved*, "That this House do now adjourn,"—(*Mr. Mark Stewart:*)—After short debate, Question put, and *agreed to.*

[3.45.]

## LORDS, FRIDAY, JUNE 4.

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY—"TWENTY YEARS OF COERCION"—Personal Explanation, The Marquess of Salisbury; Observations, The Earl of Kimberley .. .. .. .. .. 986

SITTINGS AND ADJOURNMENT OF THE HOUSE—THE WHITSUNTIDE RECESS—Question, Lord Balfour; Answer, The Secretary of State for India (The Earl of Kimberley) .. .. .. .. 990

**Copyhold Enfranchisement Bill** (No. 76)—

Standing Order No. XXXIV. *considered* (according to Order) .. 990

*Moved*, "That the said Order be dispensed with in respect of the said Bill,"—(*The Lord Hobhouse:*)—After short debate, on Question? their Lordships *divided;* Contents 39, Not-Contents 63; Majority 24:—*Resolved* in the *negative.*

NAVY—UNARMOUR-ENDED SHIPS—Question, Observations, Viscount Sidmouth; Reply, The First Lord of the Admiralty (The Marquess of Ripon) .. .. .. .. .. 994

**Patriotic Fund Bill** (No. 131)—

*Moved*, "That the Bill be now read 2ª,"—(*The Under Secretary of State for War, Lord Sandhurst*) .. .. .. .. 996

Motion *agreed to*:—Bill read 2ª accordingly, and *committed* to a Committee of the Whole House on *Tuesday* next.

**Tramways Order in Council (Ireland) Bill** (No. 132)—

*Moved*, "That the Bill be now read 2ª,"—(*The Lord FitzGerald*) .. 997

Amendment *moved*, to leave out ("now") and add at the end of the Motion ("this day six months,")—(*The Earl of Belmore.*)

After short debate, on Question that ("now") stand part of the Motion? *Resolved* in the *affirmative*:—Bill read 2ª accordingly, and *committed* to a Committee of the Whole House on the *first sitting day after the recess at Whitsuntide.*

**Patents Amendment Bill** (No. 133)—

*Moved*, "That the Bill be now read 2ª,"—(*The Lord Chancellor*) .. 999

Motion *agreed to*:—Bill read 2ª accordingly, and *committed* to a Committee of the Whole House on *Tuesday* next.

ALLOTMENTS AND COTTAGE GARDENS—Observations, The Earl of Onslow; Reply, The Lord President of the Council (Earl Spencer) .. 999

**Contagious Diseases (Animals) Bill** (No. 122)—

House in Committee (according to Order) .. .. .. 1002

Amendments made; the Report thereof to be received on *Monday* next; and Bill to be *printed*, as amended. (No. 149.)

ARMY (AUXILIARY FORCES)—THE IRISH MILITIA—SNIDER RIFLES—Question, Observations, The Earl of Granard, The Earl of Limerick; Reply, The Under Secretary of State for War (Lord Sandhurst) .. 1003

CRIME AND OUTRAGE (IRELAND)—MUTILATION OF CATTLE—Question, Observations, The Earl of Limerick; Reply, The Lord President of the Council (Earl Spencer) .. .. .. .. 1005

[8.0.]

## COMMONS, FRIDAY, JUNE 4.

## *QUESTIONS.*

IRELAND—THE DUBLIN MOUNTED POLICE—SERGEANT CHASE—Question, Mr. T. M. Healy; Answer, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. John Morley) .. .. .. .. .. 1006

POST OFFICE (IRELAND)—CORK POSTMEN—Question, Mr. Maurice Healy; Answer, The Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Henry H. Fowler) .. 1007

THE MAGISTRACY (IRELAND)—CO. DOWN MAGISTRATES—Question, Mr. A. Blane; Answer, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. John Morley) .. 1008

CUSTOMS DEPARTMENT, LONDON — OUTDOOR OFFICERS — Question, Mr. Lawson; Answer, The Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Henry H. Fowler) 1008

POST OFFICE (IRELAND)—CLONMEL, &C.—ACCELERATED MAIL SERVICE—Question, Mr. Condon; Answer, The Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Henry H. Fowler) .. .. .. .. 1009

ARMY (AUXILIARY FORCES)—THE IRISH MILITIA—6TH BRIGADE, NORTH IRISH DIVISION, R.A.—Question, Mr. Bernard Kelly; Answer, The Financial Secretary, War Department (Mr. Herbert Gladstone) .. 1010

Fisheries (Ireland)—The Fishermen of Arklow—Loans for Building Boats—Question, Mr. W. J. Corbet; Answer, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. John Morley) .. .. .. .. 1010

Post Office (Scotland)—Oban Post Office—Question, Mr. Macfarlane; Answer, The Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Henry H. Fowler) .. 1011

Africa (West Coast)—British Protectorate in the Gulf of Guinea—Question, Mr. Hutton; Answer, The Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Mr. Bryce) .. .. .. 1011

Africa (West Coast)—The Gold Coast—Question, Mr. Hutton; Answer, The Under Secretary of State for the Colonies (Mr. Osborne Morgan) 1012

Commercial Treaties with Foreign States—The British Colonies—Question, Lord Claud Hamilton; Answer, The Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Mr. Bryce) .. .. .. 1013

Admiralty—Copying Writers—Question, Mr. Burdett-Coutts; Answer, The Civil Lord of the Admiralty (Mr. R. W. Duff) .. .. 1014

Commercial Treaties—The Most Favoured Nation Clause—Notice of Withdrawal—Question, Lord Claud Hamilton; Answer, The Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Mr. Bryce) .. .. 1014

"Imperial Federation, Naval and Military"—Captain Colomb's Lecture—Questions, Mr. Howard Vincent; Answers, The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. E. Gladstone) .. .. .. 1015

Defences of the Empire—A Naval Review—Question, Mr. Baden-Powell; Answer, The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. E. Gladstone) 1017

Sale of Intoxicating Liquors on Sunday Bill—Question, Viscount Cranborne; Answer, Sir Joseph Pease .. .. .. 1017

## *ORDERS OF THE DAY.*

**Government of Ireland Bill** [Bill 181] Second Reading [Adjourned Debate] [Eleventh Night].

Order read, for resuming Adjourned Debate on Amendment proposed to Question [10th May], "That the Bill be now read a second time:"—Question again proposed, "That the word 'now' stand part of the Question:"—Debate *resumed* .. .. .. 1018

After long debate, *Moved*, "That the Debate be now adjourned,"—(*Mr. Goschen:*)—Question put, and *agreed to*:—Debate *further adjourned* till *Monday*.

**Terms of Removal (Scotland) Bill** [Bill 187]—

Bill, as amended, *considered* .. .. .. .. 1106

An Amendment made:—Bill to be read the third time upon *Monday* next.

**Sale of Intoxicating Liquors on Sunday Bill** [Bill 27]—

Bill *considered* in Committee [*Progress 5th May*] .. .. 1106

After short time spent therein, Committee report Progress; to sit again upon *Monday* next.

East India Railways [Loans]—

*Considered* in Committee .. .. .. .. 1112

(In the Committee.)

*Resolved*, That it is expedient to authorise the Secretary of State in Council of India to raise any sum or sums of money, not exceeding in the whole £10,000,000, for the construction extension, and equipment of Railways in India, on the security of the Revenues of India.

Resolution to be reported upon *Monday* next.

## *MOTIONS.*

**Railway Regulation Bill**—
*Ordered*, That the Select Committee on Railway Regulation Bill do consist of Eighteen Members.
*Ordered*, That Mr. SEELY be discharged from the Committee.
*Ordered*, That Mr. W. LAWRENCE, Mr. HUGH REID, and Mr. PICKARD be added to the Committee,—(*Mr. Acland.*)

**Assizes Relief Bill**—*Ordered* (*Mr. Addison, Mr. Francis Powell, Mr. Tomlinson, Mr. Forwood*); *presented*, and read the first time [Bill 257] .. .. 1113

**Owners of Dogs Liability Bill**—*Ordered* (*Mr. Addison, Mr. Francis Powell, Mr. Tomlinson, Mr. Forwood*); *presented*, and read the first time [Bill 258].. .. 1113

**Public Works Loans (Tramways Ireland) Bill**—*Ordered* (*Mr. Henry H. Fowler, Mr. John Morley*); *presented*, and read the first time [Bill 259] .. .. 1113

**Turnpike Roads (South Wales) Bill**—*Ordered* (*Mr. Maitland, Mr. Thomas Price, Mr. Warmington*); *presented*, and read the first time [Bill 260] .. .. 1113

[2.0.]

## LORDS, MONDAY, JUNE 7.

CROFTERS (SCOTLAND) (NO. 2) BILL—APPOINTMENT OF COMMISSIONERS—Observations, The Duke of Argyll; Reply, The Secretary for Scotland (The Earl of Dalhousie) .. .. .. .. 1113

CRIME AND OUTRAGE (IRELAND)—MURDER OF PATRICK TANGNEY, NEAR KILLARNEY—Questions, The Earl of Limerick, Lord Ashbourne, The Earl of Milltown; Answers, The Lord President of the Council (Earl Spencer), The Secretary of State for India (The Earl of Kimberley) .. 1115

SOUTH-EASTERN STATES OF EUROPE—GREECE AND TURKEY—RAISING OF THE BLOCKADE OF THE GREEK PORTS—Observation, The Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (The Earl of Rosebery) .. .. 1117

**Contagious Diseases (Animals) Bill** (No. 149)—
Amendments *reported* (according to Order) .. .. .. 1117
Further Amendments made; Bill to be read 3ª *To-morrow*; and to be *printed*, as amended. (No. 153.)

NAVY—EFFECT OF SHOTS ON IRON-CLADS—EXPERIMENTS—Question, Observations, Lord Elphinstone; Reply, The First Lord of the Admiralty (The Marquess of Ripon) .. .. .. .. 1117

COLONIZATION AND EMIGRATION—Observations, The Earl of Longford .. 1119

ARMY (AUXILIARY FORCES)—VOLUNTEER INSPECTIONS IN HYDE PARK—Observations, The Earl of Wemyss; Reply, The Under Secretary of State for War (Lord Sandhurst) .. .. .. 1119

**County Courts Consolidation Bill** [H.L.]—*Presented* (*The Lord Chancellor*); read 1ª (No. 151) .. .. .. .. .. 1120

**Copyhold Enfranchisement Bill** [H.L.]—*Presented* (*The Lord Hobhouse*); read 1ª (No. 152) .. .. .. .. .. 1120

[5.15.]

## COMMONS, MONDAY, JUNE 7.

## *QUESTIONS.*

DISORDERLY PERSONS, &c. ACT (AMENDMENT) ACT, 1838—SUNDAY BAKING IN IRELAND—Question, Mr. Nolan; Answer, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. John Morley).. .. .. .. 1121

[*June* 7.] *Page*

EDUCATION DEPARTMENT—UPTON-CUM-KEXBY NATIONAL SCHOOL—Question, Mr. Bennett; Answer, The Vice President of the Council (Sir Lyon Playfair) .. .. .. .. .. 1122

POST OFFICE—MAIL BETWEEN SKIBBEREEN AND BALTIMORE—Question, Mr. Gilhooly; Answer, The Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Henry H. Fowler) .. .. .. .. .. 1122

POOR LAW (IRELAND)—INCHIGEELAGH DISPENSARY DISTRICT—Question, Dr. Tanner; Answer, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. John Morley) 1122

EDUCATION DEPARTMENT—SCIENCE AND ART DEPARTMENT AND MEDICAL SCHOOLS (HOSPITALS)—Questions, Mr. Cozens-Hardy, Dr. Farquharson; Answers, The Vice President of the Council (Sir Lyon Playfair) .. 1123

LAW AND JUSTICE—CONVICTION OF JOHN COX, SIGNALMAN ON THE SOMERSET AND DORSET RAILWAY—Question, Mr. Channing; Answer, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Childers) .. 1124

MINES REGULATION ACT, 1872—HOURS OF WORK OF WOMEN ON "PIT BANKS"—Question, Mr. J. Wilson (Durham, Houghton-le-Spring); Answer, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Childers) 1124

ARMY—THE EGYPTIAN MEDAL (MILITARY EXPEDITION)—Question, Sir James Corry; Answer, The Secretary of State for War (Mr. Campbell-Bannerman) .. .. .. .. .. 1125

STATE OF IRELAND — ORANGE DISTURBANCE, BROOKBOROUGH, CO. FERMANAGH—Question, Mr. H. Campbell; Answer, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. John Morley) .. .. .. 1125

MAGISTRACY (IRELAND)—APPOINTMENT OF MR. FRANCIS BOGUE, CO. FERMANAGH—Question, Mr. H. Campbell; Answer, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. John Morley) .. .. .. 1126

NATIONAL SCHOOLS (IRELAND)—CARRICKAPOLIN NATIONAL SCHOOL—CHARGE AGAINST A NATIONAL TEACHER—Question, Mr. H. Campbell; Answer, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. John Morley) .. .. 1126

MERCHANT SHIPPING ACT—THE S.S. "CREOLE"—Question, Colonel Hughes-Hallett; Answer, The Secretary to the Board of Trade (Mr. C. T. D. Acland) .. .. .. .. 1127

TRADE AND COMMERCE OF THE EMPIRE—Question, Mr. Howard Vincent; Answer, The Secretary to the Board of Trade (Mr. C. T. D. Acland) .. 1127

ORDNANCE SURVEY—THE "BENCH MARK" — Question, Mr. Brunner; Answer, Mr. Leveson Gower (A Lord of the Treasury).. .. 1128

INLAND REVENUE—SUPERANNUATION OF AN EXCISE OFFICER—Question, Colonel Sandys; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer (Sir William Harcourt) .. .. .. .. 1128

PALACE OF WESTMINSTER—VENTILATION OF THIS HOUSE—RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE SELECT COMMITTEE—Question, Mr. Isaac; Answer, Mr. Leveson Gower (A Lord of the Treasury) .. .. .. 1129

POST OFFICE (IRELAND)—LISCARROLL, CO. CORK—Question, Mr. Flynn; Answer, The Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Arnold Morley) .. 1129

POST OFFICE—POSTAL CHARGES FROM WEST AFRICAN COLONIES—Question, Mr. Hutton; Answer, The Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Henry H. Fowler) .. .. .. .. .. 1130

EGYPT—RE-ORGANIZATION, &C.—Question, Sir George Campbell; Answer, The Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Mr. Bryce) .. 1131

NAVY—COAL DEPÔT FOR H.M. SHIPS OF WAR AT ST. LUCIA (WEST INDIES) —Question, General Sir William Crossman; Answer, The Secretary of State for War (Mr. Campbell-Bannerman) .. .. 1131

LAW AND JUSTICE—ARREST OF SIR THOMAS FERMOR-HESKETH—Question, Sir R. Assheton Cross; Answer, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Childers).. .. .. .. 1132

METROPOLIS—THE RIVER THAMES—COMMUNICATION BELOW BRIDGE—Questions, Mr. Norris, Mr. Ritchie; Answers, The Chairman of the Metropolitan Board of Works (Sir James M'Garel-Hogg) .. .. 1133

[June 7.] Page

NORTH AMERICA—CANADIAN FISHERIES—Question, Sir Frederick Stanley; Answer, The Under Secretary of State for the Colonies (Mr. Osborne Morgan) .. .. .. .. .. 1134

SPAIN—THE COMMERCIAL CONVENTION—Question, Mr. Armitage; Answer, The Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Mr. Bryce) .. 1134

ADMIRALTY—TORPEDO BOATS—Question, Colonel Hughes-Hallett; Answer, The Secretary to the Admiralty (Mr. Hibbert) .. .. 1135

POST OFFICE—SEA CONVEYANCE OF LETTERS TO AUSTRALIA—Question, Mr. Henniker Heaton; Answer, The Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Henry H. Fowler) .. .. .. .. .. 1135

COLONIAL DEFENCE—CONFERENCE OF AUSTRALIAN PRIME MINISTERS—Question, Mr. Henniker Heaton; Answer, The Under Secretary of State for the Colonies (Mr. Osborne Morgan) .. .. .. 1136

POST OFFICE—NEWSPAPERS — Question, Mr. Henniker Heaton; Answer, The Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Henry H. Fowler).. .. 1136

POST OFFICE ANNUAL REPORT—Question, Mr. Henniker Heaton; Answer, The Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Henry H. Fowler).. .. 1137

COMMISSIONERS OF IRISH LIGHTS — LIGHTKEEPERS — Question, Mr. W. O'Brien; Answer, The Secretary to the Board of Trade (Mr. C. T. D. Acland) .. .. .. .. .. 1137

PUBLIC PARKS AND WORKS (METROPOLIS) BILL—Question, Mr. Howard Spensley; Answer, The Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Henry H. Fowler) .. .. .. .. .. 1137

LIGHTHOUSE ILLUMINANTS COMMITTEE—EXPERIMENTS AT THE SOUTH FORELAND—REPORTS FROM FOREIGN GOVERNMENTS—Question, Dr. Cameron; Answer, The Secretary to the Board of Trade (Mr. C. T. D. Acland) .. 1138

INLAND NAVIGATION AND DRAINAGE (IRELAND)—THE RIVER BANN—Question, Mr. T. M. Healy; Answer, The Secretary to the Treasury (Mr Henry H. Fowler) .. .. .. .. 1138

COLONIAL DEPARTMENT—EMIGRANTS' INFORMATION OFFICE—Question, Lord William Compton; Answer, The Under Secretary of State for the Colonies (Mr. Osborne Morgan) .. .. .. 1139

TREATY OF BERLIN—ARTICLE LXI.—ARMENIA—Question, Mr. Otter; Answer, The Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Mr. Bryce) 1139

HIGH COURT OF JUSTICE (CHANCERY DIVISION)—DISTRIBUTION OF BUSINESS—Question, Mr. Whitley; Answer, The Attorney General (Sir Charles Russell) .. .. .. .. .. 1140

BURMAH—CONDUCT OF BRITISH TROOPS—Question, Mr. Hunter; Answer, The Under Secretary of State for India (Mr. Stafford Howard) .. 1140

COLONIAL DEFENCES—THE COLONIAL NAVY—THE WHITE ENSIGN—Question, Sir Thomas Brassey; Answer, The Secretary to the Admiralty (Mr. Hibbert) .. .. .. .. 1141

CRIME AND OUTRAGE (IRELAND)—RIOTS AT BELFAST—Questions, Mr. Sexton, Mr. Johnston; Answers, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. John Morley) .. .. .. .. 1141

SELF-GOVERNMENT OF ENGLAND, WALES, AND SCOTLAND—LEGISLATION—Question, Mr. Banister Fletcher; Answer, The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. E. Gladstone) .. .. .. 1142

CROFTERS (SCOTLAND) (No. 2) BILL—APPOINTMENT OF COMMISSIONERS—Questions, Sir Julian Goldsmid, Dr. Clark; Answers, The Lord Advocate (Mr. J. B. Balfour) .. .. .. .. 1143

CRIME AND OUTRAGE (IRELAND)—MURDER OF PATRICK TANGNEY, NEAR KILLARNEY—Question, Major Saunderson; Answer, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. John Morley) .. .. .. 1144

## *ORDERS OF THE DAY.*

**Government of Ireland Bill** [Bill 181] SECOND READING [ADJOURNED DEBATE] [TWELFTH NIGHT]—

Order read, for resuming Adjourned Debate on Amendment proposed to Question [10th May], "That the Bill be now read a second time:"—Question again proposed, "That the word 'now' stand part of the Question:"—Debate *resumed* .. .. .. 1145

After long debate, Question put:—The House *divided;* Ayes 311, Noes 341; Majority 30.

Division List, Ayes and Noes .. .. .. 1240

Words *added:*—Main Question, as amended, put, and *agreed to:*—Second Reading *put off* for six months.

*Moved,* "That this House, at the rising of the House this day, do adjourn till *Thursday,*"—(*Mr. W. E. Gladstone:*)—After short debate, Question put, and *agreed to.*

COMMITTEES—

*Ordered,* That all Committees have leave to sit, notwithstanding the Adjournment of the House,—(*The First Lord of the Treasury, Mr. W. E. Gladstone.*) [1.30.]

## LORDS, TUESDAY, JUNE 8.

NAVY—UNARMOUR-ENDED SHIPS—Personal Explanation, Viscount Sidmouth; Observations, The First Lord of the Admiralty (The Marquess of Ripon) .. .. .. .. .. 1246

ADJOURNMENT OF THE HOUSE—THE MINISTERIAL CRISIS—Observations, The Secretary of State for India (The Earl of Kimberley) .. 1247

**Sea Fishing Boats (Scotland) Bill** (No. 140)—

*Moved,* "That the House do now resolve itself into Committee on the said Bill,"—(*The Secretary for Scotland, The Earl of Dalhousie*) .. 1247

After short debate, Motion *agreed to:*—House in Committee; Bill *reported* without Amendment: Then Standing Order No. XXXV. *considered* (according to order), and *dispensed with:* Bill read $3^{a}$, and *passed,* and sent to the Commons.

**Women's Suffrage Bill** (No. 10)—

*Moved,* "That the Bill be now read $2^{a}$,"—(*The Lord Denman*) .. 1249

After short debate, Second Reading *put off* to *Thursday* the 8*th of July* next.

**International and Colonial Copyright Bill** (No. 144)—

*Moved,* "That the Bill be now read $2^{a}$,"—(*The Lord Chancellor*) .. 1250

Motion *agreed to:*—Bill read $2^{a}$ accordingly, and *committed* to a Committee of the Whole House on *Thursday* next.

**Patents Amendment Bill** (No. 133)—

House in Committee (according to order) .. .. .. 1251

Amendments made; the Report thereof to be received on *Thursday* next.

TRAMWAYS ORDER IN COUNCIL (IRELAND) BILL—Question, The Earl of Belmore; Answer, The Lord President of the Council (Earl Spencer); Observations, Lord Halsbury, The Lord Chancellor (Lord Herschell) 1251

CRIME AND OUTRAGE (IRELAND)—MURDER OF PATRICK TANGNEY, NEAR KILLARNEY—Question, Observations, The Earl of Milltown; Reply, The Lord President of the Council (Earl Spencer) .. .. 1252

[5.30.]

# TABLE OF CONTENTS.

## LORDS, THURSDAY, JUNE 10.

Page

Dissolution of Parliament—Ministerial Statement, The Secretary of State for India (The Earl of Kimberley:)—Short debate thereon .. 1254

Government of Ireland Bill—The Earl of Carnarvon and Mr. Parnell—Personal Explanation, The Earl of Carnarvon .. 1256

Ireland—The Ministerial Policy—

*Moved*, "That this House do now adjourn,"—(*The Duke of Argyll*) .. 1260

After debate, on Question? *Resolved* in the *negative*.

Crofters (Scotland) (No. 2) Bill—Names of the Commissioners—Observation, The Secretary for Scotland (The Earl of Dalhousie) .. 1289

Private and Provisional Order Confirmation Bills—

Ordered, That Standing Orders Nos. 92. and 93. be suspended; and that the time for depositing petitions praying to be heard against Private and Provisional Order Confirmation Bills, which would otherwise expire during the adjournment of the House at Whitsuntide, be extended to the first day on which the House shall sit after the recess.

[7.0.]

## COMMONS, THURSDAY, JUNE 10.

## *QUESTIONS.*

Imperial Taxation on Real and Realized Personal Property—The Return—Question, Sir Richard Paget; Answer, The Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Henry H. Fowler) .. .. .. 1290

Law and Justice—The Poole Perjury Case—Question, Mr. Shirley; Answer, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Childers) .. .. .. .. .. 1291

Marriages (Hours of Solemnization) Act, 1886—Question, Mr. Carvell Williams; Answer, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Childers) .. .. .. .. 1291

Law and Justice (Scotland)—Duties of Procurators Fiscal—Bankrupt Estates—Question, Mr. Macfarlane; Answer, The Lord Advocate (Mr. J. B. Balfour) .. .. .. .. 1293

Law and Justice (Scotland)—Law of Summons of Removal—"Violent Profits"—Question, Mr. Macfarlane; Answer, The Lord Advocate (Mr. J. B. Balfour) .. .. .. .. 1293

Loss of Life at Sea—Regulations of the United States—Question, Mr. Howard Vincent; Answer, The Secretary to the Board of Trade (Mr. C. T. D. Acland) .. .. .. .. 1294

Richmond Park—Tricycles and Bicycles—Question, Mr. Kimber; Answer, Mr. Leveson Gower (A Lord of the Treasury) .. .. 1294

North Sea Fisheries Convention—The Protecting Cruisers—Question, Sir Edward Birkbeck; Answer, The Secretary to the Admiralty (Mr. Hibbert) .. .. .. .. .. 1295

Excise—Duty on Beer—The Farmers—Question, Mr. Stanley Leighton; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer (Sir William Harcourt) .. 1296

Metropolis—Corporate Bodies—The City Fellowship of Porters—Question, Mr. Hobhouse; Answer, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Childers) .. .. .. .. 1296

The Commissioners of Irish Lights—Public Competition—Sir James Douglass's Patents—Question, Mr. Fitzgerald; Answer, The Secretary to the Board of Trade (Mr. C. T. D. Acland) .. .. 1297

Inspector of Mines (South Wales)—Questions, Mr. Kenyon, Mr. W. Abraham (Glamorgan, Rhondda); Answers, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Childers) .. .. 1298

ISLANDS OF THE SOUTHERN PACIFIC—THE NEW HEBRIDES—Question, Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett; Answer, The Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Mr. Bryce) .. .. .. .. 1300

STATE OF IRELAND—THE RIOTS IN ULSTER—Questions, Mr. Sexton, Major Saunderson, Mr. T. M. Healy, Mr. W. O'Brien; Answers, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. John Morley) .. .. .. 1301

LAW AND POLICE (SCOTLAND)—DESTRUCTION OF THE BATHING SCREEN AT INNELLAN—Question, Mr. Macfarlane; Answer, The Lord Advocate (Mr. J. B. Balfour) .. .. .. .. 1303

---

PARLIAMENT—THE DISSOLUTION—Ministerial Statement, The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. E. Gladstone) .. .. .. 1304

ADJOURNMENT OF THE HOUSE—THE MINISTERIAL STATEMENT—
*Moved,* "That this House do now adjourn,"—(*Sir Michael Hicks-Beach*) 1307
After debate, Motion, by leave, *withdrawn.*

## *ORDERS OF THE DAY.*

SUPPLY—*considered* in Committee—NAVY ESTIMATES—

(In the Committee.)

(1.) £203,400, Admiralty Office.
(2.) Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £1,729,500, be granted to Her Majesty, to defray the Expenses of the Dockyards and Naval Yards at Home and Abroad, which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1887" .. .. .. 1322
Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Item A, Salaries and Allowances, be reduced by £3,000, for the Salaries of Civil Assistants to the Superintendent of Her Majesty's Dockyard,"—(*Sir John Gorst*:)—After debate, Motion, by leave, *withdrawn.*
Original Question again proposed .. .. .. .. 1379
Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £1,629,500, be granted, &c.,"—(*Lord Charles Beresford*:)—After short debate, Motion, by leave, *withdrawn.*
Original Question again proposed .. .. .. .. 1386
Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £1,719,500, be granted, &c.,"—(*Mr. Shaw-Lefevre*:)—After debate, Question put:—The Committee *divided;* Ayes 86, Noes 160; Majority 74.—(Div. List, No. 125.)
Original Question again proposed .. .. .. .. 1421
After short debate, Original Question put, and *agreed to.*
(3.) £623,700, New Works, Buildings, Yard Machinery, and Repairs.—After short debate, Vote *agreed to* .. .. .. .. 1422
(4.) £905,800, Military Pensions and Allowances.
(5.) £333,300, Civil Pensions and Allowances.
(6.) £252,000, Extra Estimate for Services not Naval.—Freight, &c. on Account of the Army Department.
Resolutions to be reported *To-morrow;* Committee to sit again *To-morrow.*

**Medical Acts Amendment Bill** [Bill 163]—
Bill *considered* in Committee; [*Progress 31st May*] .. .. 1425
After short time spent therein, Bill *reported;* as amended, to be considered *To-morrow.*

**Turnpike Roads (South Wales) Bill** [Bill 260]—
Order for Second Reading read .. .. .. 1433
Bill read a second time, and *committed* for *To-morrow.*

**Tithe Rent-Charge (Extraordinary) Redemption Bill** [Bill 264]
Order for Committee read:—*Moved,* "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair,"—(*Mr. Thomas Bolton*)} ... .. .. 1433
After short debate, *Moved,* "That the Debate be now adjourned,"—(*Mr. Stanley Leighton*:)—Question put:—The House *divided;* Ayes 32, Noes 153; Majority 121.—(Div. List, No. 126.)

*Tithe Rent-Charge* (*Extraordinary*) *Redemption Bill*—continued.

Main Question, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair," put, and *agreed to*:—Bill *considered* in Committee:—Committee report Progress; to sit again *To-morrow.*

**Parliamentary Elections (Returning Officers) Act (1875) Amendment Bill** [Bill 241]—

Further Proceeding on Consideration, as amended, *resumed* .. 1436

After debate, *Moved*, "That the Debate be now adjourned,"—(*Mr. Secretary Childers*:)—Motion *agreed to*:—Debate *adjourned* till *To-morrow.*

PETERHEAD HARBOUR OF REFUGE [EXPENSES, &C.]—

*Considered* in Committee .. .. .. .. 1467

Resolution *agreed to*; to be reported *To-morrow.*

**East India Railways [Loans] Bill**—Resolution [June 4] *reported*, and *agreed to*:—Bill *ordered* (*Mr. Stafford Howard, Mr. Henry H. Fowler*) .. .. 1467

**Customs Bill**—*Considered* in Committee:—Resolution *agreed to*, and *reported*:—Bill *ordered* (*Mr. Henry H. Fowler, Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer*) .. .. 1468

## *MOTIONS.*

PRIVATE BILLS—

*Ordered*, That Standing Orders 39 and 129 be suspended, and that the time for depositing Petitions against Private Bills, or against any Bill to confirm any Provisional Order, or Provisional Certificate, and for depositing duplicates of any Documents relating to any Bill to confirm any Provisional Order, or Provisional Certificate, be extended to the day on which the House shall first sit after the Adjournment,—(*The Chairman of Ways and Means*) .. .. .. .. 1468

**Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 10) Bill**—*Ordered* (*Mr. Borlase, Mr. Stansfeld*); *presented*, and read the first time [Bill 269] .. .. 1468

**Merchant Shipping (Fishing Boats) Acts Amendment Bill**—*Ordered* (*Mr. Mundella, Mr. Acland*); *presented*, and read the first time [Bill 274] .. 1468

**Glebe Lands (No. 2) Bill**—*Ordered* (*Dr. Foster, Mr. Cobb, Lord William Compton, Mr. Shirley, Captain Verney, Mr. Pilkington*); *presented*, and read the first time [Bill 275] 1468

[4. A.M.]

## COMMONS, FRIDAY, JUNE 11.

## *PRIVATE BUSINESS.*

*Hull, Barnsley, and West Riding Junction Railway and Dock Bill* [*Lords*] (*by Order*)—

*Moved*, "That the Bill be now read a second time,"—(*Sir Charles Forster*) 1470

Amendment proposed, to leave out the word "now," and at the end of the Question to add the words "upon this day three months,"—(*Mr. Coddington.*)

Question proposed, "That the word 'now' stand part of the Question:"—*Moved*, "That the Debate be now adjourned,"—(*Major Dickson*:)—After short debate, Question put:—The House *divided*; Ayes 57, Noes 67; Majority 10.—(Div. List, No. 128.)

Original Question again proposed, "That the word 'now' stand part of the Question" .. .. .. .. 1476

After short debate, Original Question put, and *agreed to.*

Main Question put, and *agreed to*:—Bill read a second time, and *committed.*

## *QUESTIONS.*

Crime and Outrage (Ireland)—The Riots at Belfast—Questions, Mr. De Cobain, Mr. T. M. Healy, Mr. W. O'Brien, Mr. Sexton; Answers, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Childers) .. 1482

Palace of Westminster—Ventilation of this House—Question, Mr. Radcliffe Cooke; Answer, Mr. Leveson Gower (A Lord of the Treasury) .. .. .. .. .. 1485

War Office—Regimental (Yeomanry) Band at a Political Meeting—Question, Mr. Labouchere; Answer, The Secretary of State for War (Mr. Campbell-Bannerman) .. .. .. 1486

East India Railways (Loans) Bill—Question, Mr. Buchanan; Answer, The Under Secretary of State for India (Mr. Stafford Howard) .. 1486

Army (Auxiliary Forces)—Volunteer Capitation Grant—Question, Mr. Donald Crawford; Answer, The Secretary of State for War (Mr. Campbell-Bannerman) .. .. .. .. 1487

Roman Catholic Disabilities Removal Act—The Viceroy of Ireland—Questions, Mr. Johnston, Mr. Arthur O'Connor; Answers, The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. E. Gladstone) .. .. 1487

Parliament—The Dissolution—Ministerial Statement, The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. E. Gladstone) .. .. .. 1488

Customs and Inland Revenue Bill—Duties on Spanish Wines—Question, Sir Michael Hicks-Beach; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer (Sir William Harcourt) .. .. .. .. 1489

Crime and Outrage (Ireland)—The Riots at Belfast—Questions, Major Saunderson, Mr. Sexton; Answers, The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. E. Gladstone), The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Childers) .. .. .. .. 1489

## *MOTION.*

Business of the House—Precedence of Committees of Supply and Ways and Means, and Money Bills—Questions, Mr. Stanley Leighton; Answers, Mr. T. H. Bolton, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Childers) .. .. .. 1491

*Moved*, "That for the remainder of the Session the Committees of Supply and Ways and Means and all stages of Money Bills have precedence of Notices of Motion and Orders of the Day on every day on which they may be set down by the Government,"—(*The First Lord of the Treasury, Mr. W. E. Gladstone.*)

After short debate, Motion *agreed to.*

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Supply—Ministerial Statement, The Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Henry H. Fowler) .. .. .. .. .. 1498

Adjournment—New Rules of Procedure (Rule 2)—Adjournment of the House—Appointment of Commissioners under the Crofters (Scotland) Act—

*Moved*, "That this House do now adjourn,"—(*Dr. Roderick Macdonald*) 1499

After short debate, Motion, by leave, *withdrawn.*

## *ORDERS OF THE DAY.*

Supply—Order for Committee read; Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair:"—

Army—Regimental Canteens—Observations, Mr. Sclater-Booth; Reply, The Secretary of State for War (Mr. Campbell-Bannerman) .. 1506

SUPPLY—Order for Committee read—*continued.*

INCOME TAX—RESOLUTION—Amendment proposed,

To leave out from the word "That" to the end of the Question, in order to add the words "in the opinion of this House, all persons in any way concerned in the assessment of the Income Tax should be paid by salary and not by poundage or in proportion to the amount of such assessments,"—(*Mr. Hickman,*)—instead thereof .. .. .. .. .. 1507

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question:"—After short debate, Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Main Question, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair," put, and *agreed to.*

SUPPLY—*considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

(1.) £1,000, Gratuity to Lady Gosset.—After short debate, Vote *agreed to* .. 1510

CIVIL SERVICES AND REVENUE DEPARTMENTS, VOTE ON ACCOUNT.

(2.) "That a further sum, not exceeding £6,879,764, be granted to Her Majesty, on account, for or towards defraying the Charge for the following Civil Services and Revenue Departments for the year ending on the 31st day of March 1887, viz:—[Then the several Services are set forth.]—After debate, Vote *agreed to* .. 1513

ARMY ESTIMATES.

(3.) "That a sum, not exceeding £5,000,000, be granted to Her Majesty, on account, for or towards defraying the Charge for the following Army Services for the year ending on the 31st day of March 1887, viz:—[Then the Services are set forth.]—After debate, Vote *agreed to* .. .. .. .. 1528

NAVY ESTIMATES.

(4.) £1,000, on Account, Victualling Yards at Home and Abroad.
(5.) £1,000, on Account, Medical Establishments at Home and Abroad.
(6.) £1,000, on Account, Marine Divisions.
(7.) £1,000, on Account, Naval Stores for Building and Repairing the Fleet, &c.
(8.) £1,000, on Account, Machinery and Ships built by Contract, &c.
(9.) £1,000, on Account, Medicines and Medical Stores, &c.
(10.) £1,000, on Account, Martial Law, &c.
(11.) £1,000, on Account, Miscellaneous Services.

Resolutions to be reported upon *Wednesday* next.

**Returning Officers' Charges (Scotland) Bill** [Bill 188]—

Bill *considered* in Committee [*Progress 12th May*] .. .. 1555

After short time spent therein, Bill *reported;* as amended, to be considered on *Wednesday* next, and to be *printed.* [Bill 281.]

**Conveyancing Acts (Scotland) Amendment Bill** [Bill 251]—

Order for Third Reading read .. .. .. 1564

After short debate, Bill read the third time, and *passed.*

**Poor Law Loans and Relief (Scotland) Bill** [Bill 252]—

Bill *considered* in Committee [*Progress 10th June*] .. .. 1564

After short time spent therein, Bill *reported;* as amended, to be considered upon *Wednesday* next.

**Peterhead Harbour of Refuge** (*re-committed*) **Bill** [Bill 266]—

Bill *considered* in Committee .. .. .. .. 1565

Bill *reported;* as amended, to be considered upon *Wednesday* next.

[*June* 11.] . *Page*

**Salmon and Freshwater Fisheries** (*re-committed*) **Bill** [Bill 244]—
Order for Committee read :—*Moved*, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair,"—(*The Secretary to the Board of Trade, Mr. C. T. D. Acland*) 1566
Question put, and *agreed to* :—Bill *considered* in Committee.
After short time spent therein, Bill *reported*, without Amendment :—Bill to be read the third time upon *Wednesday* next.

**Public Works Loans** (**Tramways Ireland**) **Bill** [Bill 259]—
*Moved*, "That the Bill be now read a second time,"—(*The Secretary to the Treasury, Mr. Henry H. Fowler*) .. .. .. 1567
Amendment proposed, to leave out the word "now," and at the end of the Question to add the words "upon this day three months,"—(*Mr. Biggar.*)
Question proposed, "That the word 'now' stand part of the Question :" —After short debate, Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn*.
Main Question put, and *agreed to* :—Bill read a second time, and *committed* for *Wednesday* next.

**Merchant Shipping** (**Fishing Boats**) **Acts Amendment Bill**—
*Moved*, "That the Bill be now read a second time,"—(*The Secretary to the Board of Trade, Mr. C. T. D. Acland*) .. .. 1569
Amendment proposed, to leave out the word "now," and at the end of the Question to add the words "upon this day three months,"—(*Mr. E. Clarke.*)
Question proposed, "That the word 'now' stand part of the Question :" —*Moved*, "That the Debate be now adjourned,"—(*Mr. C. T. D. Acland* :)—Question put, and *agreed to* :—Debate *adjourned* till *Wednesday* next.

**Customs Bill** [Bill 276]—
*Moved*, "That the Bill be now read a second time,"—(*The Chancellor of the Exchequer, Sir William Harcourt*) .. .. .. 1570
After short debate, Question put, and *agreed to.*
*Moved*, "That the Bill be committed for Wednesday next," — (*Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer* :)—After short debate, Question put, and *agreed to* :—Bill *committed* for *Wednesday* next.

**Tithe Rent-Charge** (**Extraordinary**) **Redemption** (*re-committed*) **Bill** [Bill 264]—
Bill *considered* in Committee [*Progress* 10*th June*] .. .. 1573
*Moved*, "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again,"—(*Mr. Stanley Leighton* :)—After short debate, Question put, and *agreed to*.
Committee report Progress ; to sit again upon *Thursday* next.

**Parliamentary Elections** (**Returning Officers**) **Act** (**1875**) **Amendment Bill** [Bill 241]—
Bill, as amended, *further considered* .. .. .. 1579
Amendments made :—*Moved*, "That the Bill be re-committed in respect of a new Clause and Schedule,"—(*Mr. Labouchere*) .. .. 1606
After short debate, Question put : — The House *divided* ; Ayes 98, Noes 67 ; Majority 31.—(Div. List, No. 129.)
*Moved*, "That it be an Instruction to the Committee that they have power to provide for the payment of the returning officer's expenses out of rates,"—(*Mr. Labouchere*) .. 1614
Question put, and *agreed to*.
Motion, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair," put, and *agreed to* : —Bill *considered* in Committee.
After short time spent therein, Bill *reported* ; as amended, *considered* :— Bill to be read the third time upon *Wednesday* next, and to be *printed*. [Bill 282.] .. .. ..

**Trees (Ireland) Bill—**

Order for Consideration of Lords Reasons and Amendments read .. 1619

*Moved*, "That the Consideration of Lords Reasons and Amendments be *put off* for six months,"—(*Mr. Gilhooly* :)—Question put, and *agreed to.*

**Glebe Lands Bill** [Bill 93]—

*Moved*, "That the Order for the Second Reading be discharged,"—(*Sir R. Assheton Cross*) .. .. .. .. 1620

Motion *agreed to* :—Order *discharged* :—Bill *withdrawn.*

**Coal Mines Bill** [Bill 92]—

Bill *considered* in Committee [*Progress* 15*th March*] .. .. 1620

After short time spent therein, Committee report Progress; to sit again upon *Wednesday* next.

WAYS AND MEANS—

*Considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

*Resolved*, That, towards making good the Supply granted to Her Majesty, for the service of the year ending on the 31st day of March 1887, the sum of £26,993,652 be granted out of the Consolidated Fund of the United Kingdom.

Resolution to be reported upon *Wednesday* next.

PUBLIC WORKS LOANS [ADVANCES]—

*Considered* in Committee .. .. .. .. 1625

Resolutions *agreed to* ; to be reported upon *Wednesday* next.

## *MOTIONS.*

**Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 11) Bill**—*Ordered* (*Mr. Borlase, Mr. Stansfeld*) ; *presented*, and read the first time [Bill 277] .. .. 1626

**Public Health (Scotland) Provisional Order (Urray Water) Bill**—*Ordered* (*The Lord Advocate, Mr. Solicitor General for Scotland*) ; *presented*, and read the first time [Bill 279] .. .. .. .. .. 1626

**Electric Lighting Provisional Order Bill** — *Ordered* (*Mr. Charles Acland, Mr. Mundella*) ; *presented*, and read the first time [Bill 278] .. .. 1626

**Revising Barristers (Ireland) Bill**—*Ordered* (*Mr. John Morley, Mr. Henry H. Fowler*) ; *presented*, and read the first time [Bill 283] .. .. 1627

**Westminster Abbey Restoration Bill**—*Ordered* (*Mr. Secretary Childers, Mr. Henry H. Fowler*) ; *presented*, and read the first time [Bill 284] .. .. 1627

**Metropolitan Board of Works (Money) Bill**—*Ordered* (*Mr. Henry H. Fowler, Mr. Leveson Gower*) ; *presented*, and read the first time [Bill 285] .. .. 1627

[3.0.]

## COMMONS, WEDNESDAY, JUNE 16.

## *QUESTIONS.*

PARLIAMENTARY VOTERS (IRELAND)—ASSISTANT REVISING BARRISTERS—Question, Mr. Maurice Healy; Answer, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. John Morley) .. .. .. .. 1628

PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS (IRELAND)—NATIONAL SCHOOL TEACHERS—Question, Mr. Maurice Healy; Answer, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. John Morley) .. .. .. .. 1628

Railways (Ireland)—Railway Bridges at Ballinamore and Ballyconnell—Question, Mr. Henry Campbell; Answer, The Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Henry H. Fowler) .. .. .. 1629

Post Office (Ireland)—Sub-Post Office at Bauravilla—Question, Mr. Hooper; Answer, The Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Henry H. Fowler) .. .. .. .. .. 1630

Railways (Ireland) — Great Southern and Western Railway — Signalmen—Question, Mr. Maurice Healy; Answer, The Secretary to the Board of Trade (Mr. C. T. D. Acland) .. .. 1630

Fisheries (Scotland)—The Herring Fishery—The Full Crown Brand —Question, Mr. J. W. Barclay; Answer, The Lord Advocate (Mr. J. B. Balfour) .. .. .. .. .. 1631

Fishery Board (Scotland)—The Vacancy—Question, Mr. J. W. Barclay; Answer, The Lord Advocate (Mr. J. B. Balfour) .. .. 1631

Poor Law (Ireland)—Stowaways—The Cork Union—Question, Mr. Maurice Healy; Answer, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. John Morley) .. .. .. .. .. 1631

## *ORDERS OF THE DAY.*

Supply—Report—Resolutions [11th June] *reported* .. .. 1632

Resolution 1 *agreed to.*

(2.) "That a further sum, not exceeding £6,879,764, be granted to Her Majesty, on account, for or towards defraying the Charge for Civil Services and Revenue Departments for the year ending on the 31st day of March 1887."

After short debate, Vote *agreed to.*

(3.) "That a sum, not exceeding £5,000,000, be granted to Her Majesty, on account, for or towards defraying the Charge for the Army Services for the year ending on the 31st day of March 1887" .. .. .. .. 1634

After short debate, Resolution *agreed to.*

Remaining Resolutions *agreed to.*

**Public Works Loans (Tramways Ireland) Bill** [Bill 259]—

Bill *considered* in Committee .. .. .. .. 1635

After short time spent therein, Bill *reported;* as amended, to be considered *To-morrow.*

**Liquor Traffic (Local Veto) (Scotland) Bill** [Bill 72]—

Order for Second Reading read, and *discharged:*—Bill *withdrawn* .. 1635

**Returning Officers' Charges (Scotland) Bill** [Bill 281]—

Bill, as amended, *considered* .. .. .. .. 1636

Amendments made:—*Moved,* "That the Bill be re-committed in respect of a New Clause,"—(*Mr. Esslemont.*)

After short debate, Question put:—The House *divided;* Ayes 91, Noes 35; Majority 56.—(Div. List, No. 131.)

*Ordered,* That it be an Instruction to the Committee that they have power to provide for the payment of Returning Officers out of the rates.

Bill *considered* in Committee .. .. .. .. 1649

After short time spent therein, Bill *reported;* as amended, *considered.*

Bill to be read the third time *To-morrow.*

**Sea Fishing Boats (Scotland) Bill** [*Lords*] [Bill 270]—

Bill *considered* in Committee .. .. .. .. 1650

After short time spent therein, Bill *reported;* as amended, to be considered *To-morrow.*

[*June* 16.] *Page*

**Peterhead Harbour of Refuge Bill** [Bill 266]—
Bill, as amended, *considered* .. .. .. .. 1651
Amendments made:– Bill read the third time, and *passed.*

**Salmon and Freshwater Fisheries Bill** [Bill 244]—
*Moved,* "That the Bill be now read the third time" .. .. 1652
After short debate, Motion *agreed to*:—Bill read the third time, and *passed.*

**Merchant Shipping (Fishing Boats) Acts Amendment Bill**—
Order read, for resuming Adjourned Debate on Amendment proposed to Question [11th June], "That the Bill be now read a second time:" —Question again proposed, "That the word 'now' stand part of the Question:"—Debate *resumed* .. .. .. 1654
After short debate, Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*
Main Question put, and *agreed to*:—Bill read a second time, and *committed* for Friday.

**Intoxicating Liquors (Sale to Children) Bill** [Bill 157]—
Order for Committee read:—*Moved,* "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair" .. .. .. .. .. 1655
Amendment proposed, to leave out from the word "That," to the end of the Question, in order to add the words "this House will, upon this day three months, resolve itself into the said Committee,"—(*Viscount Grimston,*)—instead thereof.
Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question:"—After short debate, Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn*: —Main Question put, and *agreed to.*
Bill *considered* in Committee .. .. .. .. 1659
After short time spent therein, Bill *reported;* as amended, to be considered *To-morrow.*

**Parliamentary Elections (Returning Officers) Act (1875) Amendment Bill** [Bill 282]—
Order for Third Reading read .. .. .. 1668
Bill *re-committed* in respect of a New Clause.
Bill *considered* in Committee.
A New Clause *added*:—Bill read the third time, and *passed.*

**Coal Mines Bill** [Bill 92]—
Bill *considered* in Committee [*Progress* 11*th June*] .. .. 1670
After short time spent therein, Bill *reported;* as amended, *considered;* read the third time, and *passed.*

**Married Women (Maintenance in Case of Desertion) Bill**—
Further Proceeding on going into Committee [19th May] *resumed* .. 1671
Question put, and *agreed to*:—Bill *considered* in Committee.
After short time spent therein, Bill *reported,* with an amended Title; as amended, *considered;* read the third time, and *passed.*

**Westminster Abbey Restoration Bill** [Bill 284]—
*Moved,* "That the Bill be now read a second time,"—(*The Secretary to the Treasury, Mr. Henry H. Fowler*) .. .. .. 1673
After short debate, Question put, and *agreed to*:—Bill read a second time, and *committed* for *To-morrow.*

## *QUESTION.*

—o—

PARLIAMENT—ORDER OF BUSINESS—Question, Mr. W. H. Smith; Answer, The Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Henry H. Fowler).. .. 1676

## *ORDER OF THE DAY.*

WAYS AND MEANS—

**Consolidated Fund (Appropriation) Bill** Resolution [June 11] *reported*, and *agreed to* :—Bill *ordered* (*Mr. Courtney, Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Henry H. Fowler*); *presented*, and read the first time .. .. .. 1676

[5.0.]

## LORDS, THURSDAY, JUNE 17.

**Labourers (Ireland) Acts Amendment Bill** (No. 120)—

Bill read 3ª (according to Order) .. .. .. 1677

Amendments made :—Bill *passed*, and sent to the Commons.

**Conveyancing (Scotland) Acts Amendment Bill** (No. 163)—

Bill read 1ª (according to Order) .. .. .. 1678

After short debate, Bill to be *printed*; and to be read 2ª on *Monday* next.

ISLANDS OF THE SOUTH PACIFIC—THE NEW HEBRIDES—ACTION OF THE FRENCH—Notice of Question, The Marquess of Salisbury .. 1680

[5.0.]

## COMMONS, THURSDAY, JUNE 17.

## *PRIVATE BUSINESS.*

*Orkney Roads Bill* [*Lords*] (*by Order*)—

*Moved*, "That the Bill be now read a second time" .. .. 1681

Amendment proposed, to leave out the word "now," and at the end of the Question to add the words "upon this day three months,"—(*Mr. Lyell.*)

Question proposed, "That the word 'now' stand part of the Question :" —After debate, Question put :—The House *divided*; Ayes 81, Noes 82; Majority 1.—(Div. List, No. 133 :)—Words *added*.

Main Question, as amended, put, and *agreed to* :—Second Reading *put off* for three months.

PRIVATE BILLS—STANDING ORDERS FOR THE SUSPENSION OF PRIVATE BILLS, OR BILLS TO CONFIRM ANY PROVISIONAL ORDER OR CERTIFICATE—

*Moved*, "That the Promoters of every Private Bill which shall have been introduced into this House, or brought from the House of Lords in the present Session of Parliament, shall have leave to suspend any further proceeding thereupon, in order to proceed with the same Bill in the next Session of Parliament,"—(*The Chairman of Ways and Means*) .. .. .. .. .. 1692

Amendment proposed, in line 1, after the word "Bill," to insert the words "except the Belfast Main Drainage Bill,"—(*Mr. Sexton.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted :"—After short debate, Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn*.

Main Question put, and *agreed to*. [Other Orders *agreed to*.]

STANDING ORDERS—Standing Orders 135, 183A, 200A read and amended .. 1698

## *QUESTIONS.*

POST OFFICE — LETTERS TO THE NIGER AND GULF OF GUINEA — Question, Mr. Hutton; Answer, The Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Henry H. Fowler) .. .. .. .. .. 1699

[*June* 17.] *Page*

LIGHTHOUSE KEEPERS (IRELAND) — NOTICE OF EXAMINATIONS — Question, Mr. Cox; Answer, The Secretary to the Board of Trade (Mr. C. T. D. Acland) .. .. .. .. .. 1699
ADMIRALTY (SHIPBUILDING, &C.)—CONTRACT PRICES—Question, Commander Bethell; Answer, The Secretary to the Admiralty (Mr. Hibbert) .. 1700
INDUSTRIAL SCHOOLS (IRELAND)—SIR JOHN LENTAIGNE—Questions, Mr. Biggar; Answers, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. John Morley) 1700
PORTUGAL—QUARANTINE AT TERCIA—THE "MAGGIE" — Question, Mr. Carbutt; Answer, The Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Mr. Bryce) .. .. .. .. .. 1701
POST OFFICE—ACCELERATION OF MAILS TO OBAN—Question, Mr. Richard Campbell; Answer, The Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Henry H. Fowler) .. .. .. .. .. 1701
ARMY (AUXILIARY FORCES)—LIVERPOOL VOLUNTEERS—Question, Mr. F. S. Powell; Answer, The Secretary of State for War (Mr. Campbell-Bannerman) .. .. .. .. .. 1702
BOARD OF TRADE—COLLECTION AND PUBLICATION OF LABOUR STATISTICS—Question, Mr. Bradlaugh; Answer, The Secretary to the Board of Trade (Mr. C. T. D. Acland) .. .. .. 1702
CHURCH BUILDING ACTS—BALANCE OF FUND—Question, Viscount Lewisham; Answer, The Secretary to the Board of Trade (Mr. C. T. D. Acland) .. 1703
ARMS (IRELAND) ACT—SEIZURE OF ARMS AT LISNASKEA, CO. FERMANAGH—Question, Captain M'Calmont; Answer, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. John Morley) .. .. .. .. 1704
ARMY (AUXILIARY FORCES)—BAYONETS FOR THE VOLUNTEERS — Question, Major General Goldsworthy; Answer, The Secretary of State for War (Mr. Campbell-Bannerman) .. .. .. 1705
LAW AND JUSTICE—CONVICTION OF JOHN COX, SIGNALMAN ON THE SOMERSET AND DORSET RAILWAY—Question, Mr. Channing; Answer, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Childers) .. .. 1705
SCOTLAND—BYE-LAWS FOR PUBLIC ROADS — REGULATIONS AS TO BICYCLES AND TRICYCLES—Question, Mr. Menzies; Answer, The Lord Advocate (Mr. J. B. Balfour) .. .. .. .. 1705
FISHERIES (IRELAND)—LOANS FOR BUILDING FISHING SMACKS—Question, Mr. Hooper; Answer, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. John Morley) .. .. .. .. .. 1706
LAW AND JUSTICE—THE TRUCK ACT—THE RHYMNEY COMPANY—Question, Mr. Bradlaugh; Answer, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Childers) .. .. .. .. 1706
SOUTH AFRICA—THE KIMBERLEY DIAMOND MINES—Questions, Sir Robert Fowler, Mr. M'Arthur; Answers, The Under Secretary of State for the Colonies (Mr. Osborne Morgan) .. .. .. 1707
ELEMENTARY EDUCATION ACTS — RELIGIOUS DENOMINATION OF TEACHERS—Question, Mr. Conway; Answer, The Vice President of the Council (Sir Lyon Playfair) .. .. .. .. 1708
LIGHTHOUSE ILLUMINANTS—WIGHAM'S DOUBLE QUADRIFORM GAS LIGHT—Question, Mr. Arthur O'Connor; Answer, The Secretary to the Board of Trade (Mr. C. T. D. Acland) .. .. .. 1709
HIGH COURT OF JUSTICE — APPEALS — Question, Mr. Arthur O'Connor; Answer, The Attorney General (Sir Charles Russell) .. .. 1710
TRADES UNIONS ACT, 1871—THE RETURN—Question, Mr. Bazley White; Answer, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Childers) .. .. .. .. .. 1711
CRIME AND OUTRAGE (IRELAND)—THE RIOTS AT BELFAST — Question, Mr. James O'Brien; Answer, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. John Morley) .. .. .. .. .. 1711
PALACE OF WESTMINSTER — ADMISSION OF VISITORS TO THE HOUSE OF COMMONS—Questions, Mr. Buchanan; Answers, Mr. Leveson Gower (A Lord of the Treasury) .. .. .. .. 1712

The Currency — Relative Value of Gold and Silver—Questions, Sir George Campbell; Answers, The Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Henry H. Fowler) .. .. .. .. .. 1712

Crofters (Scotland) (No. 2) Bill—The Lay Commissioners—Question, Dr. R. M'Donald; Answer, The Lord Advocate (Mr. J. B. Balfour) .. 1713

Admiralty—Naval Reserve Men—Question, Dr. R. M'Donald; Answer, The Secretary to the Admiralty (Mr. Hibbert) .. .. 1713

Railways—North British Railway—Accident near Sunnyside—Question, Mr. Buchanan; Answer, The Secretary to the Board of Trade (Mr. C. T. D. Acland) .. .. .. .. 1713

Trade and Commerce—Turkey—Exactions at Salonica—Question, Mr. James Hutton; Answer, The Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Mr. Bryce) .. .. .. .. 1714

Fiji—The Hurricane—Question, Mr. M'Arthur; Answer, The Under Secretary of State for the Colonies (Mr. Osborne Morgan) .. 1714

Parliamentary Elections (Scotland)—Sheriff Substitutes as Presiding Officers—Question, Mr. Macfarlane; Answer, The Lord Advocate (Mr. J. B. Balfour) .. .. .. .. 1715

Islands of the South Pacific — Reported Massacre at the New Hebrides—Questions, Mr. Howard Spensley, Sir Michael Hicks-Beach, Sir Herbert Maxwell, Sir George Campbell; Answers, The Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Mr. Bryce) .. .. 1715

The General Election, 1885—Returns of Election Expenses — Question, Mr. Carvell Williams; Answer, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Childers) .. .. .. 1717

Law and Police (Scotland)—Sheep Stealing in Perthshire—Question, Mr. Menzies; Answer, The Lord Advocate (Mr. J. B. Balfour) .. 1718

Parliamentary Elections—The Volunteers — Questions, Mr. Palmer, Mr. Donkin; Answers, The Secretary of State for War (Mr. Campbell-Bannerman) .. .. .. .. .. 1718

Dutch West Indies—Island of Curacao—Case of Mr. Godden—Question, Mr. Banister Fletcher; Answer, The Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Mr. Bryce) .. .. .. 1719

Crofters (Scotland) (No. 2) Bill — Appointment of Commissioners — Mr. Macfarlane—Question, Mr. Macfarlane; Answer, The Solicitor General for Scotland (Mr. Asher) .. .. .. 1720

Imperial Defences—The Fortification of Simon's Bay and Table Bay —Questions, Mr. W. H. Smith; Answers, The Secretary of State for War (Mr. Campbell-Bannerman) .. .. .. 1722

## *ORDERS OF THE DAY.*

**Consolidated Fund (Appropriation) Bill—**

*Moved*, "That the Bill be now read a second time,"—(*The Secretary to the Treasury, Mr. Henry H. Fowler*) .. .. .. 1723

Public Education (England) — Departmental Statement, The Vice President of the Council (Sir Lyon Playfair:)—Debate thereon .. 1723

Public Education (Scotland) — Departmental Statement, The Lord Advocate (Mr. J. B. Balfour:)—Short debate thereon .. .. 1749

Question put, and *agreed to*:—Bill read a second time, and *committed* for *To-morrow*.

**Tithe Rent-Charge (Extraordinary) Redemption** (*re-committed*) **Bill** [Bill 264]—

Bill *considered* in Committee .. .. .. .. 1756

After some time spent therein, Bill *reported*; as amended, *considered*; read the third time, and *passed*.

**Shop Hours Regulation** (*re-committed*) **Bill** [Bill 216]—

Order for Committee read :—*Moved*, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair,"—(*Sir John Lubbock*) .. .. .. 1785

Amendment proposed, to leave out from the word "That," to the end of the Question, in order to add the words "this House will, upon this day three months, resolve itself into the said Committee,"—(*Mr. Cavendish Bentinck,*)—instead thereof.

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question :"—After debate, Question put :—The House *divided;* Ayes 61, Noes 23; Majority 38.—(Div. List, No. 135.)

Main Question put, and *agreed to* :—Bill *considered* in Committee .. 1807

After short time spent therein, Bill *reported,* as amended ; to be considered *To-morrow.*

**Law of Evidence Amendment Bill** [*Lords*] [Bill 286]—

*Moved,* "That the Second Reading be *deferred* till *To-morrow*" .. 1820

After short debate, Motion *agreed to* :—Second Reading *deferred* till *To-morrow.*

**Intoxicating Liquors** (**Sale to Children**) **Bill** [Bill 157]—

Bill, as amended, *considered* .. .. .. .. 1822

*Moved,* "That the Bill be now read the third time,"—(*Mr. Everett.*)

After short debate, Motion *agreed to* :—Bill read the third time, and *passed.*

REVISING BARRISTERS (IRELAND) [REMUNERATION]—

*Considered* in Committee .. .. .. 1825

Resolution *agreed to ;* to be reported *To-morrow.*

REVISING BARRISTERS [REMUNERATION AND EXPENSES]—

*Considered* in Committee .. .. .. .. 1825

Resolution *agreed to ;* to be reported *To-morrow.*

NAVY AND ARMY EXPENDITURE, 1884-5—

*Ordered,* That the Appropriation Accounts for the Navy and Army Departments, which were presented upon the 6th and 18th days of February last respectively, be referred to the Committee.

ACCOUNTS *considered* in Committee .. .. .. 1826

Resolutions to be reported *To-morrow.*

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GREENWICH HOSPITAL—

*Resolved,* That the Statement of the Estimated Income and Expenditure of Greenwich Hospital for the year 1886-7, presented to Parliament pursuant to Act 48 and 49 Vic. c. 42, be approved,—(*Mr. Hibbert.*)

**Merchandise** (**Fraudulent Marking**) **Bill**—*Ordered* (*Mr. Mundella, Mr. Acland*) ; *presented,* and read the first time [Bill 291] .. .. .. 1832

[2.30.]

LORDS, FRIDAY, JUNE 18.

**Electric Lighting Act** (1882) **Amendment** (No. 3) **Bill**—

Amendments *reported* (according to order) .. .. .. 1833

A new Clause (*Lord Houghton*) *moved,* and *negatived.*

**International and Colonial Copyright Bill** (No. 144)—

House in Committee (according to order) .. .. .. 1835

Bill *reported,* without Amendment ; and to be read 3$^a$ on *Monday* next.

**Losses by Riot Compensation Bill** (No. 156)—

*Moved,* "That the Bill be now read 2$^a$,"—(*The Lord Sudeley*) .. 1836

After short debate, Motion *agreed to* :—Bill read 2$^a$ accordingly, and *committed* to a Committee of the Whole House on *Monday* next.

**Medical Acts Amendment Bill** (No. 155)—
*Moved*, "That the Bill be now read 2ª,"—(*The Lord President of the Council, Earl Spencer*) .. .. .. .. 1836
After short debate, Motion *agreed to*:—Bill read 2ª accordingly, and *committed* to a Committee of the Whole House on *Monday* next.

Islands of the South Pacific—The New Hebrides—Action of France—Question, The Duke of Richmond and Gordon; Answer, The Secretary of State for India (The Earl of Kimberley) .. .. 1839

[5.45.]

## COMMONS, FRIDAY, JUNE 18.

## *QUESTIONS.*

Law and Justice (England and Wales)—The Rev. H. Mills, Chairman of the Kineton Petty Sessions, Warwickshire—Question, Mr. Cobb; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer (Sir William Harcourt) .. 1841
War Department—Calshot Castle, Southampton Water—Question, Sir John Lubbock; Answer, The Secretary of State for War (Mr. Campbell-Bannerman) .. .. .. .. 1842
Post Office (Scotland)—Mail to the Outer Hebrides—Question, Mr. Fraser-Mackintosh; Answer, The Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Henry H. Fowler) .. .. .. .. 1842
Poor Law (Scotland)—Memorial of the Parochial Boards of Skye—Question, Mr. Fraser-Mackintosh; Answer, The Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Henry H. Fowler) .. .. .. 1842
Parks Regulation Act, 1872—Richmond Park—Question, Mr. Radcliffe Cooke; Answer, Mr. Leveson Gower (A Lord of the Treasury) .. 1843
Trade and Commerce—Commercial Relations between the United States and the West Indies—Question, Mr. Baden-Powell; Answer, The Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Mr. Bryce) .. 1843
South Africa—Zululand—The Papers—Question, Mr. Baden-Powell; Answer, The Under Secretary of State for the Colonies (Mr. Osborne Morgan) .. .. .. .. .. 1844
Artizans' Dwellings Act—The Brooke Market Site, Holborn—Question, Colonel Duncan; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer (Sir William Harcourt) .. .. .. .. 1845
The Magistracy (Ireland)—Mr. Porter, J.P.—Question, Mr. William Redmond; Answer, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. John Morley) 1845
Education (Scotland)—The Dingwall School Board—Question, Mr. Macdonald Cameron; Answer, The Lord Advocate (Mr. J. B. Balfour) 1845
The United States and Canada—The Fishery Disputes—Question, Mr. Gourley; Answer, The Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Mr. Bryce) .. .. .. .. .. 1846
Admiralty—The Reserve and Channel Squadrons—The Manœuvres—Questions, Mr. Gourley, Commander Bethell; Answers, The Secretary to the Admiralty (Mr. Hibbert) .. .. .. 1846
State-Directed Emigration — Emigration Bureaux — Question, Mr. Gourley; Answer, The Under Secretary of State for the Colonies (Mr. Osborne Morgan) .. .. .. .. 1847
Navy—H.M.S. "Collingwood"—Bursting of the 43-ton Gun—Questions, Sir Henry Tyler, Mr. Carbutt; Answers, The Secretary of State for War (Mr. Campbell-Bannerman) .. .. .. 1848
War Department—Quartermasters in the Commissariat and Ordnance Departments—Question, Dr. Clark; Answer, The Secretary of State for War (Mr. Campbell-Bannerman) .. .. .. 1849

[*June* 18.] *Page*

The Mauritius — Sir John Pope Hennessy — Question, Mr. Carvell Williams; Answer, The Under Secretary of State for the Colonies (Mr. Osborne Morgan) .. .. .. .. 1849

Civil Service—Lower Division Clerks and Writers—Questions, Mr. Arthur O'Connor, Mr. Bartley; Answers, The Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Henry H. Fowler) .. .. .. .. 1850

Egypt (The Military Expedition)—The Troops at Assouan—Question, Mr. Norton; Answer, The Secretary of State for War (Mr. Campbell-Bannerman) .. .. .. .. .. 1850

Crime and Outrage (Ireland)—The Riots at Sligo—Questions, Mr. Tottenham, Mr. Sexton; Answers, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. John Morley) .. .. .. .. 1851

Admiralty—The Coastguardmen—The General Election — Question, Admiral Field; Answer, The Secretary to the Admiralty (Mr. Hibbert) 1852

War Department—The Dockyards—Discharge of Workmen at Woolwich—Question, Mr. John Wilson (Durham, Houghton-le-Spring); Answer, The Secretary of State for War (Mr. Campbell-Bannerman) 1852

Islands of the South Pacific—The New Hebrides—Action of France—Question, Sir Henry Holland; Answer, The Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Mr. Bryce) .. .. .. 1853

Islands of the South Pacific—New Caledonia—Her Majesty's Acting Consul—Question, Sir George Campbell; Answer, The Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Mr. Bryce) .. .. 1854

Parliament—The Dissolution—Adjournment of the House—Question, Mr. Macfarlane; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer (Sir William Harcourt) .. .. .. .. 1854

*Moved*, "That this House, at its rising, do adjourn till Monday next,"—(*Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer*:)—Question put, and *agreed to.*

## *ORDERS OF THE DAY.*

**Consolidated Fund (Appropriation) Bill—**

Order for Committee read:—*Moved*, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair:"—

Navy—Naval Administration — Observations, Sir John Commerell; Reply, The Secretary to the Admiralty (Mr. Hibbert) .. .. 1855

The Irish Land Commission—Purchasers of Glebe Lands—Observations, Mr. William O'Brien; Reply, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. John Morley) .. .. .. .. 1857

Admiralty—Torpedo Boats—Observations, Admiral Field; Reply, The Civil Lord of the Admiralty (Mr. R. W. Duff) .. .. 1859

Prisons (Ireland)—Omagh Prison—Observations, Mr. M. J. Kenny; Reply, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. John Morley) .. 1860

Question, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair," put, and *agreed to*:—Bill *considered* in Committee, and *reported*, without Amendment; to be read the third time upon *Monday* next.

**Revising Barristers' Appointment Bill** [Bill 245]—

Bill *considered* in Committee .. .. .. .. 1861

Bill *reported*; as amended, *considered*; read the third time, and *passed.*

**Revising Barristers (Ireland) Bill** [Bill 283]—

Order for Committee read:—*Moved*, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair,"—(*The Chief Secretary for Ireland, Mr. John Morley*) .. 1862

After short debate, Question put, and *agreed to*:—Bill *considered* in Committee.

After short time spent therein, Bill *reported*, without Amendment; read the third time, and *passed.*

**Public Works Loans (Tramways Ireland) Bill** [Bill 259]—
Order for Third Reading read.. .. .. .. 1864
After short debate, Bill read the third time, and *passed.*

**Sea Fishing Boats (Scotland) Bill** [*Lords*] [Bill 270]—
Order for Third Reading read .. .. .. 1864
Bill *re-committed* in respect of an Amendment and two New Clauses.
Bill *considered* in Committee.
A clause *struck out;* two New Clauses *added.*
Bill *reported;* as amended, *considered;* read the third time, and *passed.*

**Merchandise (Fraudulent Marking) Bill** [Bill 291]—
*Moved,* "That the Bill be now read a second time,"—(*The Secretary to the Board of Trade, Mr. C. T. D. Acland*) .. .. .. 1865
After short debate, Motion, by leave, *withdrawn.*
*Moved,* "That the said Order be discharged,"—(*Mr. C. T. D. Acland:*)—Question put, and *agreed to.*
Order *discharged:*—Bill *withdrawn.*

**Merchant Shipping (Fishing Boats) Acts Amendment Bill**—
Bill *considered* in Committee .. .. .. .. 1865
After short time spent therein, Bill *reported;* as amended, *considered;* read the third time, and *passed.*

**Shop Hours Regulation Bill** [Bill 216]—
Bill, as amended, *considered* .. .. .. .. 1866
After short debate, *Moved,* "That the Bill be now read the third time,"—(*Sir John Lubbock.*)
Amendment proposed, to leave out the word "now," and at the end of the Question to add the words "upon this day three months,"—(*Mr. Cavendish Bentinck.*)
Question proposed, "That the word 'now' stand part of the Question:"—After further short debate, Question put:—The House *divided;* Ayes 84, Noes 17; Majority 67.—(Div. List, No. 138.)
Main Question put:—Bill read the third time, and *passed.*

**Law of Evidence Amendment Bill** [*Lords*] [Bill 286]—
*Moved,* "That the Bill be now read a second time,"—(*Sir Henry James*) 1869
After short debate, *Moved,* "That the Debate be now adjourned,"—(*Mr. W. O'Brien:*)—Question put:—The House *divided;* Ayes 37, Noes 40; Majority 3.—(Div. List, No. 139.)
Original Question again proposed .. .. .. 1874
[House counted out] [8.0.]

## LORDS, SATURDAY, JUNE 19.

Their Lordships met;—and having gone through the Business on the Paper without debate, [House adjourned] [12.15.]

# LORDS.

## SAT FIRST.

THURSDAY, MAY 27.

The Earl of Chichester, after the death of his father.

# HANSARD'S

# PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES,

IN THE

*First Session* OF THE *Twenty-Third Parliament* OF THE
United Kingdom OF *Great Britain* AND *Ireland*,
APPOINTED TO MEET 12 JANUARY, 1886, IN THE FORTY-NINTH
YEAR OF THE REIGN OF

HER MAJESTY QUEEN VICTORIA.

FIFTH VOLUME OF SESSION 1886.

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## HOUSE OF LORDS,

*Tuesday, 25th May,* 1886.

MINUTES.] — PUBLIC BILLS — *Committee* — Infants (86-125).

*Select Committee* — Church Patronage * (63), The Earl of Powis and The Earl of Northbrook *added.*

*Third Reading*—Bankruptcy (Agricultural Labourers' Wages) * (70), and *passed;* Sale of Intoxicating Liquors on Sunday (Durham) (123), *negatived.*

PROVISIONAL ORDER BILLS—*Second Reading* — Elementary Education Confirmation (Birmingham) * (96); Elementary Education Confirmation (London) * (97).

### INFANTS BILL.—(No. 86.)

(*The Lord Chancellor.*)

COMMITTEE.

House in Committee (according to order).

Clauses 1 and 2 *agreed to.*

Clause 3 (Mother may appoint guardian, certain cases).

Amendment *moved,* in subsection (2.), page 2, line 1, leave out from ("may") to end of clause and insert ("such order in respect of the guardianship as to the court shall seem right.")—(*The Lord Halsbury.*)

THE LORD CHANCELLOR (Lord HERSCHELL) said, that the clause in its present form had received the approval of a majority of their Lordships' House, and he was unwilling to disturb the arrangement that had been arrived at, especially as it might be urged on the third reading, as it was on the second reading, that the clause, if amended as proposed, would interfere too much with the rights of the father.

Lord FITZGERALD said, that it was a matter of compromise. The Bill stood now as it was altered by their Lordships, and if the Amendment of his noble and learned Friend was carried in a substantial form it would endanger the Bill.

The LORD CHANCELLOR said, he would suggest that the words proposed to be omitted should be retained, but that these words should be added—

> "And make such order in respect of the guardianship as to the Court shall seem right."

Amendment, as amended, *agreed to.*

Clause, as amended, *agreed to.*

Clause 4 *agreed to.*

Clause 5 (Court may make orders as to custody).

Lord ASHBOURNE said, under this clause as it stood it would be quite competent when the father and mother were living together, for the mother, having different views from her husband as to how the children should be brought up, to ask the opinion of the Court whether she or her husband was right. That was a very dangerous power to give the wife, and might lead to litigation, confusion, and unhappiness in families. It was a great change to make in English domestic life. He was about to move an Amendment which was recommended by the great experience of Lord Cairns, and which Lord Cairns moved in the Select Committee. The noble and learned Lord then moved an Amendment which would give the wife power to apply to the Court when the husband and wife were not living together.

The Earl of SELBORNE said, that the Amendment now proposed, when moved in the Select Committee by Lord Cairns, was not assented to, and he did not think Lord Cairns was dissatisfied with the result. No one would attribute greater weight to Lord Cairn's opinion than he should do; but the reasons against the proposition were irresistible to the minds of those who voted against it, and to his mind were irresistible still. It should be remembered that in framing this clause they had not only to consider the case of persons in a superior class of life, but also the case of those who for want of means were compelled to live together. In many cases among the poorer classes the wife would be justified in making such an application, and by adopting the Amendment they would, he believed, in point of fact be doing an injustice.

Lord BRAMWELL said, he considered that the clause was a direct invitation to litigation between husband and wife. There was no qualification whatever in it. He thought it would at least be a good thing that the application in the first instance should be made *ex parte*, so that the tribunal applied to should be able to form an opinion as to whether the case was one that should be inquired into.

Lord ASHBOURNE said, he felt the force of the remarks of the noble and learned Earl opposite (the Earl of Selborne), and that he would carefully consider all that had been said before the next stage of the Bill.

Amendment (by leave of the Committee) *withdrawn.*

The LORD CHANCELLOR then moved to insert, after Clause 5, the following words:—

> "And in every case (the Court) may make such order affecting the costs of the mother and the liability of the father for the costs of the mother as it may think just."

He pointed out that in some cases it might be unfair and undesirable to saddle the husband with the costs.

Amendment *agreed to.*

Clause, as amended, *agreed to.*

Lord DENMAN, who had given Notice to move, after Clause 5, to insert the following new Clause:—

> "In case of the conduct of any father making it wrong for him to have the custody of his infant children or child, and if his wife, their mother, should have a separate household, she, by the order of the Probate and Divorce Court or other court of the High Court of Justice, or of the nearest county court, shall have all the rights which other householders possess, or may in future possess, at every election of Members of Parliament and at all other elections,"

said: I must explain that this Amendment was broached by me in the Committee on the Representation of the People Bill, on December 4th, 1884; and on the Infants Bill, 1885, the same clause by me was proposed. I am aware that it cannot pass until a Women's Suffrage Bill has been carried, and it is indifferent to me in which House it originates. On the 9th July, 1884, Earl Cairns wrote to me, advising me to postpone my Bill to the next open day; but I could not do so, as it preceded the Marriage with a Deceased Wife's Sister Bill in the Orders of the Day, and, as I considered that as peculiarly a woman's question, I thought that it ought to remain before it; but all Business was suspended on the 10th of July. I venture to think that no Dissolution should be granted by the Crown until women, duly qualified, are added to the electors. It has been surmised that this measure ought first to pass in "another place;" but this has never been openly advocated, and I can only hope that this provision for married women judicially separated from their husbands will be considered in Committee in both Houses of Parliament by those who understand the subject. I beg to withdraw the proposed Amendment.

Clause (by leave of the Committee) *withdrawn.*

Remaining Clauses *agreed to.*

The Report of the Amendments to be received on *Friday* next; and Bill to be *printed* as amended. (No. 125.)

### TREES (IRELAND) BILL.

Commons reasons for disagreeing to some of the amendments made by the Lords, and Commons amendments to Lords amendments, *considered* (according to order): Certain of the amendments *not insisted on;* a consequential amendment made; one amendment to which the Commons disagree *insisted on;* Commons amendments *agreed to*, with an amendment: A Committee appointed to prepare a reason to be offered to the Commons for the Lords insisting on one of their amendments; the Committee to meet *forthwith:* Report from the Committee of the reason prepared by them, read, and *agreed to;* and Bill returned to the Commons with the amendments and reason.

## SALE OF INTOXICATING LIQUORS ON SUNDAY (DURHAM) BILL.—(No. 123.)

(*The Lord Bishop of Durham.*)

### THIRD READING.

Order of the Day for the Third Reading read.

THE BISHOP OF DURHAM (Dr. LIGHTFOOT), in rising to move the third reading of the Sale of Intoxicating Liquors on Sunday (Durham) Bill, said: My Lords, I move that you give a third reading to this Bill. I had hoped that I should not have troubled you again; but as I see that the third reading is to be opposed—a somewhat unusual, but, I confess, a perfectly legitimate course—I hope I may be excused if I add a few words to what I have already said on the subject. The noble Earl (the Earl of Wemyss) who proposes to move the rejection of the Bill drew a picture of the agitations which he supposed had been got up in order to promote the Bill. I was supposed to have sent out my chaplains and emissaries far and wide, and to have summoned my clerical liegemen to the fray. I assure the noble Earl that if he knew the people of Durham as well as I know them, he would at once see that such a state of things was impossible. They are a very sturdy and a very independent race, and anything like episcopal or clerical dictation would be at once resisted by them. It is not alone on the part of the clergy of the Church of England that there has been a movement in favour of this Bill. The Nonconformist ministers are at least as eager as the clergy of the Church of England, and the Roman Catholic priests are at least as eager as the Nonconformist ministers. I assure the noble Earl that he flatters me too much if he supposes that I have such great influence with those two bodies. The noble Earl is, I think, disposed to discount the value of clerical evidence, and some stress has naturally been laid on the experience of Judges and magistrates. Well, they, of course, see much of the working of intemperance; but I venture to say that the clergy and ministers of religion see far more. The magistrates only have to deal with intemperance when it has ripened into crime; and for every case which comes before the magistrates there are perhaps 50 which come under the notice of the clergy, where it goes no further than ruin and desolation to a household. Besides, I would ask you to remember that the Petitions which I have laid upon the Table from time to time represent the most varied interests. One or two came from nearly the whole medical body of the chief town in my diocese — Sunderland—40 out of 44 —

whilst another has been signed by 60 or 70 of the *employés* in the engine shops of the North-Eastern Railway. I have brought from time to time Petitions from what we call pit villages, having populations of from 5,000 to 7,000, signed by from 2,000 to 3,000; and this day I have presented three Petitions from the parish of Bishop Auckland, the number of signatures of which amounts altogether to something like 2,700. Public meetings also have been held there—one in the Market Place, within a stone's throw of my own house, and it is reported to me that there were only six or seven dissentient voices. It may be said that this was out of compliment to me; but I assure you, my Lords, it was nothing of the kind. The people of Bishop Auckland are as independent as any in Durham. A predecessor of mine was burned in effigy at the very gates of Auckland Castle because he had displeased the people by an adverse vote on the great Reform Bill. These are signs, and I could bring forward others, which I cannot neglect, and which, to my mind, at all events, are convincing that I am not wrong in saying that the feeling of the working men in Durham is strongly in favour of this Bill. I do not think that anyone who has studied the working of the Act in Scotland can come to any but one conclusion. I believe there has never been an attempt there to repeal the Act, and that no section of the community is discontented with its operation. For what are the facts? In 1852-3 the number of convictions for Sunday drunkenness was 708; in 1884 they had diminished to 194. But if you take the numbers from 8 o'clock in the morning on Sunday to 8 o'clock on the morning of Monday, the disproportion is still greater, and that is a fairer test. They were 367 in the one case, and—I am not quite sure about my figures, but either 32 or 52—say 52 in the second case. It was said that shebeens would increase; but the number has diminished by more than half—242 in 1852 to only 101 in 1884. Those are the Edinburgh numbers. The Glasgow statistics are in the same direction. The populations of Glasgow and of Liverpool are nearly the same, but the convictions for Sunday drunkenness in Liverpool are just double what they are in Glasgow; and if I were again to take the statistics from 8 o'clock in the morning of Sunday to 8 o'clock of the morning of Monday, the disproportion would again be still greater. The satisfactory working of the Irish Act, again, will hardly be disputed. There was a general desire, as your Lordships will remember, not only for its continuance, but also for its extension to the exempted districts. At the time there were gloomy forebodings expressed for Ireland, such as are now put forth by the noble Earl with regard to this Bill for Durham, in the event of its being carried. They have not been realized. Ireland has since seen trouble, but not from this cause. Then there is the Welsh Act, where the evidence is more conflicting. I have gone a great deal into the matter—as doubtless many of your Lordships have done—and the conclusion I have come to is, that in a large portion of the country it works very satisfactorily, but that in some of the large towns, especially those on the frontier, some inconvenience has been the result; though even here there has been divers opinions. At the same time, I should not lay so much stress on the instance which the noble and learned Lord gave of travelling between Swansea and the Mumbles. Are we living in a fool's paradise, and do we not know that the same thing is going on everywhere —even under the present law? One of the Petitions I handed in came from the inhabitants of a large village on the Tees, in the neighbourhood of a great town. There was practical unanimity in the signing the Petition, and the special ground urged was that the public-houses of the village were flooded with people on Sundays from the large town, and so had become a scene of riot and revel. Very much has been said about the difficulty of the frontier line of Durham—more especially on the Tyne. I am quite prepared to admit there may be some inconvenience; but what I contend is that, on the whole, the Bill will be for the general advantage of the community. It must be remembered that even now there are different municipal laws on either side of the Tyne. For instance, there was another social nuisance which was attacked much more persistently and more systematically on the South side of the Tyne than on the North, and the consequence was that it was driven over to the North side. The result was that the example of the South side was taken up on the North, and a better state of things has been the consequence. Then something has been said of bogus clubs. I think before long you will have to deal with that subject. May I, in conclusion, say one word on the general question? A generation ago England was going from bad to worse through intemperance, when a noble body of temperance workers arose. By their energetic action the tide has been stemmed, and an appreciable influence has been exerted over the morals of the country. Now, I ask is it generous, is it just, is it consistent that, while every good citizen speaks highly of this achievement, our opponents should use words only of disparagement bordering on contempt towards the workers themselves? I will speak quite freely, for I claim no merit to myself—I am only the spokesman of those who have borne the heat and burden of the day. For myself, I am content, and more than content, to be supposed to be possessed of "a craze" if I can do anything, however little, to mitigate this great evil. History is full of consolations. Far stronger and wiser and better men than myself have been called harder names. Their cause has triumphed in the end, and future ages have enrolled them as their benefactors.

*Moved*, "That the Bill be now read 2ª."—(*The Lord Bishop of Durham.*)

THE EARL OF WEMYSS, in rising to move the rejection of the Bill, said: I present a Petition from the city of Durham praying that Durham City may be exempted; another from Petitioners in Durham against the Bill; and a third from the Labourers' Association in London, also against the Bill, pointing out that legislation of this kind will lead to the springing up of bogus clubs, and is an unjust and uncalled-for interference with individual liberty. Although your Lordships, in an evil and unguarded hour, passed the second reading of this Bill, yet if you now decide to throw it out you will be acting in perfect consistency with what you have already done in previous Sessions in regard to other measures of a similar character. The right rev. Prelate has referred to the excellent work that has been done during the present generation by temperance reformers, and he insinuated that this work was by the opponents of this Bill derided. But that is not the fact. I contend that there are no men more respected than the teetotallers and Good Templars and others who are striving against the evils of drunkenness; and I think that their having been able to do so much good work renders a Bill of this kind absolutely unnecessary. I object to this Bill on two grounds. I object to it on account of its exceptional character, and on account of the principles which it involves. This exceptional legislation means the thin end of the wedge, for once the law applies to the county of Durham other counties will be obliged to follow suit. I object to the whole principle and basis of this Bill, which enacts that the majority shall enforce the restriction. The city of Durham, for instance, wishes to be execepted from the Bill, the majority being against it, yet it is not proposed to except the city.

THE BISHOP OF DURHAM said, the noble Earl was misapprehending him. He did not support the Bill merely on that ground. He considered it to be right in itself, but at the same time he believed the majority of the people were in favour of it.

THE EARL OF WEMYSS: But the right rev. Prelate does not apply this principle generally in legislation. Now, as to the marriage laws. Would he vote for an alteration of the law which prohibits marriage with a deceased wife's sister if a majority in his division desired it? The majority in Wales, for instance, are supposed to be in favour of getting rid of the Established Church. Would he, in such a case, apply his principle? Then take the Contagious Diseases Acts. The towns which came under the operation of the Contagious Diseases Acts have petitioned against the Acts being done away with. Is the right rev. Prelate prepared to support the view of the majority in that case? No, this principle when tested will not hold water; and I protest against the idea that because in any locality there is a majority in favour of a measure it is the duty of the Legisture to pass that measure. The right rev. Prelate has based his arguments for this Bill on the case of Scotland, Ireland, and Wales. With regard to the result of such measures as the one now before us, I venture to think that he result in Wales is fatal to this kind of legislation, regarding it not merely from the point of view of its character, but from that of putting down drunkenness. Here are Home Office figures which have been analyzed for me at the Home Office, and give this result as regards Wales. Allowing for the increase of population since the passing of the Sunday Closing Act in 1881-2, the increase in convictions for Sunday drunkenness in the year 1883-4 was 27 per cent, as compared with the time when the Act was passed. On the other hand, what is the state of things in Durham, in the diocese of the right rev. Prelate? During the same period, whereas in Wales there has been an increase of 27 per cent, in Durham without the Act there has been a decrease of 20 per cent in the number of convictions for Sunday drunkenness. The last Returns further show that in 1883-4 there were 871 convictions for drunkenness in Durham; in the year 1884-5, which is the last, there were 542. There has thus been a decrease in Durham itself, comparing 1883-4 with 1884-5, of no less than 43 per cent; and I say that is a result of the efforts of the good men to whom the right rev. Prelate referred, and it shows that there is no necessity for exceptional and vicious legislation of this character. The right rev. Prelate also referred to the *dicta* of magistrates. What did Mr. Justice Manisty say after the passing of the Welsh Sunday Closing Act? He said—

> "He could not adequately express the disgust he felt at the state of society in Cardiff, which was shocking. After what he had heard of those terrible dens (bogus clubs) he was beginning to understand the reason of the very heavy calendar he had to dispose of."

Here is what the Chairman of a Petty Sessions in Wales says—

> "The Returns made by the police showed that drinking had been very much on the increase since the passing of the Sunday Closing Bill. The Sunday Closing Act was a great mistake, and Sergeant Ward said he could point to a hundred cases of drunkenness in Flint to one before the Act. The illicit drinking had been fearful."

At Cardiff there is a Roman Catholic Temperance League; and at a meeting in 1884 Father Robinson expressed his regret at having signed a Petition in favour of this legislation, and said that—

> "No Act would make people sober. If they shut up one place another would be opened, for the people would get it somewhere. There was now more drunkenness, more sin, more iniquity of every kind committed in Cardiff than ever was before."

So much for England. Of our Colonies I cannot speak; but in Australia the temperance movement has gone to this extent that barmaids are barred, not being allowed on account of young men visiting the bars and flirting with them, and tippling while so doing, while it was supposed that the presence of the "pot boy" would hold out no such inducement. If we take the case of America, I think that the figures with regard to Sunday Closing will absolutely silence the supporters of this Bill. At a meeting of the Social Science Association at Prince's Hall, London, lately, Mr. Mott stated that in the State of Maine, where the sale of liquor is prohibited, the number of convictions for drunkenness was larger in proportion than in any English town. The death-rate was the exact average of the United States, and was no less, although there are no large towns; the amount of insanity, which was largely attributable to drinking, was very great, and the number of divorces was exceptionally large, showing a bad state of society. "Maine," he said, "has gained nothing by prohibition, but it has lost the habit of obeying the laws." I have said enough upon the exceptional character of the Bill; now let me say a few words about the general principle of the Bill to which I object. The real objection to this Bill is that it is an unwarrantable interference with individual liberty. Will anyone stand up—will any Member of the Episcopal Bench—and dare to say that the moderate use of wine and beer is an offence? The use is not an offence; the offence is in the abuse. What are you going to do? You are going to create offences where there are none, morally or legally, at the present time. You are going in the interests of a few drunkards to bind the great majority of sober Englishmen, to deprive them of their freeman's right to have a glass of beer on Sunday. What is worse, you are going, as is shown by the example of Scotland and Wales, to produce the result of forcing such laws down unwilling throats; to create offences which do not now exist; and, what is worse, you are going to teach men to evade the law, for in countries where prohibition is the law its evasion has become a profession and an art. It is not by repressive legislation of this kind that this evil of drunkenness is to be cured. The suppression of this offence is a matter not for legislation, but for police. If a man gets drunk and is a nuisance to his neighbours in the street, lock him up until he is sober and fine him; if a publican is in the habit of serving a drunkard, warn him the first time, and then fine him and shut up his premises if he continues to offend. Let me sum up my objections to the Bill. (1) I object to the unprecedented principle of legislation; (2) I complain that where such legislation has been tried the proof is against it; (3) its effects are intolerable to the neighbouring counties; (4) it creates offences where there are now none, and leads to contempt of the law; (5) and it interferes with individual rights. I listened with pleasure to the closing passage of the speech of the right rev. Prelate who moved the second reading of the Bill (the Bishop of Durham). He on that occasion, in pathetic tones, spoke of the poor and the temptations to which they were exposed, and called upon your Lordships to remove from the poor weak man — the drunkard — and from those who feared they would fall into it, the temptation at their door in the shape of a public-house open on Sunday. I do not wish to preach; but it strikes me that we are all subject to temptation in this world in various degrees, shapes, and times, and that what we have been taught in our youth is to endeavour to resist temptation, and not pray for Acts of Parliament that it may be taken from us. You should teach the people to resist temptation so that it may flee from them. That would be far better than coming to Parliament for a special Act to take away the temptation, an Act which has failed wherever it has been tried—in Wales, in parts of Ireland, in America. It will not only fail in this case, but it will tend to warp and weaken the moral character of those for whose benefit it is supposed to be enacted.

Amendment *moved,* to leave out ("now,") and add at the end of the Motion ("this day six months.")—(*The Earl of Wemyss.*)

Lord KENSINGTON said, he should be very sorry indeed, after the speech of the noble Earl who had just sat down, and the statement that prohibition had failed in Wales, if no one from the Principality of Wales rose to say a word or two on the question. He had had the honour of representing a Welsh constituency in the House of Commons, and had lived a good many years in the Principality. The noble Earl had stated more than once in his speech that the Welsh Sunday Closing Act had been a failure, and he supposed that the noble Earl founded that assertion on the statistics to be gathered from Cardiff and Swansea.

The Earl of WEMYSS: And Wrexham.

Lord KENSINGTON: Those two towns were certainly the two largest in the Southern part of the Principality, but they did not represent the whole population of the Principality, and he ventured to say that in a case like this the rural districts ought to be taken into consideration just as much as the large and populous towns. In large towns there were people who would, whether the Act were passed or not, get drink, and he was afraid get drunk; but all legislation of the kind proposed by the Bill must not be stopped because such people existed. He himself lived in the county of Pembroke, and in close proximity to where he lived there was a village which was principally inhabited by fishermen. They were good hard-working men afloat, but he was sorry to say a good many of them had the credit of being very thirsty when they were on shore and not at work. But what did the wives and mothers of the village say about Sunday Closing? They said the place had been very different since the public-house had been closed on Sunday; they had now a quiet Sunday without any disturbances and rows. This added to the comfort of the wives and mothers, and he contended that they ought to be considered as well as the men, and the people who lived in the large towns. As to the *bonâ fide* traveller difficulty, people would always be found to travel out and turn themselves into *bonâ fide* travellers, and the practice had no doubt become a nuisance; but he thought the noble Earl on the Cross Benches (the Earl of Wemyss) would do better to devote himself to the discovery of some method for suppressing that nuisance than in opposing the measure now before the House. By so doing, he would confer not only a great benefit on his own country, but on the Principality of Wales.

LORD NORTON said, that although he agreed with most that had fallen from the noble Earl on the Cross Benches (the Earl of Wemyss), yet, having voted against the second reading of this Bill, he felt bound to vote for the third reading. The question was whether the desire for this Bill was unanimous in the locality, or, at least, the predominant desire of the great majority. The noble Earl on the Cross Benches, when the Bill was in Committee, described the character of the local opponents of the measure as drunkards and rioters, who pelted the supporters with rotten eggs, and put down all discussion by violence.

THE EARL OF WEMYSS said, that that was not his description, but the description of the Temperance Party. What he himself said was exactly the reverse.

LORD NORTON said, that the description given showed that the decent population were in favour of the Bill. He would therefore appeal from Durham drunk to Durham sober. He did not like to identify himself with the drunken portion of the population. At the same time, he himself condemned the Bill now as much as he had done before. The people of Durham, however, must find out their own mistake. Instead of such a measure as this, an effort should be made to put down drunkenness itself by refusing the renewal of licences to those houses where drunkenness had been permitted. This Bill would only change the place of drunkenness and would not cope with the evil. It was proposed to close public-houses as shops on Sunday; but they were not only places of sale but for sociality, which might be as decent as in restaurants abroad. Closing one set of drinking houses would only open another, and when the public-houses were closed Durham would come to Parliament again for a Bill to shut up clubs set up instead, and so on through endless occasions. To conceal an evil was not to cure it. If the people of the whole county of Durham wished to try this experiment, was it not a strong proceeding to say that they should not be allowed to do so? Durham must learn by experience of false methods how to arrive at the proper use of things in a better way than changing the venue of the abuse.

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY: I have the misfortune to differ from my noble Friend who has just sat down (Lord Norton) in that I shall do what to him seems unreasonable, and vote in the same way on the third reading as I did on the second. At the same time, I am bound to tender my thanks to my noble Friend, for if he is not able to give us a vote he has given us one of the most effective speeches against the Bill. I quite accept the platform of argument on which my noble Friend has placed this discussion. I think the main question, the practical question, which we have to decide is, whether there is sufficient evidence before us that the people of Durham have a paramount desire for this Bill. But before I say a word upon this point I must remind my right rev. Friend who moved the third reading tonight (the Bishop of Durham) that he has entirely mistaken the meaning and purport of the censures which were cast upon the movement by which this Bill has been brought forward. Nobody has meant to censure the heroic workers in favour of temperance who have done so much to improve the condition of this country, and who are so great an honour to it. And even when their admiration of temperance, universally shared, is carried to the extreme point of recommending entire abstinence, those who do not agree with them would still recognize that they held a perfectly defensible position, and that they show, in the advocacy of their opinions, some of the highest qualities of citizenship. It is not those who preach temperance in any form that are liable to censure; it is those who come to Parliament to ask for the secular arm to effect that which they have not been able to accomplish. I confess it is with great regret that I see that the clergy of all denominations, who, unfortunately, do not agree upon other matters as much as we could wish, are able to agree in this, that they will appeal to the secular arm to help them. It is a sad thing to think that the only point on which the unity of religious bodies can be hoped for is in the desire to make use of the secular and temporal powers to carry into effect that which should certainly be the result of their own high mission and of their persuasive eloquence. Now, what are we doing? We are enacting that on one day in every week a certain portion of the population in this country shall abstain from one of their accustomed articles of diet because a section of the population say that the temptation to consume too much of that article of diet is too strong for them. That is the gist of this legislation. It is admitted, I think, on all hands that in strictness the principle which is taken up by my noble Friend who moves the rejection of this Bill is a sound one, and that in strictness you have no right to interfere with one man's liberty because another man does not possess the virtue of self-control. But I am not going to argue on that ground. I quite admit, after what has happened in Scotland, Ireland, and Wales, that it might be logical but it is not practical to address a Legislative Assembly on that ground. I am willing to meet the right rev. Prelate half way. He would prohibit the opening of public-houses on Sunday, or possibly the opening of public-houses at all, whether the majority liked it or not. I have great doubts whether the majority have the right to legislate for the minority upon the point. But let us meet upon this common ground, that, at all events, in imposing these anomalous and paradoxical restrictions we ought to be quite certain that we shall be acting according to the will of the majority of the people of the district affected; that we shall either provide machinery which will ascertain the existence of that majority, or that in other ways we shall so act that there shall be no doubt upon the point. The result of my consideration has been that it is to me a matter of great doubt whether that preponderance of opinion exists in the county of Durham or not; and I would point out that we are specially bound in this particular kind of legislation to be careful that we know the opinions of those on whose behalf we profess to act. In ordinary matters, in almost all other matters but this, the two Houses of Parliament are representative of the country in the highest sense. They are samples of the country; and whatever they feel and think it is probable that other Englishmen in some degree feel and think. But here you have the very remarkable position of two bodies of men legislating for another class in whose habits they do do not partake, and imposing upon them restrictions which they themselves will not have to undergo. I say that that condition of matters imposes upon you, above all things, the necessity of ascertaining whether the people of the county of Durham by a large majority really wish for this change. What evidence have you of the wishes of the people of Durham? I am told that the noble and learned Lord on the Woolsack (Lord Herschell) has represented Durham. But he has been succeeded by a Gentleman who gives an entirely different statement as to the feelings of the constituency which he represented. Then, we are told that the Representatives of the county of Durham in the other House voted for this Bill. Were they elected on this subject? Was this a matter on which the Election turned? Was this the burning question brought before them? We all of us remember what the burning questions were, what was contained in a certain Manifesto, and what were the subjects discussed and examined backwards and forwards in every part of the country. I remember nothing about the passing of such a Bill as this. I remember that the late Government expressed their opinion that the matter ought to be left to the judgment of the localities acting through freely-elected representative bodies, and that that view was generally accepted on all sides of politics throughout the country. But I remember no indication that the Election turned upon the question of this Bill in such a sense as to authorize the Members for Durham to speak absolutely for the people. Then you come to the other modes of representation. What is the state of things in respect to Petitions? The Petition of 60,000 voters has been impugned. It had been found that there was some mistake in one signature, and the noble and learned Lord on the Woolsack said that there were many others in the same handwriting. The noble and learned Lord knows how Petitions are drawn up. There is such a thing as the illiterate voter in this country, and there is also the illiterate signer of Petitions. It may be a very wrong way, but the ordinary way in which a man who does not care to confess that he cannot write his signature will act is this—instead of confessing it before the world by putting his cross to the Petition, he would say—"Just put my name down for me." My noble Friend (the Earl of Wemyss) has produced more Petitions to-night, signed by extensive numbers in Hartlepool and elsewhere. There, at all events, there is no proof of any unanimity. Then, with regard to another point. My noble Friend (Lord Norton) was very much impressed by the fact that a public meeting was held on behalf of this Bill, and that great indignation was expressed, and that the occupants of the platform were driven out. Well, of course, it was very wrong of the indignant lovers of freedom to take that course; but we know there has been a great deal of discussion as to the Constitutional right of having recourse to physical force. I do not wish to support such a doctrine as that you have a right to disturb a public meeting; but certainly you cannot cite it as a proof of the unanimity when a public meeting assembled to support the measure is dispersed by force. On the other hand, there was a meeting called to oppose the Bill, and the occupants of the platform were not driven out. I do not say that that proves that Durham is against this Bill, but it is a proof that there is not that overwhelming preponderance of opinion which alone can justify you in asserting that you are the representatives of the people in this matter. I have done what is in my power to ascertain the opinion of those who know the county, and, according to their statement, it is very much divided. For instance, I have here a telegram I have received—

> "Splendid meeting at North Stockton last night; estimated to have been 7,000. Resolutions carried by tremendous majority.—PHILLIPS."

Here is another one—

> "Meeting at Stockton. Great success; 6,000. Will write to-night."

These resolutions were opposed to the Bill. I think the Resolution of my noble Friend was the resolution carried. I am told that at Hartlepool there was an attempt to pass a Petition in favour of the Bill through a representative body, the Local Board of Health, and the Petition was thrown out. That is not a proof of the unanimity of the people of Durham in favour of this Bill; but I fancy the truth is that opinion is geographically very much divided—that at Sunderland opinion is very strong, that at Hartlepool it is the other way, and that in the city of Durham it is the other way. Unless, therefore, you provide for a much more careful examination and proof than you have done, you have no ground for, and would not be justified in, believing that the people of Durham are in favour of this Bill. If you are going to restrict the liberty of the working classes to this extent, at least ascertain that the working classes wish it. But I am told that the miners are adverse to the Bill. It seems to me very unjust that you should pass this Bill over their heads without ascertaining whether you are really acting according to their wishes. I maintain that before you act in this way you ought to make sure that you are right. What we desired to do was to create machinery by which this fact could be ascertained. I maintain that before you act in this way you are bound to create some such machinery. You are bound to do so for another reason. The very exceptional character of this legislation makes a serious grievance to the neighbourhood. You are taking a strip of country lying between two counties, and are applying this measure to Durham alone. Durham is different from other counties to which such a measure has been applied in this, that it is not separated from the adjoining county by a strong natural barrier. On the contrary, it happens to be a very unfortunate district for this kind of experiment, because there is a river to the North and a river to the South of it, and rivers have naturally attracted the mass of the industrial population, so that the population lies, as it were, in two rows at either frontier. The effect of this Bill will, of course, be simply that the publicans on the one side of the river will be ruined and the publicans on the other side will be enormously enriched, and the consumption of liquor will certainly not be less, but probably greater, than before. What we wish before all is that the real feelings and wishes of the people should be ascertained. It appears to us that the attempt to ascertain that opinion has been made in a prefunctory and almost slovenly manner. Therefore, I do not feel it right to vote for this anomalous and extraordinary restrictive legislation without knowing what the real state of the case is, and I feel bound to vote on the third reading, as on the second reading, against the passing of the Bill.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES (Earl GRANVILLE): My Lords, I think I recognize in the arguments to-day a repetition of those employed on the occasion of the second reading of the Bill. I think great injustice has been done to the noble Earl on the Cross Benches (the Earl of Wemyss) and the noble Marquess (the Marquess of Salisbury) on the Front Bench opposite. I do not think that the promoters of temperance in the county of Durham and the country generally had the slightest notion that they were the objects of the enthusiastic admiration which both these noble Lords expressed for them. I have one remark to make with regard to the speech of the noble Lord opposite (Lord Norton) who spoke third in this debate. Unlike the noble Marquess, I should be glad to hear a great many speeches from a great many Peers, so that they consent to vote on my side of the question. The noble Marquess has omitted one strong argument in favour of the Bill, and it is that the right rev. Prelate has introduced a clause limiting its operation to four years. There is one defect in the speech of the noble Lord (Lord Norton), which is, that he omits the principal argument which entirely justifies the line he takes. He says he has voted against the second reading, but that he intends to vote for the third reading. Well, that seems a most inconsistent course; but the fact is that if you vote against the second reading, and vote for the third reading, you ought to have some facts which justify you. The noble Earl on the Cross Benches (the Earl of Wemyss) is very consistent. If I had come in in the middle of the speech of the noble Earl, I should have thought from his unmingled indignation that the right rev. Prelate had been guilly of bringing in a Bill for the protection of vice in general. But the noble Earl opposite thought it impossible to stand out on strict principle after what had been done by the Legislature with regard to Scotland, Ireland, and Wales. The gist of the noble Marquess's argument was that it was impossible to ascertain that it was the desire of the people of Durham that the Bill should pass. He said that the noble and learned Lord on the Woolsack had been succeeded in the representation of Durham by a Gentleman who did not approve the Bill, and that that proved what the opinion of Durham was. But the change which had taken place referred merely to the city of Durham itself. That Durham City thought differently was the ground which the noble Earl gave for proposing to except it from the operation of the Bill, but that ground was rejected by the House the other day. And when we come to the county we find that the 15 Members voted for the Bill. The noble Marquess says that the question was not before the constituency at the last Election, but I am told that there was no other question so fully before it. All the Members were pledged up to the neck to vote for the Bill, as the condition on which they were returned, and when the noble Marquess says—"Do not let us vote against the wish of the lower classes, whose feelings we do not understand," I beg to remind him that nearly all the mass of the population of Durham consists of miners, and that two of the Parliamentary Representatives are miners, and that all the Liberal Members who have been returned owed their return to the support which they got from the miners. The whole of the Roman Catholics, the whole of the Nonconformists, the whole of the clergy of the Church of England are in favour of the Bill, and that is enormous evidence of the fact stated by its supporters. I am told, too, that all the Boards of Guardians are on the same side, and therefore I am glad that the noble Marquess has laid such stress on the feeling of the people of Durham. For these reasons alone I think we are bound to vote for the third reading of the Bill.

On Question, that ("now") stand part of the Motion? Their Lordships *divided:*—Contents 70; Not-Contents 97: Majority 27.

CONTENTS.

Canterbury, L. Archp.
Herschell, L. (*L. Chancellor.*)
York, L. Archp.
Spencer, E. (*L. President.*)

Saint Albans, D.
Westminster, D.

Northampton, M.
Ripon, M.

Annesley, E.
Camperdown, E. [*Teller.*]
Derby, E.
Ducie, E.
Dundonald, E.
Granville, E.
Jersey, E.
Kimberley, E.
Morley, E.
Mount Edgcumbe, E.
Saint Germans, E.

Selborne, E.
Tankerville, E.

Halifax, V.

Bath and Wells, L. Bp.
Chichester, L. Bp.
Durham, L. Bp.
Gloucester and Bristol, L. Bp.
London, L. Bp.
Newcastle, L. Bp.
Oxford, L. Bp.
Rochester, L. Bp.
St. Asaph, L. Bp.
St. David's, L. Bp.
Southwell, L. Bp.
Truro, L. Bp.

Kenmare, L. (*E. Kenmare.*) (*L. Chamberlain.*)
Belper, L.
Boyle, L. (*E. Cork and Orrery.*)
Camoys, L.
Clifford of Chudleigh, L.
Cloncurry, L.
Coleridge, L.
Cottesloe, L.
Denman, L.
Elgin, L. (*E. Elgin and Kincardine.*)
Granard, L. (*E. Granard.*)
Gwydir, L.
Hare, L. (*E. Listowel.*)
Harlech, L.
Herries, L.
Hothfield, L.
Howth, L. (*E. Howth.*)
Kensington, L. [*Teller.*]
Lingen, L.
Lyttleton, L.
Monk-Bretton, L.
Monson, L.
Monteagle of Brandon, L.
Northbourne, L.
Northington, L, (*L. Henley.*)
Norton, L.
O'Neill, L.
Ramsay, L. (*E. Dalhousie.*)
Rosebery, L. (*E. Rosebery.*)
Sandhurst, L.
Scarsdale, L.
Stanley of Alderley, L.
Sudley, L. (*E. Arran.*)
Vernon, L.
Wenlock, L.
Wolverton, L.

### NOT-CONTENTS.

Beaufort, D.
Buckingham and Chandos, D.
Grafton, D.
Leeds, D.
Manchester, D.
Marlborough, D.
Richmond, D.

Abercorn, M. (*D. Abercorn.*)
Abergavenny, M.
Bath, M.
Bristol, M.
Exeter, M.
Hertford, M.
Normanby, M.
Salisbury, M.

Ashburnham, E.
Cadogan, E.
Caledon, E.
Cawdor, E.
Clonmell, E.
Coventry, E.
Dartrey, E.
Doncaster, E. (*D. Buccleuch and Queensberry.*)
Fortescue, E.
Harewood, E.
Iddesleigh, E.
Innes, E. (*D. Roxburghe.*)
Kilmorey, E.
Lanesborough, E.
Lathom, E.
Leven and Melville, E.
Lucan, E.
Macclesfield, E.
Malmesbury, E.
Mar, E.
Nelson, E.
Northesk, E.
Radnor, E.
Ravensworth, E.
Romney, E.
Rosse, E.
Wilton, E.
Yarborough, E.

Bridport, V.
Cranbrook, V.
Hardinge, V.
Hawarden, V.
Hood, V.
Sherbrooke, V.
Sidmouth, V.

Ashford, L. (*V. Bury.*)
Auckland, L.
Bramwell, L.
Calthorpe, L.
Colchester, L.
Deramore, L.
Digby, L.
Douglas, L. (*E. Home.*)
Ellenborough, L.
Elphinstone, L.
Erskine, L.
Foxford, L. (*E. Limerick.*)
Gage, L. (*V. Gage.*)
Gerard, L.
Grantley, L.
Halsbury, L
Harris, L.
Hay, L. (*E. Kinnoul.*)
Hillingdon, L.
Howard of Glossop, L.
Howard de Walden, L.
Kenlis, L. (*M. Headfort.*)
Ker, L. (*M. Lothian.*)
Kintore, L. (*E. Kintore.*)
Lamington, L.
Leigh, L.
Lyveden, L.
Minster, L. (*M. Conyngham.*)
Ormonde, L. (*M. Ormonde.*)
Poltimore, L. [*Teller.*]
Rodney, L.
Romilly, L.
Rossmore, L.
Shute, L. (*V. Barrington.*)
Silchester, L. (*E. Longford.*)
Sinclair, L.
Somerton, L. (*E. Normanton.*)
Stewart of Garlies, L. (*E. Galloway.*)
Stratheden and Campbell, L.
Templemore, L.
Teynham, L.
Trevor, L.
Wemyss, L. (*E. Wemyss.*) [*Teller.*]
Wigan, L. (*E. Crawford and Balcarres.*)
Wimborne, L.
Windsor, L.
Zouche of Haryngworth, L.

*Resolved* in the *negative.*

Bill to be read $3^a$ on *this day six months.*

House adjourned at Seven o'clock, to Thursday next, a quarter past Ten o'clock.

## HOUSE OF COMMONS,

*Tuesday*, 25*th May*, 1886.

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MINUTES.]—SUPPLY—*considered in Committee Resolutions* [May 24] *reported.*

PUBLIC BILLS — *Ordered* — *First Reading* — Metropolitan Fire Brigade Expenses (No. 2)* [231]; Peterhead Harbour of Refuge * [232].

*First Reading*—West Indian Incumbered Estates * [233]; British North America * [234].

*Second Reading*—Government of Ireland [181] [*Sixth Night*], *debate further adjourned.*

*Report of Select Committee*—Post Office Sites [No. 166].

*Committee* — *Report* — Public Health Acts (Improvement Expenses) (*re-comm.*) [153-230].

PROVISIONAL ORDER BILL — *Second Reading*— Tramways (No. 2) * [208].

## *QUESTIONS.*

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### THE MAGISTRACY (IRELAND)—THE CORONERSHIP OF ANTRIM.

MR. T. M. HEALY (Londonderry, S.) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Is it a fact that, there being a vacancy in the office of Coroner for the No. 2 District of county Antrim, the High Sheriff of Antrim has announced that there will be only one polling place, viz. the town of Antrim; is he aware that from one end of the district to the other the distance is about forty miles, and that the town of Antrim is about thirty miles from one end of the district; will he take into consideration that the effect of having only one polling place will be to practically disfranchise seven-eighths of the division; having regard to the fact that the electorate is the same as for a Member of Parliament, will the Government take steps to have the voting carried out with Parliamentary polling places; and, can he say how many Parliamentary polling places are allotted to the district for which only one is to be allotted for the Coroner's election?

THE CHIEF SECRETARY (Mr. JOHN MORLEY) (Newcastle-on-Tyne): The facts are as stated in the Question. The fixing of a polling place or polling places for the purposes of elections to the office of Coroner is vested by law in the Justices at Special Sessions, who in this case so far back as 1847 chose the town of Antrim as the only polling place. I am advised there is no power to use in such cases the Parliamentary polling places, of which I understand there are no fewer than 12 in this district. The electorate being the same in both instances, the position is certainly anomalous; but I understand a change cannot be made unless on a requisition of five magistrates to the Lord Lieutenant. If such a requisition be presented, I think I may promise that it will be attended to.

## THE MAHARAJAH DHULEEP SINGH.

MR. HANBURY (Preston) asked the Under Secretary of State for India, Whether it is the fact that the Maharajah Dhuleep Singh has been arrested at Aden; whether, before leaving England, he had been informed that he would not be allowed to proceed to India; and, whether any special reasons exist other than those of general policy for this treatment of the Maharajah?

THE UNDER SECRETARY (Mr. STAFFORD HOWARD) (Gloucester, Thornbury): Yes, Sir, it is a fact that the Maharajah Dhuleep Singh has been arrested at Aden. Arrangements had been made for his residence at a place in Southern India designated by the Viceroy; but the issue by the Maharajah of an inflammatory address to the Sikh nation, added to certain other declarations by him of a somewhat menacing character, rendered it necessary, in the opinion of the Government of India, to put in force the special powers possessed by the Governor General in Council as soon as the Maharajah came within their jurisdiction at Aden. The address to the Sikhs having been issued by the Maharajah only just before his departure, the decision of the Viceroy was not known to the Secretary of State till some time after the Maharajah had left England. The Maharajah had, however, been specially warned of the powers under which the Government of India can, for purposes of State, place individuals under personal restraint.

## THE ISLAND OF TRISTAN D'ACUNHA.

MR. BADEN-POWELL (Liverpool, Kirkdale) asked the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, Whether the inhabitants of the Island of Tristan d'Acunha are at present in grave distress, owing to the cessation of visits from passing sailing vessels and whalers, and from other causes; whether H.M.S. *Thalia*, leaving England next month, is ordered to call there and land stores and other necessaries for their temporary relief; whether the inhabitants have petitioned to be removed to some other part of the Empire, where they will be enabled to obtain a livelihood; whether any estimate has been made as to the cost of the removal of the inhabitants, together with their live stock, which constitutes their chief property; and, whether Her Majesty's Government, by agreement with any Colonial Government or otherwise, can arrange for such necessary removal, and can utilise the visit of H.M.S. *Thalia* for making such preliminary arrangements as may be desirable?

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. OSBORNE MORGAN) (Denbighshire, E.): I am afraid it is true, though we have no actual information on the subject, that the inhabitants of the Island of Tristan d'Acunha—where, owing to the loss of a whale-boat with 15 hands on board, there are scarcely any able-bodied men left—are suffering grave distress. Her Majesty's ship *Thalia* has orders to call there, and she carries stores and provisions for the temporary relief of the islanders. It was, in fact, partly with this object that she was commissioned. I may add that the Treasury have given £100 to be spent in supplies, and that Mr. Dodgson, the Vicar of Tristan d'Acunha, is going out in the *Thalia* to distribute them, the Admiralty having given him a free passage, and the Treasury having agreed to pay his messing expenses. The inhabitants have not petitioned to be removed; indeed, it is believed that the leading man among them is averse to such a step; but emigrants from the Island now in the Cape Colony have petitioned that assistance may be sent there, and Mr. Dodgson has several times asked that his parishioners might be transferred to a more accessible place. The inhabitants themselves could be removed to the Cape, the nearest British Colony, in a man-of-war, for less than £50, but no estimate has been made of the cost of moving their live stock. Unfortunately, the Government of the Cape report that the prospect of these poor people obtaining a livelihood in that Colony is hopeless. Under these circumstances, the captain of the *Thalia* has been instructed to ascertain and report what the inhabitants need and desire, and what had best be done for them.

## EDUCATION DEPARTMENT — INSPECTION OF ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS.

Mr. HENRY ALLEN (Pembroke and Haverfordwest) asked the Vice President of the Committee of Council, Whether, on the inspection of Elementary Schools, the papers worked by the children could be returned with the Schedules, in order to show more clearly to the managers and schoolmasters, by the memoranda of the Inspectors, or otherwise, the points most requiring change or increased attention?

The VICE PRESIDENT (Sir Lyon Playfair) (Leeds, S.): A Report drawn up by the Inspector as to the merits and defects of every school examined is sent to the Managers. To return the Papers worked by the children examined would not only entail great labour and expense, but, without special explanations, would be of no practical use.

## STATE OF IRELAND—THE HOUSE LEAGUE.

Lord GEORGE HAMILTON (Middlesex, Ealing) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If his attention has been called to the following Resolution, passed by a Branch of the House League in Tipperary, presided over by the Rev. Mr. Cantwell, C.C., and which has been extensively placarded over Tipperary town:—

> "That in all cases, owing to the very great depression of the times, the Committee considers the rents of the houses excessive, and that an abatement of twenty-five per cent. should be given," and that "any civil bill officer or individual that serves notices to quit, &c. for non-payment of exorbitant rent shall incur the displeasure of the House League, and also of the Irish National League;"

and, whether the Government propose to acquiesce in this illegal and intimidatory method of depreciating the value of property?

The CHIEF SECRETARY (Mr. John Morley) (Newcastle-on-Tyne): I am informed that placards worded as given in this Question have been posted in the town of Tipperary. The language of the placard indicates, in my opinion, an improper attempt to control or interfere with individual liberty of action; and I shall ask the Law Officers of the Crown to consider whether an offence against the law is not disclosed, and whether any proceedings can be taken.

## POST OFFICE (IRELAND)—ALLOWANCES TO LETTER SORTERS.

Mr. CRILLY (Mayo, N.) asked the Secretary to the Treasury, If he has received a memorial from the letter sorters employed in the Holyhead and Kingstown Post Office, which was forwarded to him on the 20th of April last; if it is a fact that the trip allowance paid to these letter sorters is exactly the same as that paid to Railway travelling sorters; and, if the letter sorters employed on both the English and Irish Railways are in receipt of payment for Sunday work; and, if such is the case, will the Department consider, at its earliest convenience, the claim of the Holyhead and Kingstown packet sorters to be paid for Sunday work, so that they may be put on an equality with all other travelling sorters?

The SECRETARY to the TREASURY (Mr. Henry H. Fowler) (Wolverhampton, E.): The Memorial to which the hon. Member refers has been received by the Postmaster General. The trip allowance paid to the packet sorters is at the same rate as the trip allowance paid to the railway sorters; but while the rate is the same, the profits derived from it are greater. Some few years ago it was decided that unless the trip allowance were reduced the packet sorters could not, like the railway sorters, receive payment for Sunday work. In connection with the present Memorial, however, the question is being considered afresh.

### THE COLONIAL EXHIBITION—DUTIES ON FOREIGN GOLD AND SILVER PLATE.

Mr. KIMBER (Wandsworth) asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Whether the Duties of 17*s.* per ounce and 1*s.* 6*d.* per ounce respectively, have been paid upon the Foreign gold and silver plate exhibited in the Colonial Exhibition; and, whether exhibitors have paid the £5 15*s.* charge for a Licence to deal in gold and silver plate?

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER (Sir William Harcourt) (Derby) desired that the Question might be postponed.

### PALACE OF WESTMINSTER—PALACE YARD—A GLASS SHELTER.

Mr. WILLIAM BECKETT (Notts, Bassetlaw) asked the honourable Member for North West Staffordshire, as representing the First Commissioner of Works, Whether a sightly glass covering cannot be provided in Palace Yard so as to give Members on one side, and vehicles in waiting on the other, the same protection from the weather as is afforded at most Railway Stations?

Mr. LEVESON GOWER (A Lord of the Treasury) (Stafford, N.W.): A glass covering, similar to that provided at railway stations, could, no doubt, be erected in Palace Yard if the House were pleased to authorize the expenditure of money for that purpose; but it is difficult to see how such an erection could be made a sightly object.

### EXCISE—RICE, &c., USED IN BREWING.

Colonel HAMILTON (Southwark, Rotherhithe) asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, How far the Commissioners of Inland Revenue approve the use in brewing of saccharine, other than barley malt, such as malted rice (rice specially prepared for brewing), saccharine, &c.; and, whether such evidence as the Commissioners possess tends to show that the beer thus produced is of a lighter and less intoxicating character, when made from such materials in combination with barley malt, than from barley malt alone?

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER (Sir William Harcourt) (Derby), in reply, said, that as to the material used in brewing beer that was not a matter on which the Commissioners of Inland Revenue felt justified in offering an opinion. But there was no doubt that very good beer was made out of rice.

### TARIFF AND CUSTOMS ACT—SEC. 179.

Mr. KING (Hull, Central) asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Whether any report on the subject of section 179 of the Tariff and Customs Act had been asked for from the Commissioner of Customs, and would receive his consideration, had been received; and, what steps it is proposed to take to prevent innocent persons being convicted, which is alleged to have been the effect of that section?

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER (Sir William Harcourt) (Derby) said, that the matter referred to in the Question of the hon. Member was under consideration, and the Government proposed to legislate upon it this Session.

### INDIAN INCOME TAX ACT.

Mr. KING (Hull, Central) asked the Under Secretary of State for India, Whether it is the case that holders of Government of India Promissory Notes, commonly called rupee paper, resident in Great Britain, are charged not only the Income Tax in Great Britain, but also the Indian Income Tax, the two combined making a charge of one shilling and two pence in the pound; and, whether, in view of the fact that rupee paper is largely held in Great Britain, and the imposition of a double Income Tax is calculated to impair its desirability as an investment and to diminish the credit of the Indian loans in the English market, steps will be taken to relieve these loans from the double imposition in question?

The UNDER SECRETARY of STATE (Mr. Stafford Howard) (Gloucester, Thornbury): By the Indian Income Tax Act the holder of Government of India promissory notes—whose income is not less than Rs. 2,000 a-year—is liable to a tax on the interest thereof of five pies in the rupee, equal to 6¼*d.* in the pound. This, added to the 8*d.* English Income Tax, gives a total charge of 1*s.* 2¼*d.* in the pound. As to the second part of the Question, it must be remembered that the interest on rupee loans is only payable in India, and that the Bank of England, when drawing in London bills on India for the payment of interest on enfaced paper, is merely acting as the agent in London of the Government of India. The Indian Income Tax Act makes no exception as to the place of residence of the person receiving interest payable in India on rupee loans, and there is no intention of making any such alteration of the Act as will exempt residents in this country.

### POOR LAW—FIRES IN UNION WORKHOUSES.

Mr. LLEWELLYN (Somerset, N.) asked the President of the Local Government Board, Whether he is in possession of such information as satisfies him that all Union Workhouses throughout the Country are provided with efficient means of escape for the inmates in case of fire; and, if not, whether he will instruct inquiries to be made and reports furnished to him on this subject?

The PRESIDENT (Mr. Stansfeld) (Halifax): In the early part of 1882, the attention of the Board was drawn by their Inspectors to the want of appliances in many Poor Law Institutions for meeting an outbreak of fire and insuring the safety of the inmates in the event of an outbreak occurring; and they, therefore, deemed it right in March of that year to issue a circular letter on the subject to the several Boards of Guardians in England and Wales. The Board impressed upon the Guardians the importance of always having at hand ready means of dealing with an outbreak of fire in its earliest stage, and of aiding the escape of the inmates from the buildings. They also suggested the precautions which should be taken by the master, or other responsible officer, to guard against an outbreak of fire, the arrangements for giving immediate notice of an outbreak, and the appliances which should be provided for extinguishing fire, and for aiding persons to escape when the ordinary means of exit are cut off. As the result of that circular the subject has received the special attention of Boards of Guardians generally, and the Board entertains no doubt that their suggestions have, to a large extent, been adopted. It may be added that in several instances since the issue of that circular structural alterations have been made in existing buildings with the view of facilitating the escape of the inmates. In case of plans of new buildings, which are submitted to the Board, the arrangements for escape on the occurrence of a fire are always considered by the Board. It does not at present appear to the Board that any further action on their part is necessary.

### FISHERIES (ENGLAND AND WALES)—THE MORECAMBE BAY COCKLE FISHERY.

Lord EDWARD CAVENDISH (Derbyshire, W.) asked the President of the Board of Trade, Whether his attention has been called to the diminution in the supply of cockles from Morecambe Bay and the Estuary of the Duddon; and, considering their importance as an article of food, and the number of people employed in taking them, whether he will cause an inquiry to be held for the purpose of ascertaining what steps should be taken to protect and regulate this industry, so as to restore the supply of cockles to the markets in the adjacent populous districts of Lancashire and Yorkshire?

The SECRETARY to the BOARD of TRADE (Mr. C. T. D. Acland) (Cornwall, Launceston) (who replied) said: It is open to the parties interested to apply to the Board of Trade, under the Sea Fisheries Acts, 1868 and 1884, for an Order for the improvement, maintenance, and regulation of a cockle fishery; and it is a portion of the procedure under such an application for the Board of Trade to appoint an Inspector to make an inquiry concerning the subject-matter of the proposed Order. No inquiry, however, can be initiated by the Board of Trade until such an application has been made.

### BURGH POLICE AND HEALTH (SCOTLAND) BILL.

Mr. BUCHANAN (Edinburgh, W.) said, he wished to ask the Lord Advocate a Question, of which he had given him private Notice, Whether, in view of the desire of the large burghs in Scotland, mentioned in the Schedule of the Burgh Police and Health Bill, he would agree, on behalf of the Government, when the Bill was in Committee, to make it permissive so far as they were concerned?

THE LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. B. BALFOUR) (Clackmannan, &c.) was understood to say that they had been told the Amendments made by the Select Committee in both Houses would have met the views of those large burghs. They understood it would be desirable to preserve the powers, at all events, in the Local Acts under this Bill; and Government were prepared, when the Bill was in Committee, to make it permissive in respect of the large burghs which had Private Acts of their own.

### REGISTRATION (IRELAND)—PRODUCTION OF RATE BOOKS.

MR. WILLIAM O'BRIEN (Tyrone, S.) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether the Clogher Board of Guardians have refused the Nationalist registration agent access to the rate books for registration purposes; and, if so, whether he, as President of the Irish Local Government Board, will direct that equal facilities be given to the agents of both political parties?

THE CHIEF SECRETARY (Mr. JOHN MORLEY) (Newcastle-on-Tyne): It appears that this Board of Guardians have passed a resolution to the effect that the rate books shall not be open for the purposes of inspection or copying except at the time and in the manner provided by law. The law on the subject is laid down in Section 9 of 6 & 7 *Vict.* c. 92, and Section 21 of 12 & 13 *Vict.* c. 104; and so long as it is complied with the Local Government Board cannot interfere. A penalty is imposed on any person refusing to produce the rate books as required by law; and if this penalty is recovered against any Union officer, the Local Government Board might have to consider his conduct.

### NAVY—WIDOWS OF SEAMEN AND MARINES.

LORD CHARLES BERESFORD (Marylebone, E.) asked the Secretary to the Admiralty, Whether any decision has yet been arrived at with reference to the recommendation of the Duke of Edinburgh's Committee respecting the creation of a fund for the benefit of widows of Seamen and Marines of the Fleet; and, whether, considering the fact that there is, on an average, a sum of £6,000 a-year paid into the Treasury which comes from fines, mulcts, deceased and run men's effects, slush, &c. all of which obviously belongs to the Royal Navy, he will ask the Treasury to allow this money to be devoted to the purpose recommended by the above-named Committee?

THE CIVIL LORD OF THE ADMIRALTY (Mr. R. W. DUFF) (Banffshire): The recommendations of the Committee have been the subject of communication between the Admiralty and the Treasury. No decision has been arrived at by the latter Department as to handing over to the Widows' Pension Fund the sum of £6,000 referred to by my hon. and gallant Friend.

### SITTINGS AND ADJOURNMENT OF THE HOUSE—THE DERBY DAY—ORDER.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL (Kirkcaldy, &c.): I rise, Sir, for the purpose of putting a Question to you on a point of Order—namely, Whether you have definitely decided that the hon. Member for Northampton (Mr. Labouchere) is entitled to precedence for the Motion which he has placed upon the Paper—"That the House, at its rising, do adjourn until Thursday next?" I am aware that your Predecessor, on one occasion, did permit such a Motion to be made; but I wish to know whether that is to be regarded as a definite ruling, and, if so, whether any hon. Member can propose on any day at half-past 4 a Motion for the adjournment of the House for a prayer meeting or for any other purpose, or whether the privilege attaches peculiarly to the Derby Day? Does the privilege, in this respect, of a private Member attach only to a Motion for adjournment over the Derby Day?

MR. SPEAKER: For a long series of years it was the custom for the Government to move the adjournment of the House over the Derby Day; but of late years the Government have surrendered that privilege. By the consent of the House, and as an exception—an entire exception to the general rule—it has been thought competent for a private

Member at half-past 4 to make a Motion for the adjournment of the House over the Derby Day. That was the practice followed—so far as I can recollect; but I have not been able to refer to dates in 1878, 1880, 1881, and 1883. Therefore, following the ruling of my Predecessor in this Chair, I have no hesitation in saying that the Motion of which the hon. Member for Northampton (Mr. Labouchere) has given Notice is in Order.

Sir GEORGE CAMPBELL: Perhaps I may be excused if I put another Question. You said, Sir, I think, by the consent of the House. If that is a necessary preliminary to the Motion being made, I would venture to ask how the consent of the House is to be ascertained?

Mr. SPEAKER: I said that the House has already sanctioned the custom?

Mr. T. M. HEALY (Londonderry, S.): You are probably aware, Sir, that in 1881 this House sat on the Derby Day and passed a Coercion Act for Ireland?

Sir GEORGE CAMPBELL: I beg to give Notice that I shall oppose the Motion of the hon. Member for Northampton (Mr. Labouchere).

## MOTION.

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### SITTINGS AND ADJOURNMENT OF THE HOUSE—THE DERBY DAY.

Mr. LABOUCHERE (Northampton), in moving, "That this House, at its rising, do adjourn until Thursday next," said: I need not state that I would not have given Notice to move the adjournment of the House had I not been aware that I was perfectly in Order, and had I not learnt that the Prime Minister did not contemplate moving it himself. Sir, the tendency of the age is to reduce, as far as possible, the hours of labour of working men. Experience has proved that short hours produce more good work than long hours, and that those who take holidays do more work than those who do not. With this object we have lately frequently legislated, and established Bank Holidays. We owe, undoubtedly, our first duty to those who sent us here; but, having fulfilled that first duty, we have a second duty—which I trust we shall never forget—to ourselves. A Committee of Procedure is now sitting upstairs. I trust the result of the deliberations of that Committee will be to shorten our hours of labour. We must not forget that we hold a sacred duty from our Predecessors—to maintain the short hours of relaxation which we have received from them, and it is our duty to transmit the good which we have received from our Predecessors to our Successors. In these days of change, when institutions the most sacred are menaced, let us, at least, hold firm to something. The man who would tamper with our holidays is either a bad man, or he is a crotchety man, or he is a Scotchman. The Session now lasts habitually from the commencement of February until the commencement of September. During that time we are in the habit of adjourning twice—once at Easter, and once at Whitsuntide. But within the last 30 or 40 years exhausted nature has claimed its right, and it has been the habit to take an adjournment on some Wednesday between those ecclesiastical festivals. I need not say that while the holiday is desirable for us, it is still more desirable for you, Sir, and the officials connected with the House. You and they are obliged always to be here. We are sometimes able to snatch an hour without our country suffering for our absence. But, considering the length of the hours which the officials work here during the week, and the intelligence and zeal with which they perform their duties, it would be barbarity at which humanity really shudders to deprive them of this holiday to which they are accustomed. The holiday this year has been all the more needful than in other years. We have been discussing questions of great importance. The discussion has been a great strain upon us, and that strain will continue, very likely, for some time. We ought, therefore, to have an off-day; it will be good for us both physically and morally, and we shall be enabled to return ready to renew the discussion with great and continuous eloquence. I have looked at the Orders of the Day for to-morrow. I find the first three Orders relate to Irish Bills. I have no doubt Members interested in those Bills would be quite ready to come here and deal with them if the House wished it. But, such is their regard for the social amenities, I am inclined to think that if the House wished to adjourn they would be ready to forego that pleasure—all the more because we have now a Bill before us which, if it pass, will relegate the consideration of these Bills to a domestic Legislature in Ireland. I will point out to those who complain that we are interfering with the Business of the House; that if we were to meet to-morrow we should not do any great Business; but we should be engaged in an interesting, but somewhat academic, discussion on Irish explosives and Irish lunatics. The hon. Member for Kirkcaldy (Sir George Campbell) asks—"Why should we take this holiday to-morrow?" My answer is—Why should we not? There are circumstances connected with to-morrow which lead me to think that if we are to have our annual holiday between Easter and Whitsuntide, to-morrow would be a very convenient day. Perhaps the House is not aware that there is a great and important meeting going on at the present time. The hon. Member for Kirkcaldy says that if this Motion were allowed I might next be asking the House to adjourn for a prayer meeting. There is a prayer meeting going on now. At the present season the members of the Society of Friends have a prayer meeting which lasts about a week, and Wednesday is an important day of that meeting. We should be consulting the feelings and the wishes of the Society of Friends if we were to adjourn to-morrow. There is a further reason. I gather that on some Downs in the neighbourhood of London, at a place called Epsom, there is to be a contest between certain horses for a prize. I understand that it is an annual custom to hold this contest. Certain Gentlemen in this House take considerable interest in the amelioration of the breed of horses. They consider that these contests tend to the production of a better breed of horses, and they are anxious to be present. I would not think of putting the Motion for adjournment on that ground; but I am also told that a vast concourse of the toilers of the Metropolis are in the habit of visiting Epsom Downs on this day, making it the pretext of a picnic. They go down in trains and other vehicles, and they camp out in the open air, which at that spot, I believe, is most salubrious, and after a modest repast they return home braced up and re-invigorated. I believe there are many Members of this House who take an interest in seeing these poor people enjoying themselves in this Arcadian fashion, without knowing or caring much themselves about horse-racing; these Members are in the habit of going down and witnessing that innocent scene. I am quite aware that this national picnic has been described in other terms in this House. I know that my friend Sir Wilfrid Lawson, whose absence from the House we all regret, a man of great wisdom in other things, somehow on this particular point used to have what I may call a Derby mania, for he insisted that this was a species of orgie of drunkenness. I can assure the House from personal observation that such is not the case. I have been there myself. I have happened to find myself on the Downs on several of these occasions, and I am bound to say I have never seen a single drunkard there. [Mr. DILLWYN: Oh, oh!] I take this dissent of my hon. Friend as a compliment *de viro pietate gravis.* I know what the fact is, and I cannot suppose that everybody arrested their drinking when I came there, and resumed it when I went away. Certainly I saw men in excellent spirits; but they went down there to be in excellent spirits. I saw persons eating a great deal of indigestible food, which made me envy their appetites and their digestion; but I do say that, so far from being an orgie of drunkenness, there is exceptionally little drunkenness at the Derby. We must remember that we ourselves a short time ago passed an Act to establish Bank Holidays, and certainly there is not more drunkenness at the Derby than there is on a Bank Holiday. Well, Sir, as I have said, if we were asked to adjourn simply for this race, I should say that it would be rather a strong recognition of racing, to which some persons might object; but, on the other hand, I assert that if we are to have a holiday between Easter and Whitsuntide—and that, I think, is fully admitted by everyone in the House—there is no reason why we should not have a holiday to-morrow. Simply because, on the one hand, members of the Society of Friends are anxious for that day to be chosen for the most important of their meetings; and, on the other hand, Gentlemen are anxious for it to be chosen, some of whom I have no doubt are going down to this race, some simply to sympathize with the enjoyment of the multitude. These questions are not questions of principle; it is not a principle whether we will have a Wednesday this week or a Wednesday next week it is rather one of social convenience. It seems to me we ought to consult the feelings alike of political friends and of political opponents; and, though we may not entirely agree with them, if we think that any considerable number of the House do consider that one particular day would be agreeable to them, we ought to fix our holiday for that day. Sir, for these reasons I beg to move that the House at its rising do adjourn till Thursday next.

MR. ISAACS (Newington, Walworth) said, that he had great pleasure in seconding the Motion. In asking the House to adjourn over the Derby Day he did so for no purpose of his own. He was not desirous of going to the Derby, having seen it a score or more of times. He should be rather disposed to go to bed, and take the rest which the late hours of the House would not allow hon. Members to obtain, and ask his people not to disturb him until the race was run and the result could be announced. He reserved, however, his right to change his mind in that respect. But he would appeal to the House to accede to the Motion on behalf of a very considerable section of its Members who had been returned for the first time from the other side of St. George's Channel, many of whom had had no opportunity of seeing the great equine performance which would take place to-morrow. He made this appeal, too, on the ground that one good turn deserved another. His hon. Friend the Member for Waterford City (Mr. R. Power) had on no less than three previous occasions made this Motion, in order that English Members might go to the Derby; and he thought now the time had come when English Members should return the compliment, so that hon. Members from Ireland might also go. Those hon. Members were eminently deserving of a holiday, for a more hard-working, more deserving set of men was not to be found within the precincts of the Palace of Westminster; and he thought it only right that English Members should give them some respite from their labours by adjourning over to-morrow.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That this House, at its rising, do adjourn until Thursday next."—(*Mr. Labouchere.*)

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL (Kirkcaldy, &c.) said, that he was unable to make a facetious speech, and he would not attempt to make a formal speech like the hon. Member who had just sat down. He would only say one word, that he had no objection to a holiday; but he did object to this particular Wednesday being chosen for that holiday. He had no objection to people going to see the race. If this Motion was carried, perhaps he might go himself. He did not think there was any great harm in racing; but he did think there was great harm in the fact that this annual race was made a great gambling saturnalia. He had been there pretty often, and he sympathized with the multitude. With respect to what had been said about drunkenness, he could say that, although he had not seen great drunkenness at the Derby, he had seen some. In his view, this country ought not to give any public recognition to this race, but should rather set its face against it. It was a great gambling saturnalia. Not only people who went to the race, but thousands and millions of people who did not go were encouraged to begin gambling by the race; and he thought that House ought not afford its sanction to any gambling institutions. It might be said that the Stock Exchange was a greater gambling institution than the Derby, and that it was tolerated; but that was no reason why public recognition should be given to this gambling saturnalia, which affected a much larger class. For these reasons he must vote against the Motion.

Question put.

The House *divided*:—Ayes 251; Noes 150: Majority 101.—(Div. List, No. 106.)

## *ORDERS OF THE DAY.*

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### GOVERNMENT OF IRELAND BILL.—[BILL 181.]

(*Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Secretary Childers, Mr. John Morley, Mr. Attorney General.*)

SECOND READING. [ADJOURNED DEBATE.]

[SIXTH NIGHT.]

Order read, for resuming Adjourned Debate on Amendment proposed to Question [10th May], "That the Bill be now read a second time."

And which Amendment was, to leave out the word "now," and at the end of the Question to add the words "upon this day six months." — (*The Marquess of Hartington.*)

Question again proposed, "That the word 'now' stand part of the Question."

Debate *resumed.*

VISCOUNT LYMINGTON (Devon, South Molton) said, that the hon. Member for Longford (Mr. Justin M'Carthy), and the other Members who had spoken in support of the Bill, had avoided any defence of the provisions in the Bill, and had asked the House to agree to pass this measure not upon the merits of the Bill, and not upon the question as to whether the Bill would practically be a working measure, but to accept the Bill, and, in accepting it, to accept its principle. The hon. Member for Longford said that the Irish Members accepted this Bill because it was a measure for the self-government of Ireland, and his right hon. Friend the Member for Bradford (Mr. Shaw Lefevre) wished that the verdict of the House could be given on the question of autonomy. He was bound to say, however, that his right hon. Friend was very vague and indefinite as to what autonomy meant, as he went on to speak of the inclusion of Ulster and the protection of the minority as matters of detail. For his own part, he could not discover in the Bill any intelligible principle at all. Was it local self-government? Why, they knew that hon. Members opposite laughed at and derided any remedy in the direction of County Boards and local self-government. Was it Home Rule? Well, it was not Home Rule in the sense in which Home Rule had been applied to, and existed in, any of our responsible self-governing Colonies. The Secretary of State for War it was, he believed, who had spoken of the great change which had taken place in the Colonies since the grant to them of autonomy—how they had been converted from disloyalty to loyalty. He (Viscount Lymington) had travelled in the Colonies, and he had found that there was nothing to which the Colonists attached more importance than the power to manage their own commercial concerns. That was a power which by the Bill was deliberately and most remarkably refused to Ireland. Much had been said of the effect of the measure on the Empire; but he desired to deal with the question as it affected the social condition of the Irish people. The hon. Member for Bedford (Mr. Whitbread), to whose support the Prime Minister attached so much importance, advocated the passing of the Bill, if he rightly interpreted his speech, because it was desired and supported by the vast majority of the Irish Representatives; but if they were to press this argument to its logical result, if they were to pass this measure because the majority of the Irish Members of the day wished for it, they would, upon precisely the same grounds, have to support any further measure which went for absolute separation. The hon. Member for Bedford and the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Local Government Board (Mr. Stansfeld) asked them to accept this Bill because they believed it would be likely to lead to a settlement of the Irish Question. Why, we had been settling the Irish Question for the last 30 years. Every piece of land legislation had been introduced in the hope and upon the assurance of its being final. Upon that plea, as a justification and as a supreme reason, the Land Act of 1870 had been accepted; but within 11 years of the passing of that Act social order had been convulsed, and under the pressure of the most violent agrarian agitation Parliament had been forced in 1881 to re-open the whole question of the land. They heard in the debates from 1870 to 1881 most eloquent speeches—and if eloquence and sanguine prophecies could make a country prosperous how prosperous would Ireland be—from Irish Members and from the Prime Minister, putting before the House the view that these measures would bring peace, goodwill, and contentment to the Irish people, and would make Ireland a prosperous country. He himself had been earnestly in favour of that legislation, and he believed it had conferred great benefits on Ireland. But whatever merits or benefits that legislation possessed the experience of the Land Acts did not encourage them to believe that this measure would be a final settlement; and it was a dangerous course to deal with a great political question on trivial grounds, with the probability of having to reconsider the whole relations of the Irish to the English people in a few years' time. The Bill was so far from possessing the elements of permanence that it bristled with opportunities for future irritation between the two countries. First of all, there was the question of the two Orders; and hon. Members who sat below the Gangway, and those who were the mainstay of the Prime Minister with regard to this Bill, spoke, he might say, in terms of derision of this proposal for the two Orders. Eloquent speeches had been made in support of the right of the Irish people to autonomy. If they conceded that right, why had they not given them autonomy? This Bill did not give them autonomy. It surrounded the so-called autonomy which it gave with innumerable restrictions. There was not a single responsible Colony that would accept such a Constitution at our hands. It would be scouted by Australia and New Zealand. There was nothing so much prized by Victoria and Canada as the liberty which they possessed of framing their own commercial system. Then the question of finance had not as yet been adequately discussed. We imposed a tribute on Ireland of £4,500,000 without having previously ascertained whether Ireland was in debt to Great Britain, or Great Britain to Ireland. In 1853 the present Prime Minister laid an Income Tax on Ireland. That policy was opposed at the time not only by Irish Members, but also by English Members of high standing, among whom was Sir Francis Baring, who, on the 28th of May, 1853, stated that whereas England had received a relief of £1,040,000 she was imposing upon Ireland an additional impost of £413,000. They had heard at various times many complaints from the Irish Members of the manner in which Ireland contributed an unfair proportion to Imperial taxation. He was not going into the question as to whether Ireland contributed more than she ought, or whether Ireland was over-taxed; but he said it was absolutely necessary, before fixing Ireland's contribution to the Revenues of the two Kingdoms, that we should know precisely how we stood in this matter. There had been no sufficient investigation of the poverty of the country. The hon. Member for Longford had shown with considerable force the deplorable industrial condition of his country. What were the facts? He had taken the years before the commencement of the present agitation, which had not been affected by an exceptional state of things, and he found that between 1861 and 1881 the population had diminished by more than 600,000—from 5,798,000 to 5,159,000 During the time specified the only increase had been in the agricultural class, and that increase had been chiefly in the congested districts. The industrial class had decreased over 129,000; in this industrial class the great decrease had been in persons dealing with textile fabrics; and in this section the decrease had been over 106,000. He was afraid that this state of things was not likely to improve under the conditions of the Bill. He had heard on absolutely reliable authority that two large houses of business in Belfast had made arrangements to move to Scotland. [*Cries of* "Name!"] It was not necessary to give the names; but he should be willing to communicate privately with any hon. Member who challenged the accuracy of the statement. The number of persons engaged in the woollen trade had steadily decreased. Take the years 1841 to 1871. They had decreased from 78,000 to 20,000. Those figures were an index, and an eloquent index, to the deplorable condition of the country. True, this decline had occurred under the Union; but the figures showed that what Ireland and the Irish people wanted were not political but social remedies. The hon. Member for Longford rightly urged the importance of developing technical education. Ireland required to have its industries revived, and railways made to develop the industries, and especially to develop the fishing industry. But under this Bill the Irish people would not be able to undertake the social regeneration of their country, for, according to the Prime Minister, the estimated balance of the Irish Parliament would be only a little over £400,000. It was not surprising that the hon. Member for Cork (Mr. Parnell), during the course of this debate, said on this point—

> "Of course, I understand that he (Mr. Gladstone) was anxious to make the best bargain he could for England; . . . . but he should also remember that Ireland is a very poor country, and that, with such a small balance as he

> showed on the Budget of £400,000 a-year, it will be impossible for Ireland to have any credit for floating loans. Irish landlords now can borrow money . . . for the improvement of their estates; Irish tenants can borrow money for improving their farms; local bodies can borrow money for sanitary purposes within their jurisdiction. All these are very important matters. But we shall have to surrender all these under the scheme of the right hon. Gentleman."—(3 *Hansard*, [304] 1131.)

What security would the Irish Government, which this Bill purported to create, have to raise money upon? They would have no security upon which to raise money except by the rating of real property. If they attempted to do this, he ventured to say they would be encountered by very great difficulties. Irish constituencies would put pressure upon their Members probably for a large measure of outdoor relief; at all events, one of the first considerations that would be forced upon the Irish Parliament would be the poverty of the country. Then the Irish Government would be confronted by the religious difficulty. Although the Irish people were so poor, they entirely supported their own Church. Such a voluntary rate came to be practically an obligatory rate; and if the Government put a heavy rate on real property they would provoke the resistance of a very powerful interest—the Catholic Church. In other countries local self-government had produced difficulties of taxation, and State after State in the American Union had been induced to place the strongest limitations upon borrowing and rating powers. Ireland, unlike the Colonies, had not got unlimited land or unlimited capabilities. Irish Members might be quite honest in saying that Ireland would not rush into wild excesses; but he ventured to say the Irish Parliament would have to resist very considerable pressure. They had seen it in that House, where the Government of the day, whether Liberal or Conservative, were subject to very considerable pressure by Gentlemen below the Gangway, who wanted to make considerable demands on the public purse. He ventured to say the Irish Government would have to resist, without the same force of resistance, very heavy attacks upon its public purse. If real property were recklessly encroached upon in order to meet demands for local purposes, what would become of the revenue reserved for the police—[An hon. Member: Do without them.]—poor relief, and education? An hon. Member said they could do without police; but even supposing that the passing of this Bill removed agrarian crimes, it could not alter human nature, and there existed no Government in the world which could dispense with the primary and indispensable means of maintaining the authority of law and order. But upon whose shoulders would fall the burden of that insolvency which must result from this Bill? If the Irish Government became bankrupt English and Scotch taxpayers would again be called upon for money. They did not, under this Bill, relieve themselves of the responsibility. They abandoned the power, but they retained the responsibility; and he said that if under this measure they were to create an Irish Parliament and an Irish Executive, without the means to carry on the Government, they would find the English taxpayer and the Scotch taxpayer would again be called upon to subscribe the money. The Prime Minister was mistaken in his diagnosis of the disease. The great difficulty in Ireland was not political, but social. At the root of the difficulties were the soil, the climate, and the habits of the people. No political movement since Catholic Emancipation had excited any degree of enthusiasm in Ireland. The movement of Smith O'Brien in 1848 was only part of the general movement against the state of things created in 1815. So social was the impulse that led to that movement that he did not believe the abortive battle of Slievenagamon would have been fought but for the distress in Skibbereen. Mr. O'Leary, who, although he had undergone a sentence for treason-felony, he (Viscount Lymington) believed to be an honest man, who certainly was the only conspicuous figure in that movement, was firmly of opinion that the political measures which they were now discussing were not the remedies which Ireland required. The abortive attempt to capture Chester 20 years ago was hardly a political movement. Mr. Davitt was the leader of a Socialist rather than a political movement. Whatever enthusiasm was created by the Disestablishment of the Irish Church was religious. It was due to the fact that the Act put an end to the supremacy of one section of the Irish people over another section. At present, and in consequence of the Liberal policy in the past, there exists in Ireland absolute religious equality. The Bill would destroy this great work of the Liberal Party. The 4th clause of the Bill provided that the Irish Legislature should not make any law respecting the establishment or the endowment of religion, for prohibiting the free exercise thereof, or conferring any privilege upon any denomination; but he found that Clause 19, Section 2, placed the subject at the mercy of the Catholic majority in the Catholic Parliament, who, notwithstanding that the Irish Legislature was prohibited by this Bill from making laws relating to certain subjects, might, with the assent of Her Majesty in Council first obtained, appropriate any amount of the Irish public Revenue, or any tax or duty imposed by such Legislature for the purpose, or in connection with such subjects. ["No, no!"] Well, the Bill said so. The point was that "the assent of Her Majesty in Council" should be given. Who was Her Majesty in Council? If hon. Members referred to Clause 7 they would find that the power vested in Her Majesty was to be carried out by the Lord Lieutenant. But Clause 27 provided that the Lord Lieutenant might be a Catholic; and who were the Council? He found no definition of the Council, or, if there were one, it was in Clause 2, where it said that with the exception of the restrictions mentioned in the Bill it should be lawful for Her Majesty, by and with the advice of the Irish Legislative Body, to make laws. Under this Bill, Clause IV., which was introduced into the measure with the apparent intention of preventing the Catholic Parliament from establishing and endowing the Catholic Church, was entirely controverted and set at nought by the clause which decreed that the Lord Lieutenant, whom the Bill expressly enabled to be a Roman Catholic, acting with the Irish Ministry, who would be the creatures of a Roman Catholic Parliament, was able to override and practically to make what laws in these matters he pleased. He should be glad if his hon. and learned Friend the Attorney General would clear up these points. They had no definition of what the Council was to be, and he should like to have the question he had put answered. He looked at the Bill as it stood, and it seemed to him that under it the protection and the rights of the Protestants of Ulster were entirely destroyed. The hon. Member for Longford said that if the Bill passed the Irish Parliament would not be a Parliament of politicians. He did not know what the hon. Member for Longford meant by that; he supposed that he meant it would be a Parliament of Irishmen; and in that sense he thought it was very likely that it would be a Parliament the objects of which would not be political; but he was convinced that it would be a Parliament of men who would use their political machinery for social objects. Where would hon. Members be but for the Land Question? Where would the hon. Member for Monaghan be but for the Healy Clause? The National League was not only the successor, but it was the Land League with an altered name. The Nationalist seats in Ulster were carried, not by the cry of Home Rule, but by the cry of the land. The Bill did not attempt to deal with the social question. There was no reference in it to the 200,000 small holdings in Ireland which represented so much woe, misery, and poverty. The idea of home in the mind of the cottagers in the South and West of Ireland, of those who formed the majority of the Nationalist Party, was not Ireland, but the plot of ground on which they were born and lived. Their patriotism was not the patriotism of Ireland, but the patriotism of the church steeple. The Bill could not settle the main root of the Irish Question. That had always been—that was to-day—agrarian. That fearful difficulty could only be met and dealt with by the Imperial Parliament; and whatever might be the ultimate future relation of classes in Ireland, it could not allow this agrarian question, or expect this question to be satisfactorily settled by the Irish Parliament. Then there was the question of finance. The British taxpayers were making great sacrifices, and he believed the English and Scotch taxpayers would make great sacrifices to settle the Irish Question; but they must feel they had some real security for their money. Such security they could not get under any scheme for the social regeneration of Ireland, unless they retained the purse strings and the power in the hands of the Imperial Parliament. The real causes of the distress in Ireland were world-wide. They were neither of exclusively Irish, nor even of exclusively British origin. Ireland was essentially an agricultural country; and the depression in the prices of agricultural produce, which was at the bottom of all the honest inability to pay rent in Ireland, was felt as strongly and as cruelly in many parts of the Continent and in many parts of Britain as it was in Ireland. Doubtless there were in Ireland dishonest combinations to prevent the payment of rent; but there were great numbers of honest Irish farmers who had not been able to get their lawful rent out of the ground; and this not through their fault or through the fault of the ground so much as from the fact, which people refused to recognize, that the agricultural interest throughout Europe was swamped by an enormous increase of cheaper supplies from the outlying countries of the world. How to meet this great and growing tide, which threatened to drown out the agricultural industries of Europe, was a question requiring the most extensive knowledge of commerce and finance, the widest experience, and the highest impartiality. What could be more absurd than to confide such a problem to a local vestry under a Bill which forbade it any control over the Customs, over the currency, over trade, navigation, and finance? The Bill forbade the mock Parliament it pretended to create from dealing, either wisely or unwisely, with a single one of the great essential elements of a country's prosperity. The hon. Member (Mr. Dillon) said—

> "An enormous responsibility rested on the shoulders of any man who would send them back to the suffering people of Ireland with the winter approaching, and empty-handed."

Empty-handed! Why, this Bill would send them back to Ireland, not only empty-handed, but with their empty hands tied behind their backs. They were threatened with a Dissolution. The hon. Member for Northampton (Mr. Labouchere) had threatened many hon. Members with the loss of their seats. That was a threat which he was able to bear with perfect complacency. He appreciated and valued highly the honour of a seat in the House; he valued the support and the sympathy of his constituents—and he believed that he had their support in the line he was now taking; but he ventured to say that he would rather lose his seat in the House than accept it upon the terms which some hon. Members wished to impose. It had been said that a great responsibility rested on the shoulders of those who opposed the Bill. Great as that responsibility, no doubt, was, it was trifling as compared with that of those who had altered their opinions and yet had not changed their convictions. If some of those who opposed the Bill lost their seats, they would prefer to do so rather than become the humble and blind adherents of a policy which he was convinced was bad for Ireland, certain to lead to impossible relations between it and this country, fatal to the supremacy of Parliament, and to the efficiency and authority of the British Empire.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir CHARLES RUSSELL) (Hackney, S.): The noble Lord, with his usual ability, has gone through many of the topics that have been referred to by previous speakers; but I am sorry to say that he has marred, to some extent, the effect of his speech by claiming for himself that he was acting in the course which he was now taking on high principles and honest convictions, while at the same time he did not acknowledge that those who differed from him were actuated equally with himself by high motives. I confess I am a little puzzled to know what the noble Lord means when he speaks of men changing their opinions without changing their convictions, because I thought a man's convictions depended upon his opinions; and if he changed his convictions, that he must necessarily change his opinions. The noble Lord said that he was unable to discover what the principle of this Bill is. I will endeavour, in the course of a few minutes, to enlighten him on this point. He said that the Parliament of this country has been for very many years trying to settle the Irish Question. As an Irishman, I gratefully admit that this Parliament has devoted much time to the consideration of the Irish Question; and I think that a great part of the Members of this House have approached this question with a desire to deal with Ireland in a just and even a generous

BIBL. LONDIN. UNIV.

spirit. But what have been the characteristics of the legislation which has in the main been passed? It has been marked by two faults. The fault is that, as a rule, it came too late; and the second fault, and the more serious one, is that the benefits which you have offered to Ireland in the way of legislation are not what the Irish people wanted, not what their Representatives wanted, but what you, the majority of Representatives in this House from England and Scotland, thought they ought to want. But while the noble Lord has made a speech of some interest on this matter, I confess that he has left me in doubt as to what are the real grounds of his objection to the Bill. Like a great many speeches which have been addressed to the House, the noble Lord has left me in doubt whether his objection to the Bill was not that it gave too little power to the Irish Legislative Body; because it has been a curious characteristic of a great many speakers that, having dwelt in one part of their speeches on the powers given to the Legislative Assembly in Ireland in order to base upon it the argument—the futile argument, as I believe—that the supremacy of this House was invaded, they have immediately turned round, and, with the view of exciting a spirit of discontent among the Irish Members, they have maintained that, after all, it was a miserable semblance of self-government that was being given to Ireland, so "cribbed, cabined, and confined" was it. Again, I am at a loss to understand whether the noble Lord is objecting, as regards the financial view of this question, that the amount of tribute which Ireland is to pay is too much or too little. In a great portion of his speech the noble Lord dwelt on the poverty—I am afraid it is too true, speaking of a large portion of the community—of the Irish people, and the noble Lord's conclusions seemed to point in the direction that the tribute was fixed at too high a figure. But the noble Lord will assist the Irish Members if he succeeds in inducing the House and the Government to take that view, and I have no doubt the Irish Members will be grateful to him if he does so. The only other point which the noble Lord referred to was the conflict, as he thought, which exists between Clause 4 and Clause 19 of the Bill; and the noble Lord came to the conclusion, by a reference which was not accurate to other parts of the Bill, that Her Majesty in Council, in Clause 19, referred to the Irish Council. The noble Lord will, I hope, take my assurance that this is not so. I will give this further assurance to the noble Lord—that if those two clauses as they stand confer a power on the Irish Legislative Body, contrary to Clause 4, to endow any religion in Ireland, Her Majesty's Government will be glad of the assistance of the noble Lord to remove all uncertainty on the point. I now turn from the speech of the noble Lord to make some general observations. I recollect in the debate on the introduction of the measure that, following the example set me in other parts of the House, I made in truth a second-reading speech. I will not go over the ground which I then trod. I would prefer, without repeating those general arguments with which I then endeavoured to justify to the House the necessity for dealing with this question, and the necessity for such a Bill as this, to come as speedily as I may to the objections made in various quarters to the Bill. Before I do that it will be necessary on my part to classify the objections, because such classification is essential to the right understanding of this question. I should also wish to put before the House with precision what I conceive to be the cardinal and the essential principle of the Bill, upon the rejection or the acceptance of which on the part of the House must depend the question whether the vote is to be "Aye" or "No" on the second reading. What, then, is the cardinal principle of this Bill? The cardinal principle of this Bill, as I conceive it to be, is that it seeks to establish a Legislative Body in Ireland which shall have legislative and administrative functions, and to which the Irish Executive shall be responsible. I admit that as regards all Members of this House who are opposed to the granting of legislative powers to Ireland in any shape, or under any conditions and subject to any safeguards, the Government can say nothing to induce them to vote for this measure. But that is the dividing line. And equally I claim from all who are in favour, under safeguards and under conditions, of granting a legislative power to a Legislative Assembly in Ireland their vote on the second reading of the Bill, even though it be that their support at the later stages of this Bill may depend on the adequacy and character of the safeguards and the conditions by which this legislative power is to be accompanied. It is obvious that in this I say nothing that is new. I am merely relating what has been said by the Prime Minister, the Chief Secretary for Ireland, and the Secretary of State for War. Now, I come to the classification of the objectors. First, there are hon. Gentlemen representing the great Party opposite. There is no doubt about their opposition, and I make no pretence to claim their vote in favour of the second reading. But the air is a good deal clearer in regard to this matter. We now know what is the view and what is the policy of the Party opposite. We know now that, in addition to the famous declaration of policy of the 26th of January, which meant suppression of the National League—[*Opposition cheers*]—we have the supplementary or the complementary policy of 20 years of "resolute" administration of the law. I observe that that observation has not been so loudly applauded by hon. Gentlemen opposite as that regarding the suppression of the National League. I must not for one moment describe that policy as an announcement of a coercive policy. It would be to offend the noble Marquess (the Marquess of Salisbury), who gave expression to it; but he seems to have since recoiled from that interpretation of his policy as if affrighted

> "At the sound himself had made."

The second class of objectors are those led by my noble Friend the Member for Rossendale (the Marquess of Hartington) and by my right hon. Friend the Member for East Edinburgh (Mr. Goschen). I have tried; but I have found myself at last compelled to admit that it is exceedingly difficult to draw any very clear line of demarcation between their position and the position of at least a great many hon. Members belonging to the Party opposite. I find that the noble Marquess, in a speech at Bradford the other day, said that he had always felt strong objections to even making the attempt to give Ireland the management of her own affairs. It results from further declarations of the noble Marquess that the greatest concession he finds himself able—acting, as we all know, from the highest and most conscientious motives—to make to the demands of this occasion and to the desire of Ireland for national self-government is what I must describe as a series of homœopathic doses of local government to be administered at intervals of good behaviour. I admit that that is perfectly consistent with the noble Marquess's attitude on this question. But I come to another class of objectors, who I confess perplex me much. I mean those who may be said to be represented by my right hon. Friends the Members for West Birmingham (Mr. Chamberlain) and the Border Burghs (Mr. Trevelyan). I have some difficulty in realizing exactly what are the grounds of their objections to the principle of this Bill, if I am right in stating what that principle is. I have stated its principle to be the concession of a Legislative Assembly in Ireland with legislative and administrative functions; and I find that the noble Lord the Member for Rossendale, referring to the distinction—the broad and grave distinction — between his own position and theirs, said the other day that both of those right hon. Gentlemen were in favour—I am quoting his words—of conceding to Ireland a large measure of autonomy. We have not yet been informed what those right hon. Gentlemen mean by this concession to Ireland of a large measure of autonomy. I will not stop to discuss—it would be impertinent to do so—the etymological meaning of autonomy. My hon. and learned Friend the Member for Inverness (Mr. Finlay), who the other night made a very able speech, said that autonomy might mean anything, from power to deal with a Gas Bill up to power of absolute self-government, ending, it might be, in separation. I want to know in what sense, or in which of these various senses, the word autonomy was there used? The word is commonly understood and generally accepted among politicians as meaning powers of self-government; and the time has come, I think, when we should have some authoritative statement from those two right hon. Gentlemen as to the meaning they attach to this term. I would remind the House that as far back as the year 1874 my right hon. Friend the Member for West Birmingham expressed himself strongly—the word was not then autonomy—in favour of Home Rule for Ireland, and that he coupled that statement with the further statement that one advantage that he would expect to derive from it would be this—that proceedings in this Parliament would move at a quicker pace; that they then moved only at the rate of what he called the Parliamentary train—that was not quick enough for him; and that he expected the pace to be increased in the absence of the Irish Members. I think we have a right to know whether my right hon. Friend has changed his views on that point, and his grounds for changing them. We know that since that time, in 1885, the right hon. Gentleman put before the country a scheme which might be shortly described as a scheme for County Boards, *plus* Provincial or National Councils; but we also know that that scheme is confessed by its author to be now behind the exigencies of the occasion, because the House will remember that on the occasion of the explanation given by my right hon. Friend of the reasons why he left the Cabinet he used this remarkable language—

> "Those National Councils I, for one, am not likely to put forward again. I no longer regard that scheme as a solution."

And he went on to say that after the proposals of the Government—

> "It is only a very large proposal which can, at any future time, be accepted as a solution of this vast question. I shall look for the solution in the direction of federation."—(3 *Hansard*, [304] 1207-8.)

It has been again and again pointed out that federation presupposes Legislative Assemblies to federate; and I would point out to my right hon. Friend two things—first, that if he thinks the time is ripe for any such scheme of federation, or may be in the course of a few years ripe for it, this Bill, if it becomes law, will be no bar, but rather an aid, to its adoption. I am pronouncing no opinion on that scheme of federation, if the country should see fit to adopt it. But my right hon. Friend is a practical politician, and I want to point out to him that things are in this condition as regards Legislative Assemblies to be federated, or as regards the state of opinion in the Colonies and in England and Scotland on the question—that it is impossible to hold out the least prospect that within any reasonable time a scheme of federation will be ripe for practical application. And I want to ask, is this question of Irish government, of Irish social order, of doing something to satisfy the national demand so long persisted in, and now so urgent, to stand over to any such remote period? And if it is not, I have to ask my two right hon. Friends, both of them eminent politicians, both of them practical men, what is the practical scheme which they suggest for dealing at this time and in the necessity of the case with this urgent question? Well, one great point that has been urged by my right hon. Friend the Member for West Birmingham is the question of the exclusion of the Irish Members from this House. I want the House to allow me to follow out the idea of the argument based on the exclusion of the Irish Members. In the first instance, let me draw the attention of those who are impressed with this point to the fact that the noble Lord the Member for Rossendale has gone the length of declaring that the grafting on this Bill of a provision for the inclusion of the Irish Members would make the Bill, in his judgment, infinitely worse than it is. This was made a little clearer the other night; and I want to ask those who look for light and leading from the right hon. Gentlemen the Members for West Birmingham and the Border Burghs, have they noticed this declaration? My hon. and learned Friend the Member for Inverness, the other night, made this still more clear, because he said, in effect—"Graft on this Bill a provision for the inclusion of the Irish Members, and that provision, with the consequential alterations, will make it such a Bill as to be universally acceptable on this side of the House." Now, I want to know this—had my hon. Friend warrant for that statement? Or did it mean—what it must have meant—that if it satisfied the noble Lord the Member for Rossendale, who was against all legislative authority being given to an Assembly in Ireland—if it satisfied the right hon. Gentleman the Member for East Edinburgh, who is dead against any power to a Legislative Body in Ireland—it would have been the abandonment and destruction of the vital and cardinal principle of the Bill. [Mr. GOSCHEN: Hear, hear!] The right hon. Member for East Edinburgh, I observe, cheers that as being a correct statement of the case. Again, I make my appeal to those hon. Members who desire to see effect given, with the safeguards which they consider adequate, to the principle of a Legislative Assembly in Ireland; I want them to note the fact that the only concession which would conciliate the opposition to which I have adverted is a concession that would destroy the Bill. Well, but my difficulty in this matter does not even end here; because what have we learnt through the ordinary sources of information? As I have pointed out, the views of the right hon. Member for West Birmingham and the right hon. Member for the Border Burghs are widely divergent from those of the noble Lord the Member for Rossendale and the right hon. Member for East Edinburgh. Yet we were informed that on the occasion of the sealing and signing of the Devonshire House compact they were in "substantial accord." The hon. Baronet the Member for the Brigg Division of Lincolnshire (Sir Henry Meysey-Thompson), in the diversity of opinion that appeared to have prevailed, is reported to have asked the question whether the noble Lord and the right hon. Member for West Birmingham had agreed on an alternative policy; and the answer that was given, according to the published accounts in the newspapers—first by the noble Lord the Member for Rossendale, and afterwards assented to by the right hon. Member for West Birmingham—was, "Yes; we are in substantial accord." I want to know what is the basis of the settlement?

Sir HENRY MEYSEY-THOMPSON (Lincolnshire, Brigg): I may, perhaps, be allowed to say that that is not quite a correct account of what took place. I did not ask whether an agreement had been arrived at, but whether it was not time that some agreement should be thought of; and, as far as I remember, the answer of the right hon. Member for West Birmingham was that the question was premature.

Sir CHARLES RUSSELL: The hon. Gentleman's statement throws a very curious light upon what was passing. For my own part, I have no knowledge of the matter except that which appears in the newspapers. But does the right hon. Member for West Birmingham mean that the only basis of action and of concert between himself and the noble Lord is the desire to wreck the fortunes of this Bill? Does that concert and that action rest upon that hoped-for wreck as their main support and prop; and does the right hon. Member mean that the object of those who oppose this Bill is with that wreck to drive this Government from power in order to allow the advent to power of the Party opposite, or of a Government which shall be supported by that Party? Do the opponents of this measure prefer the homœopathic policy of the noble Lord the Member for Rossendale, or do they prefer the more robust policy of the noble Marquess who leads the Conservative Party? These are questions which it is desirable to have answered. Now, I will turn from these objectors to an entirely different class of objectors—I mean to those who desire to give legislative powers, under what they consider to be the proper safeguards and conditions, to a Legislative Assembly in Ireland—in other words, to a class of objectors who do not base their objections on matters of detail in order to hide and to cloak their objections to the principle of the Bill, but who are honestly criticizing the Bill, to the principle of which they are favourable. To such objectors let me in a few words endeavour to state plainly how this Bill, if it becomes law, will be likely to work as a practical measure. And, in doing this, let me assure the House that I will not condescend to argue this question as though the Irish nation were to be treated as a nation of fools or of criminals. I claim, in forecasting their probable course of action, the right of the Irish nation to be regarded as a people having a fair share of natural acuteness, and of such intelligence as will enable them to deal with their own interests and concerns in a practical and business-like manner. With reference to the proposal for having two Orders in the Irish Parliament, I do not defend that as a very symmetrical or logical arrangement; but I look upon it as an arrangement not suggested by the judgment of the Prime Minister, but rather proposed as a concession to the fears, which I believe to be ill-founded, of hon. Members which have found expression in this House. I should like to point to the alternative way—or perhaps I should say the contradictory way—in which the question of safeguards and conditions has been presented to the House. There is one class of men who say that this measure will create an Irish Parliament with absolute power which will lead to the disruption of the Empire and the separation of the Kingdoms, and that, therefore, the power of the Imperial Parliament will vanish into air. On the other hand, there is a class of men who say that the safeguards which have been introduced into this Bill show a great distrust on the part of the Government of the new Body they are about to create. Hit high or hit low, it is impossible to please. The truth is that they do not want to be pleased. If we show them that the Irish Parliament will not be a co-ordinate Parliament with the Imperial Parliament, but subordinate to it, they say that we shall not satisfy Ireland; and if we show them that we have given Ireland in such subordinate Legislative Assembly full practical scope, they say that we are about to do that which is fatal to the integrity of the Empire and the supremacy of this Parliament. With regard to the veto to be exercised by the Lord Lieutenant, it is true that it is to be exercised constitutionally by the Lord Lieutenant on the advice of his Irish Ministers; but he is appointed by the Crown, and may refer to the Advisers of the Crown, at whose instance he is appointed. My hon. and learned Friend the Member for Inverness appears to think that great difficulties will arise with reference to a possible conflict of judicial decisions upon the Acts that might be passed by the Irish Legislative Body. These questions will ultimately be decided by Her Majesty's Privy Council sitting in London. My hon. and learned Friend appears to think that it is a strange thing that the exercise of authority by a Legislative Body should be subject to judicial interpretation; but that must always be the case where there is either a written Constitution or a subordinate statutory Parliament. I listened with pleasure to the graceful periods of my right hon. and learned Friend the Member for Bury (Sir Henry James); but I must confess that I was more pleased with the grace and eloquence of his remarks than I was impressed by his legal argument. My right hon. and learned Friend said—

> "The real unity of a Kingdom must depend upon the unity of its laws. I do not mean by that that there must be identity of laws. . . . It is not the identity of manufacture; it is the identity of the manufacturing power that makes the unity of a Kingdom."—(3 *Hansard*, [305] 916.)

I should wish to ask my right hon. and learned Friend whether there is any distinction between a united Kingdom and a united Empire? There is none except that in the one case there is a King or a Queen, and in the other an Emperor or an Empress as the Executive Head. It will be sufficient for my purpose to point out that in this Empire there are something like 30 distinct Legislative Bodies, which are practically absolute within their own limits and within their own constitution. But my right hon. and learned Friend went on to say that if this Bill passes the unity of the Kingdom would be gone, because there would be two co-equal Legislative Bodies. But it follows from the very creation of a subordinate Legislative Assembly that the Parliament which creates such Assembly—the Parliament which sits at Westminster—will still have paramount control on all questions, and exclusive control on Imperial questions, while that in Ireland will merely have power to deal strictly with Irish questions. In other words, let me ask whether, if at the time of the Union it had been decided that the Imperial Parliament should have power over Imperial concerns, and that the Irish Parliamdnt should have power over Irish affairs, we should have had a less united Kingdom than we shall have if this Bill passes? I cannot but help hearing the observation which has just been made by the noble Lord opposite (Lord Randolph Churchill), although I do not think that it was intended to reach my ears. The noble Lord says that this is a mere point of special pleading. I can assure the noble Lord that nothing was further from my intention than to offer to the House a point of special pleading. In my opinion, my argument does not involve, but disposes of a point of special pleading. Now I come to another point, and that is the great contention of the right hon. and learned Member for Bury (Sir Henry James), and of the hon. and learned Member for Inverness (Mr. Finlay), that this Parliament ceases to be a paramount Parliament, and that the authority vested in the new Parliament to be created makes it a co-ordinate Parliament. The suggestion my right hon. and learned Friend makes fails to have very much practical weight for two reasons. First of all, because my right hon. and learned Friend and my hon. and learned Friend did not commit themselves as a matter of legal opinion to the fact that it was so, and I should indeed be surprised if they had; and, in the next place, my right hon. and learned Friend and my hon. and learned Friend go on to say, almost in the same breath, that even if their suggestion is not well founded, that if, as a fact, this Parliament retains the paramount authority, their objection holds equally strong, for it is not intended that the paramount authority should constantly intervene. The noble Lord the Member for Rossendale (the Marquess of Hartington) made this very clear. He said—

> "It does not, in my opinion, matter whether from the point of view of Constitutional lawyers Parliament will still have the power to legislate on Irish matters or not."

That coming from the noble Lord is intelligible and perfectly consistent with the noble Lord's general attitude, and means nothing else but that the noble Lord is against the principle of any concession of legislative power to Ireland. The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. John Morley) said, and with my hon. and learned Friend the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Mr. Bryce) has made it clear what was the intention of the framers of this Bill. From what they have said, there can be no doubt remaining as to what those intentions are. What is meant is this—that this Bill is the expression of what, for want of a better phrase, may be called a Parliamentary compact, by which it is intended that the Irish people shall have the exclusive right to deal with matters that concern themselves, and that Parliamentary compact, solemnly made and solemnly entered into, is to be as solemnly observed. But there remains inherent in this Parliament a paramount authority, of which it cannot, if it would, divest itself—a reserve force not intended to be used, but which exists for use in any grave emergency. I may observe in passing that this Bill leaves untouched all the six reasons upon which Mr. Pitt based his arguments for the necessity of the Union. I want to make it clear that not one of the reasons which Mr. Pitt gave as a necessity for the Act of Union is touched. They are all reserved for this Parliament, and none of them can be dealt with by the Legislative Assembly in Ireland. But the exclusion of Irish Members from this House is compained of. Sir, if those who so complain mean that they require their presence here in their present numbers at all times and for all purposes—if they insist upon that, then it is because they object to the concession of any legislative power to Ireland. No one has suggested that it is practicable or right to give the Irish Members in their full strength power to deal with affairs that concern them in Ireland, and also to give them the right to meddle with the affairs of Englishmen and Scotchmen. The Prime Minister has made this clear, and I could not hope to make it clearer. I can only say that if any practicable scheme could be suggested which would not bring confusion upon this Parliament, and by which the presence of some at least of the Irish Members could be secured, the Prime Minister has said—and it has been repeated by other Members of the Cabinet—that the Government are anxious and desirous to favour such a scheme. I now come to the question of Ulster, which, as I am an Ulster man myself, I should like to say a word or two upon. I believe that the objections that come from Ulster are in part objections by persons who really entertain, as I believe, utterly unfounded fear; but I believe that by far the greater volume of noise and protest that comes from Ulster is a manufactured thing. It consists of a good deal of bluster and a good deal of bunkum; but this House need not be very much frightened when it recalls to its recollection that at least as strong opinions were expressed, and as violent sentiments uttered, in 1868, when Parliament was proposing to deal with the Irish Church. My right hon. and learned Friend the senior Member for the University of Dublin (Mr. Plunket), of whom I desire to speak in terms of the greatest personal respect, used language on that occasion which, coming from a man like my right hon. and learned Friend, and viewed in the light of what has since happened, sounds absurd and ridiculous.

The right hon. and learned Gentleman said—

> "I appeal to our brother Protestants in England, Scotland, and Wales to stand by us in this the last awful hour of our fortune. And we call upon them not to drive us again to that old kind of material physical resistance which accompanied the first protest of our fathers three centuries ago, which accompanied the second protest in this Kingdom of our fathers 200 years ago, which accompanied the glorious struggle for liberty and Protestantism of our predecessors, and whose protest, by act and word, they were willing to seal with their blood in martyrdom and battle."

It was not only a gentleman of high character and attainment like my right hon. and learned Friend who used that language, but just as there now are the Rev. Mr. Hanna and the Rev. Mr. Kane, so in 1867 there were clerics, preaching, forsooth! a gospel of peace, who indulged in anticipations similar to those I have quoted. The Rev. Mr. Ferrers and the Rev. Mr. Ellis then used language like that of the hon. Member for Ballykilbeg—I beg his pardon—for Belfast (Mr. Johnston), who is not exactly cast in a martial mould, but whose language breathes blood and thunder. In 1868 Mr. Ferrers, speaking at Rathmines, said—

> "If the Church Establishment be destroyed in Ireland, there must not—there shall not—be peace in Ireland. If they think that the Protestants of Ireland will succumb without a struggle they know not the men with whom they have to deal. If they want us to die as martyrs we will die as soldiers first."

The Rev. Thomas Ellis, of New Bliss, speaking at the same time, also insisted upon dying. He said—

> "We will fight as men alone can fight who have the Bible in one hand and the sword in the other; we will fight—nay, if needs be, we will die as our fathers died before us, die as our sons will die who succeed us—yes, we will die if needs be, and this will be our dying cry, echoed and re-echoed from earth to Heaven and from one end of Ulster to the other, 'No Popery, no surrender.'"

It seems to me that a great many of these Orange orators who were so loud-voiced about their Protestantism and about their loyalty had certainly a mistaken and a strange view of loyalty, and had allowed their so-called Protestantism and loyalty entirely to eclipse their Christianity. I have no word of abuse to utter of the rank and file of the Orange Party. Although I lived in Ulster for many years, I never uttered against them one word of abuse. I thought them misguided—greatly misguided—but I thought they were but creatures in the hands of others—of men who used them for selfish and personal ends. No words are too strong for those who fan the flame of religious rancour, and who divide, while they plunder, the farmers of Ulster. I speak of the landlords, or some at least of the landlords of Ulster, who have been grossly rack-renting their tenants; aye, their Orange tenants. In point of fact, Ulster is the most rack-rented Province in Ireland. But as far as Ulster is concerned, it appears to me that the case stands thus. The Orangemen are opposed to this Bill, and a considerable and powerful section of the Liberals are also opposed to the Bill. [An hon. MEMBER: All.] No; not all. A considerable and, as I believe, a growing number among the Protestant Liberals in Ulster are in favour of this measure. ["No!"] The hon. Member for the county of Down says "No;" but I say on the information I have received, "Yes;" and I say that this question of religious persecution is a bogey and a bugbear to affright the people of Ulster. In those subjects which concern the general good no class of Irishmen desires to draw a distinction based upon religion. I have before me an account of some of the opinions of leading Protestants in Ireland with reference to this Bill. I will only cite the opinion of Mr. Charles Eason, a gentleman who has for 30 years represented in Ireland the important commercial firm with which the right hon. Gentleman the Member for the Strand Division (Mr. W. H. Smith) is connected, and I think that opinion speaks volumes. Mr. Eason said—

> "I have lived in Ireland for more than 30 years, and have had the control of a large and ever-increasing business with branches all over Ireland. I have never known an instance of Catholic intolerance towards me, nor towards the business which I have governed, nor does memory recall any cases of intolerance from Catholics coming under my knowledge at any time. I should not have the slightest fear to intrust my own liberties and those of my family to the control of an Irish Home Rule Parliament in connection with the Bill of Mr. Gladstone."

I cannot but regret that the noble Lord opposite could have lent the sanction of his name, and that my right hon. Friend the

Member for West Birmingham should have lent the sanction of his name, not merely to the expression of fears, but to the statement that the Ulster Protestants have good reason to fear what might happen if this Bill should pass. The Catholics of Ireland have not justified, as far as I know, any such statement. We are not going back, I hope, to the days of religious intolerance. It is true to say, to the discredit of all religions, that among their so-called professors there has been at one time or other of their histories the stain and the disgrace of persecution. What religion is there whose so-called professors are free from it? It is time that the hateful record was closed, and that we should judge men by the circumstances; not of the past, but of the present time. One word more with reference to Ulster and I have done with this branch of the subject. The fatal consequences which have followed upon our system of government in Ireland have in part caused, and in part accentuated, the division of classes and religious differences. The minority in Ireland generally had all the dignities and the powers of government in the country. You have taught them not to conform to Irish opinion, but to look to opinion beyond Ireland. Now, in every sound system of representative government the governors ought to be accountable to those whom they govern. In Ireland, however, it is not so. The governors care, as they have been taught to care, but little for Irish opinion; and this state of things has prevented that steady growth of local public opinion which, when it is wisely directed, is one of the most potent instruments in shaping the government of a people. We ought to endeavour to create an Irish public opinion, and to make it racy of the soil. I now desire to point out the wonderful parallel of Ireland with the case of Canada. There, as in the case of Ireland, a protest was made by a minority. In Canada there were really two nations speaking different languages; but ultimately a means was found of uniting them in one Legislative Assembly, and practically reconciling their differences. Then, as now, we had appeals which might be used to-day by the opponents of this Bill to save the minority of British settlers from the tyranny of the majority of French descent and professing the Catholic faith. History has shown how groundless were the fears then expressed. But I cannot dwell upon that subject. Then it is said that wealth and intellect are arrayed against this Bill. Well, wealth is a very good thing, and intellect is probably a better thing. But I do not admit that wealth and intellect are arrayed against this Bill. They may be, if the phrase is used, to signify that the aristocracy and the plutocracy are arrayed against it. Have they been very successful allies in the past? Wealth and intellect, I think it may truly be said, counselled Louis XVI. when he refused to make concessions and reforms which might have saved the French Monarchy and avoided the French Revolution. Certainly it could be said that wealth and intellect were the counsellors of George III. in his insane policy with reference to the American Colonies. Wealth and intellect certainly opposed, until the eve of a revolution, the granting of Catholic Emancipation. And it is hardly too much to say that, in the sense in which hon. Members opposite use these words, wealth and intellect have opposed all great concessions to the extension of popular rights. They have opposed the broadening and the laying down firmly of that enduring foundation upon which the great institutions of this country now securely rest. So much, Sir, for wealth, and so much for intelligence in the sense in which they are called upon to advocate opposition to this Bill. There may be in details objections to the Bill, no doubt; but was there ever any Bill on any such subject which might not be open to objection, particularly on a subject so difficult and so complex as this? I ask those who are favourable to the principle of the Bill to do the best they can to assist the Government in overcoming the objections. I ask nothing from hon. Gentlemen opposite. You say that we are advocating a policy of separation, and that we are Separatists. No, Sir; it is not true. We are advocating a policy which we believe will remove the cause which keeps two peoples asunder. You say we are anti-Unionists. No, Sir; it is not true. We seek to substitute for an unreal and a paper Union a Union founded upon mutual goodwill. You say we are the enemies of the interests of the Empire. Sir, in the view we take of the interests of the Empire, we are doing our best to conserve them. We believe that we belong to the Party that has done the most—we believe that we are led by the Minister who has done the most—to give a voice to the peoples of the Empire, and to make the blessings of that Empire the free inheritance of all its members. I ask the House to approach this question in a spirit of some trust in Irishmen. I ask it not to condemn the Irish people as a criminal nation, because of the faults of many individuals among them, faults which we deplore, but faults and crimes committed in times of great national pressure, almost of national revolution. We believe—I ask the House to believe—that there are in the Irish people solid qualities, solid virtues, which, given fair play, will assert themselves in the world. A former distinguished Member of this House—Chief Justice Whiteside—once, as I believe truly, said—

> "The hand of Omnipotence, at whose touch that island started into existence, implanted in its people noble qualities of the intellect and the heart, and directed to the wise purposes for which Heaven designed them they will yet redeem, regenerate, and exalt their country."

Mr. WESTLAKE (Essex, Romford): We are constantly told that, on the second reading, we have only to consider the principle of this Bill, and not its details. I admit that character of a second reading vote; but I claim to find the principle which I am asked to affirm in the Bill itself, and not in any statement of any person, however eminent. Such statements are fleeting; they are apt to be forgotten after a short lapse of time; and they are sometimes made under the pressure of circumstances, and when that pressure departs they are shaped differently. That which remains, by which we shall be bound in history—for which, in fact, we vote—is the text of the Bill. And in seeking the principle in that text, I will not lose myself in the Serbonian bog of autonomy and independence, sovereignty, semi-sovereignty, and supremacy, for these are terms mostly drawn from International Law, a science of which the arguments are negotiations and the arbitrament the sword, and which is, therefore, of evil augury for the present debate. Nor are those terms very clear; because they have not been, and cannot have been, made definite by the decisions of Courts of Justice, like the terms of our own Municipal Law. I will ask the House to look at the state of things which the Bill proposes to create, and say, without reference to any such terms, whether it is a tolerable state? Now, I will not say the only principle, but that which strikes me as the most important, and which arrested my attention from the first, although, perhaps, it has not had so much attention given it as some other points of the measure, is the principle involved in the creation of an independent Irish Executive. The 7th section lays down that the Executive Government of Ireland is to continue vested in Her Majesty, and to be carried on by the Lord Lieutenant on behalf of Her Majesty, with the aid of such officers and such Council as to Her Majesty may from time to time seem fit. The plain English of this is, as was stated by the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister in his great speech on introducing the Bill, that—

> "The capital article of that (the Irish) Legislative Body will be that it should have the control of the Executive Government of Ireland, as well as of legislative business."

It would even seem that this independent Irish Executive was the cardinal purpose which was sought in the provisions as to the Legislature; for, in moving the second reading of the Bill, the Prime Minister spoke of its being impossible

> "To reconstruct the Irish Government without touching the legislative principle, from which administrative government derives its life."

That being so, I ask the House to consider in what position this country will be placed, and in what position Ireland will be placed, if we consent to the establishment of an independent Irish Executive, to the principle that, in the ordinary course of law, the Executive authority in Ireland shall be entirely in Irish hands? I say, in the ordinary course of law, in order to exclude the contingency of the Act being repealed by the British Parliament, under that power which I agree with the hon. and learned Member for the Inverness Burghs (Mr. Finlay) is not now reserved by the Bill, but which, we are told, may be added in Committee. For it is clear that that power of repeal, if it is to exist, will never be used until the dissatisfaction with the working of the Act has reached such a point as to place the two countries of England and Ireland at considerable variance; and its exercise would, therefore, practically amount to a reconquest of Ireland. Now, it will be of little use in this Bill to reserve any subjects for the exclusive legislation of the British Parliament, if no authority on this side of St. George's Channel is to have any authority for the purpose of giving adequate effect to such legislation, the carrying it into effect being entirely intrusted to the Irish Executive. It is idle to remind us that the Island will be garrisoned by our Military Forces, and perhaps, for a time, by our police. It is the daily administration of the law to which we must look. For example, there is the Department of Customs and Excise, which the Bill proposes to leave to the Imperial Parliament; and power is given to the Exchequer Judges to appoint their own officers to enforce their judgments, if they are not duly enforced by the Sheriff. This would apply to Revenue cases, and, I presume, would also include the enforcing of a judgment against the tenant who is to be turned into a landowner, for any instalment of principal and interest that may be due from him.

The FIRST LORD of the TREASURY (Mr. W. E. Gladstone) (Edinburgh, Mid Lothian): The intention is, that the authority given on behalf of the British Treasury—I am not now speaking of Customs and Excise, but of the land—shall never, on any occasion, be brought into contact with the Irish taxpayer, but simply with the Receiver of the Revenue in Ireland. The judgments of the Court of Exchequer will apply against those Receivers.

Mr. WESTLAKE: In that case the security for the land loan will be less than I had thought. It still remains, with respect to the Customs and Excise, that the Exchequer Judges may appoint their own officers to enforce their judgments. But how are those officers to be supported? Clearly, they must rely for support on the Irish Executive. [Mr. Gladstone dissented.] I know it is not so stated in the Bill; but there is nothing in the Bill to the contrary.

The CHIEF SECRETARY for IRELAND (Mr. John Morley) (Newcastle-on-Tyne): I would refer the hon. and learned Gentleman to Section 20, Subsection (4).

Mr. WESTLAKE: That is the very provision I have been referring to, and I ask how the officers appointed under it will be able to do what the Court orders them to do? Suppose a crowd assembles to resist the execution of a judgment, how is authority in such a case to be vindicated, except by a reference to the Irish Executive? It may be said that there are the troops; but, as has been pointed out by Sir Fitzjames Stephen in *The Times* on the 1st of May, 1886—

> "How would the troops be set in motion? No military officer would act on his own responsibility. The Irish magistrates, answerable to the Irish Legislative Body, would not call upon the troops to act against the orders of that Body, though they might be compelled to act in obedience to it."

I will take another instance. It is well known that there have been occasions when the sentiments of the majority of the Irish people, with regard to foreign affairs, have been very different from those of the people of England and Scotland. It will be in the remembrance of many hon. Members that, at the time when this country was giving great encouragement to those Italians who were engaged in building up Italian unity, great offence was taken by a large portion of our Irish fellow-subjects, because it tended to the deprivation of the Pope's temporal sovereignty. Suppose a case occurred again in which, from whatever motive, a part of our foreign policy was strongly objected to by a large number of persons in Ireland. What power shall we have to enforce our Neutrality Laws in Ireland, if the Irish choose to infringe those laws for the purpose of giving assistance to any cause with which they may sympathize? Parliament will have power to make laws for preserving our neutrality; but it is the Irish Executive that will have to enforce them, and there may be enlistments in Ireland on behalf of some foreign cause which may be thoroughly unpopular in this country. In the ordinary course of law, no person and no body on this side of the St. George's Channel will be able to exercise authority in Ireland, and we shall be practically at the mercy of the Irish Executive, over which we shall have no sort of control. Now, I would ask hon. Members to consider, without reference to such words as sovereignty or supremacy, whether that would be a state of things which this country can put up with? It is not necessary, as my hon. and learned Friend the Attorney

General has said that we seem to do, to attribute to the majority of the Irish people any extra dose of crime or folly. It is sufficient to refer to the differences which arise in affairs in the ordinary course of human nature. A close historical parallel to the condition which the Bill proposes to establish is to be found in the Confederation, or earlier Constitution, which was framed in 1781 by the United States. Among the defects which were proved by experience to exist in that Confederation, none appeared more important to the people of the United States than this defect—that the central power had no Executive authority, so that it could only recommend laws, not enforce them. It could recommend, but not act. The result was that the United States were rapidly falling into anarchy, to avoid which they adopted their present Constitution, which came into operation in 1789, and in which the central power possessed an Executive. This is what is said by that eminent authority, Chief Justice Story, in his work on *The Constitution of the United States*—

> "The leading defects of the Confederation may be enumerated under the following heads. In the first place, there was an utter want of all coercive authority to carry into effect its own Constitutional measures. . . . There were no National Courts, having original or appellate jurisdiction over cases regarding the powers of the Union."

This, I know, would not be quite so under the present Government scheme; but mark what follows—

> "And if there had been, the relief would have been but of a very partial nature, since, without some Act of State legislation, many of those powers could not be brought into life. . . . . The exercise of the power of appeal," (in prize causes) "was resisted by the State Courts, notwithstanding its immense importance to the preservation of the rights of independent neutral nations. The Confederation gave, in express terms, this right of appeal. The decrees of the Courts of Appeal were equally resisted, and, in fact, they remained a dead letter until they were enforced by the Courts of the United States under the present Constitution. . . . There was in the Confederation no . . . . authority to exercise force. . . . The consequence naturally was that the resolutions of Congress were disregarded, not only by States, but by individuals."—(Sections 248, 249, 250, 252.)

It will be again observed that it is not necessary to impute to the Irish any particular ill-feeling towards England in order to apprehend similar consequences, and that the judgments of the Courts of Appeal, reserved by this Bill, will remain unexecuted. The Colonies, converted into States, had just been comrades in a successful war, and were filled with sentiments as fraternal as can ever be expected from countries not united under a common Executive. But the Government of the Confederation, says Chief Justice Marshall, in his *Life of Washington*—

> "Depending on 13 distinct sovereignties. . . could only be rescued from ignominy and contempt by finding those sovereignties administered by men exempt from the passions incident to human nature."—(Vol. 5, p. 31.)

The remedy was pointed to by Mr. Madison, afterwards President of the United States, in words which those will do well to lay to heart who comfort themselves by the thought that the British Parliament could repeal the Act we are now asked to pass, forgetting that the occasion for its doing so presupposes that Ireland at large had concurred in making that Act unworkable—

> "To use force against a State is more like a declaration of war than an infliction of punishment, and would be considered by the party attacked a dissolution of all previous contracts. I therefore hope that a national system, with full power to deal directly with individuals, will be framed, and the resource be thus rendered unnecessary."—(Quoted in Bancroft's *History of the Formation of the Constitution of the United States of America.*—Vol. 2, p. 19.)

It was done as Madison hoped, and under their present Constitution the President of the United States has an Executive authority co-extensive with the Federal legislative power. So far as I am concerned, I have no difficulty in stating what is the principle on which I believe the House should deal with the Irish Question; and I am unable to perceive that my principle is in any way at variance with the statements either of the noble Marquess the Member for Rossendale (the Marquess of Hartington), or with those of the right hon. Member for West Birmingham (Mr. J. Chamberlain). The principle is, in fact, in the air, and I believe it is universally felt to be the one adopted by those who, without desiring to follow in the old ruts with regard to the government of Ireland, yet feel themselves unable to support the Bill now before the House. We must, at all hazards, maintain one supreme Executive Government for the United Kingdom. It is quite true that there is not one Executive Government for this country and the Colonies; but there is an essential difference between the position of the Colonies and that of Ireland. We have long made up our minds that if ever the Colonies should desire to separate from the Mother Country, though we should be very sorry to lose them, yet we should not make any effort to retain them by force. But the case of Ireland is different. Englishmen cannot make up their minds to submit with resignation to the separation of Ireland from the United Kingdom. On the contrary, I believe it is the determination of all Englishmen and Scotchmen to maintain the connection of Ireland with Great Britain. Therefore, it is necessary to maintain one supreme Executive and one supreme Legislature as the Constitutional basis of that Executive. But I hold that, while maintaining this, it is possible to give the Irish people an extended measure of self-government. However, even in any such measure of self-government, I have a strong objection to uniting East Ulster, forcibly and against its will, with the rest of Ireland. We are told that it is of no use to argue with the Irish about national sentiment, and prove to them that they ought not to feel foreign to us; that we must take sentiment as it is. And then the same persons, with great inconsistency, argue that East Ulster ought to be united in national sentiment with the rest of Ireland, and not with England and Scotland. It is true that you cannot argue on *à priori* grounds as to different people being willing to act amicably together. "The wind bloweth where it listeth." There is not, as a fact, that unity of feeling between East Ulster and the rest of Ireland which would enable one National Government for the whole of Ireland to be successful. The example of Austria and Hungary has been quoted; but I am old enough to remember the struggle between those countries in 1848 and 1849, and those who took an interest in it, as I did, will remember that the greatest difficulty which Hungary had to contend with came from within and not from without. It was due to her claiming to hold Croatia within Hungarian bonds, refusing to Croatia that national recognition which the Hungarians claimed for themselves as against Austria—a case quite parallel to that of the Nationalist Party in Ireland refusing to East Ulster that separateness from them which they claim for themselves as against Great Britain. Then there is the Canadian precedent, so often cited, but without an accurate appreciation of its real point. After the Rebellion of 1837-8, responsible government was given to Canada in 1840, on the terms of uniting in one Legislature what was then known as Upper Canada, now the Province of Ontario, inhabited by English and Scotch Protestants, and what was then known as Lower Canada, now the Province of Quebec, inhabited by French and Irish Catholics. This experiment, to which the union of Eastern Ulster with the rest of Ireland in one Legislature without other partners would be precisely parallel, completely broke down; and its breakdown was one of the main arguments used in the Canadian Legislature in favour of again separating the Upper and Lower Provinces, and only uniting them in the Dominion, together with the other British North American Colonies. Mr. (now Sir) John A. Macdonald, moving, on behalf of the Government, the Address to the Crown for federation in the Legislative Assembly of Canada on the 6th of February, 1865, after mentioning "the opposition between the two sections of the Province," said—

> "None are more impressed by this momentous state of affairs, and the grave apprehensions that exist of a state of anarchy destroying our credit, destroying our prosperity, destroying our progress, than are the Members of this present House; and the leading statesmen on both sides seem to have come to the common conclusion that some step must be taken to relieve the country from the deadlock and impending anarchy that hang over us."

And Sir Etienne Pascal Taché, moving the similar Address on behalf of the Government in the Legislative Council on the 3rd of February, 1865, said—

> "But there are other motives and other reasons which should induce us to agree to this scheme. Every hon. Gentleman in the House knows the political position of the country, and is acquainted with the feelings of irritation which have prevailed for many years. We know it, happily not by our experience in this House, but by the tone of the public Press, and by the discussions in "another place," where taunts and menaces are freely flung across the floor by contending Parties. We know what human passions are, and how, when bitter feelings continue for a long time, the distance between exasperation and actual conflict is not very great."

That those were not idle exaggerations is proved by the fact that the Parliament House at Montreal had been burnt in a formidable riot arising out of the feeling between the jealous sections of the population compulsorily united in 1840. It was the federation of the North American Colonies in the Dominion, and not the mere giving of responsible government to Canada, which proved a success. We have, in this House, taunts and menaces freely flung across the Gangway, like those to which Sir Etienne Taché referred; and the true lesson to be learnt from the Canadian example is that, where such difficulties exist, you will not cure them by attempting to force a common responsibility on those who do not possess in common the moral and social conditions for bearing that responsibility worthily. There is yet another condition to be made with regard to that self-government which may be granted to Ireland, subject to the unity of the supreme Executive and Legislature. We must not shift on other shoulders burdens which, by the terms of our own measures, we admit that they are not to be fully trusted to bear. An heroic measure with regard to the Land Question is in contemplation to follow the Home Rule Bill; but the Irish land difficulty has been, in great measure, created by the misgovernment of our forefathers, and it is our duty to solve the question ourselves, and not shirk our responsibilities. I would now ask the Irish Nationalist Members why they should object to continued union with Great Britain, on the principles which I have laid down? They themselves admit that they do not desire complete separation, and nature, which has placed Ireland in such close proximity to Britain, forbids it. But such a Constitution as this Bill proposes could only lead to separation or reconquest. Why, then, should they not be content with that which the geographical conditions admit, and continue to share, in such a Union with Great Britain as I have indicated, the prosperity, the power, and the glory of this great Empire, in which Englishmen and Scotchmen are glad to recognize them as partners? It has been truly said in the course of the debate that Irishmen have largely helped to make the British Empire, and are now largely helping to govern it in every quarter of the world. We have also heard that millions of the sons of Ireland, unable to find employment in their own country, are crowding the workshops of England. Then I would ask why Irishmen should not be as proud of their helping to maintain the industrial greatness of the Empire as of sharing in its victories and its glories? Why can they not feel that Manchester and Birmingham are as much theirs as Trafalgar and Waterloo? But Irishmen may claim even more than that. If they will be content to remain in the Legislative Union, with a large measure of self-government subject to it, they may claim the glory of having contributed to the completion and perfection of that very system of local self-government of which England is peculiarly proud, by carrying it on to a larger measure of development, which we should never have thought of but for them. These appear to me to be the true Liberal principles, and in advocating them I cannot admit that I am separating myself in any respect from the traditional policy of the Liberal Party. The principles of the Liberal Party are not of yesterday—they were the same a year ago as to-day—but a year ago it was foreseen that the Irish representation in the House of Commons would be as it is now. Lord Spencer had foretold, within one man, the number of Nationalists who would be returned; and if such a result was to lead on Liberal principles to the measure now before the House, I submit that it was the duty of the Leaders of the Party to place that view of the matter before the country, while there was time for the country to express an opinion on it. But that was not done. The result is that the Liberal Party has been divided in a manner which I hope is only temporary, but which is, nevertheless, to be very much regretted. I admit that the Liberal Associations throughout the country have, to a large extent, thrown their weight and influence on one side of the controversy, and I have done much to assist in the establishment of Liberal Associations, and recognize their right to speak. But on this occasion the view which impresses itself on me most strongly, and which I should wish to impress on them, is that they and we are but two links in one great chain of representation. For all ordinary purposes the Association may be the organ between the Member and the constituency which he represents; but the Association represents the Party, and the Party represents to the nation one of the great principles on the conservation and just balance of which its national life depends. Nor does the chain end here. For even the whole existing generation represents a national life which has been handed down to us by our ancestors, and which it is our duty to hand down unimpaired to the generations yet to come.

MR. FLYNN (Cork, N.) said, he gave his cordial support to the Bill, which he regarded as a generous recognition of the demand of the Irish people for self-government. He did not propose to follow the line of argument indulged in during the course of this most important debate, or to examine all the fallacies brought forward, and trotted out *ad nauseam*. All he wished to draw attention to was a few salient features of the case, and a few strong arguments were brought forward as part of the just case for local self-government. They—the Irish—looked on it as a happy augury that, for the first time since the Act of Union was passed, the Irish demand for National autonomy was likely to receive a favourable hearing in that House, for they recognized the fact that the Irish Representatives, for the first time, were face to face with the Representatives of the English democracy. They possessed their soul in patience at this crisis of their country's history, for they had every confidence that this new element in the British Constitution was disposed to give full consideration to the demand for Irish self-government. The Irish demand for self-government would not depend on one set of circumstances—on a few instances that might be crowded into the history of the last few years. They rested their claim to National autonomy upon the historical right of the Irish people, and also on grounds of expediency. They said that the Act of Union was brought about by fraud and corruption of the most abominable character, and had failed to fulfil, even in one respect, the hopes and the intentions of those English statesmen who had brought about the measure of 85 years ago. The claim of the Irish people to a separate Parliament of their own went back very early into English and into Irish history. The claim to an Irish Parliament dated from the Reign of King John. It was certainly not then a Parliament of the Irish people. Nothing of the kind. Instead of a Parliament of the Irish people, what was then established was a Parliament of the English Pale. But in the times of James I. there was an Irish Parliament representative of the people; for the student who would turn over the pages of history would find Ireland divided into shires and boroughs, and Representatives sent from each to that Parliament in the Reign of James I. It would weary the House, and would not tend much to further the arguments of the Irish Party, if he delayed the House by historical references. He would go no further than to say that even although the Act 6 *Geo.* I. abrogated the rights of the Irish Parliament in making it dependent on that of Great Britain, yet the Irish nation never acquiesced in that Act, and continual remonstrances year after year went up from the Irish Parliament against that Act of 6 *Geo.* I. Indeed, that Act implied that the Irish people had a right to their own Parliament, for it acknowledged that there was pre-existent right in the Irish people to representation. The Parliament of 1782 could not possibly have succeeded in fulfilling its mission in legislating for Ireland—could not fulfil the functions of a legislative and deliberative Assembly—simply because of the adverse influence of the Castle. All the executive authority was in the hands of a British Minister; the Irish Parliament was thwarted at every step, and the dreadful scenes of 1798 came upon the unfortunate country, because the Castle stood in the way, blocking every effort of the Irish Parliament, destroying its authority as a Legislative Assembly, and bringing things to such a desperate condition that Mr. Pitt was forced to consider some way of ending the turmoil, trouble, and bloodshed, and brought about the Union. He commended to the attention of hon. Gentlemen who desired to look into this question the words used by Mr. Fox in Committee of the Whole House on the Address from the Irish Parliament—

> "It is not my intention to pursue the footsteps of my Predecessors, and therefore I will agree to the demands of the Irish relative to the repeal of 6 *Geo.* I., not because I am intimidated and afraid to oppose those demands, but because I believe them to be founded in justice. The man must be a shallow politician indeed who could not find means of distressing

Ireland and making her keep the weight of calamity. The resources of the country are amply sufficient for the purpose of devastation, but he must be a shallow politician who must resort to such means to enforce obedience to laws which were opposed by those whom they were meant to bind."

Later on in the same speech Mr. Fox said—

"Notwithstanding that this country is parting with what she has held and exercised, still I cannot look upon this as a day of humiliation to her. She is giving up what it is just she should give up, and in doing so is offering a sacrifice to justice. Policy and justice combine to induce her to offer it. I should be sorry an idea should prevail that she is giving to fear that which she would deny to justice. I entertain no doubts on this respecting Ireland, and I have no doubt she will be satisfied by the manner in which England is about to comply with her demand, and that in affection, as well as in interest, they will be but one people, England renouncing all claim to legislate for Ireland, and cordially supporting her as a friend whom she loved. If, on the contrary, this country must pursue a course of making laws for Ireland, she will make an enemy, for where there is no unity of interest, and no mutual regard for those interests, there the party whose interests are sacrificed becomes an enemy."

Undoubtedly there were many points of friction between the British Parliament and Grattan's Parliament; but hon. Members would do well to notice that by this Bill every one of those points had been removed from the cognizance of the proposed Irish Legislature. It was impossible that Grattan's Parliament could have done its work. He had already explained the reason. It was further explained by the language of Mr. Fox, which he would quote, as it had some bearing upon affairs at present. Mr. Fox said regarding the recall of Earl Fitzwilliam—

"The conduct of Earl Fitzwilliam was certainly very dangerous, but to whom was it dangerous—to the people of Ireland? By no means. It was dangerous only to the few individuals whose plan it was to govern Ireland by corruption. It was dangerous to those who held the interests and the sentiments of the people of the country in contempt. The noble Lord is, I believe, the only person who had the good fortune to obtain the praise of all the Catholics and Dissenters in Ireland—the only person who, since the accession of the House of Brunswick, had been able to unite all parties in the Kingdom. To please every man was impossible, but Earl Fitzwilliam had pleased the House of Lords of Ireland and the House of Commons, who has granted during his administration supplies that were unparalleled in extent. He had pleased the Catholics of Ireland and the Protestants of Ireland—the noble Earl had, in short, pleased the masses of the people in Ireland, but he had displeased Mr. Beresford and two or three more. Thus, when the people of Ireland were put into one scale and Mr. Beresford and a few more individuals into the other, the people with all their weight flew up, and Mr. Beresford and a few other individuals predominated."

*Mr. Flynn*

It had been asserted that Ireland had prospered since the Union. He supposed one of the first fruits of prosperity would be an increase of population. At the Union the population of Ireland was over 5,000,000, or one-third of the entire population of the United Kingdom. In 1821 it was less than one-third. Twenty years afterwards it was still somewhat below one-third. In 1861 it was one-fifth, and in 1881 it had fallen to one-seventh. Upon the fate of this measure possibly depended whether Ireland should obtain a fairly numerous and prosperous population. The best ability of Ireland had been leaving the country since the Union. Demands for the restoration of the Irish Parliament had been unceasing. Ten years after the accomplishment of the Union the Dublin Corporation, which was entirely Protestant, unanimously passed a resolution demanding repeal of the Union, which it declared to be detrimental to the best interests of Ireland, and laid special stress upon the fact that the material interests of the country were suffering. In the same year the freemen and freeholders of Dublin, also Protestants, in mass meeting assembled, passed a similar resolution. The demands for autonomy had been continuous from the Union down to the present time. Mr. Butt proposed Home Rule on the lines of federation; but he was met with the objection that England could not be expected to change her institutions for the sake of Ireland. The right hon. Member for West Birmingham (Mr. Chamberlain) on that occasion voted against the Motion. But now, when a scheme was submitted which was free from the objections made to Mr. Butt's proposals, the right hon. Member for West Birmingham proposed to adopt as an alternative those very lines of federation which the House scouted 12 years ago. He found it hard to account for that inconsistency. The House must be pretty well tired of the objection regarding Ulster. He assured the House, however, though a Nationalist and the Representative of a Roman Catholic constituency, that if he believed any measure of Home Rule for Ireland contained a single provision that would militate against the religious or civil interests of any section of his fellow-countrymen he would not support it. But he regretted to hear the bitter old religious cry raised in an enlightened House of Commons towards the end of the 19th century in order to prejudice the chances of the passing of that Bill. The right hon. Member for East Edinburgh (Mr. Goschen) had laid great stress in his opposition to the measure on the case of Ulster; but he wanted to know what Ulster the right hon. Gentleman meant? If that Bill became law and a separate Legislature was demanded for Ulster, he asked whether it was demanded for the five counties of that Province which, according to the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Goschen), were predominantly Nationalist, or for the four which were predominantly Loyalist? Moreover, many of the Protestants in Ulster were Dissenters, who were strongly in favour of that Bill, and they were now coming to the front. The right hon. Member for East Edinburgh had spoken of Ulster as being exceptionally prosperous and wealthy. That might be so, but it did not make Irishmen content to see the rest of their country remain in poverty of an ever-deepening character; and when the exceptional prosperity of Ulster was dwelt upon, it should be remembered that Ulster had long enjoyed exceptional advantages over the rest of the Island from two important circumstances—first, that ever since the Plantation under King James I., tenant right had prevailed there; and, secondly, that the linen trade of Ulster had been nurtured and fostered by English legislation, while the woollen manufacture and other industries in other parts of Ireland had been systematically depressed and discouraged. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for East Edinburgh said that Ulster contributed 45 per cent of the Income Tax of Ireland. But he should like to know why the right hon. Gentleman gave the Income Tax under Schedule D only? To his (Mr. Flynn's) mind, it was a part and parcel of the conspiracy of suppression, and the argument used by the right hon. Gentleman was unworthy of a man of his standing in the financial world. He held in his hand a Return which was brought forward in the year 1882. That Return showed that the Income Tax assessment for Ulster was £9,950,000, and for Leinster £13,270,000. This latter Province had a population of 400,000 less than Ulster. The population of Munster, a "poor and degraded Province," was 400,000 less than Ulster, and yet the Income Tax assessment amounted to £7,980,000. The Income Tax assessment for the whole of Ireland was £34,200,000, out of which £9,950,000 represented the Income Tax assessment of Ulster. Taking it from the point of view of population, the assessment was £10 6*s.* 9*d.* per head in Leinster, £6 in Munster, and £5 14*s.* in Ulster. Those figures, he thought, proved that the argument of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for East Edinburgh went for nothing. Another Return, which had upon it the name of the right hon. Member for the Border Burghs (Mr. Trevelyan), and was dated May 18, 1884, showed that the value of rateable property in all Ireland was £13,856,000. In Leinster it was £4,711,000, in Ulster £4,348,000, and in the "poor" Province of Munster £3,500,000. When right hon. and hon. Gentlemen who had been connected with Departments of the Legislature brought forward cooked statistics for obvious purposes he thought he was quite justified in quoting those figures. He had striven to show that Ulster had enjoyed an exceptional prosperity as compared with the rest of Ireland, and that it had been the direct result of legislation in that House. They rejoiced that that was so; but it was a great hardship that that fact should be brought against the argument for the second reading of a Bill which he hoped would bring prosperity to the whole of Ireland. One of the arguments that had been frequently used against the passing of this measure was, that if it became law it would be merely used by Irish Members as a stepping-stone for obtaining other measures, and ultimately to procure complete separation. Were those arguments used merely for controversial purposes, or were they used with any amount of honesty by the Members who employed them? There was one class whom it was utterly hopeless to try to convince, and there was another class who had used those arguments with malice aforethought.

Mr. SPEAKER, interposing, said, that the hon. Gentleman was not entitled to apply the words malice aforethought to any hon. Gentleman in that House, and must withdraw them.

Mr. FLYNN said that, of course, he would withdraw them; but he did not apply the words to any particular hon. Member, but to a body of Gentlemen.

Mr. SPEAKER said, that he must not accuse any body of Members of doing anything with malice aforethought.

Mr. FLYNN said, he would withdraw the expression with pleasure. He would only add, in conclusion, that the argument about finality had been used by those who had systematically denied the smallest concession to Irish demands. He asked hon. Members to note the change of tone and temper which the Bill had produced amongst the Irish race. That was an evidence that if the Bill should pass through Committee containing the principle of autonomy which the Irish Members now recognized in it. The Irish people would give every pledge that was necessary for them to give that it would not be looked upon as a stepping-stone to separation, but as a fair settlement of the case. No Englishman could desire to see the present relations which existed between the two countries continued permanently. The Irish people were willing to loyally abide by the conditions contained in the Bill, which would result in a union between the two countries which would be more enduring than could be secured by anything written upon parchment, or contained within the four corners of an Act of Parliament.

Mr. FENWICK (Northumberland, Wansbeck) said, he thought he might be permitted, as the first Member who had spoken in favour of the Bill since they had listened to the Attorney General, to entirely deny the charge, so far as he himself was concerned, that had been repeatedly stated on both sides of the House, and again repeated by the noble Lord that evening (Viscount Lymington), that those who felt disposed to support the measure were blindly led by the genius, the ability, and the vast successes of the Prime Minister. He would tell the House briefly why he was influenced in the support he had given the Bill. First of all, long before he had a seat in that House, or, indeed, before he had the remotest idea that he ever should obtain a seat there, he was disposed to look on himself as a believer in what was known as Home Rule. He was willing to admit that he found great differences existing as to what was really meant by that term; but in order that no misunderstanding should arise at any time between himself and those whom he sought to represent in that House, he stated in his address in November last that, short of actual separation, he was anxious that Ireland should receive the fullest measure of self-government. Believing, as he did, that by the provisions of this Bill the way to separation was most effectually barred, while they would afford the largest measure of self-government to Ireland, he should give the second reading of the measure his most cordial sympathy and support. Another reason which had induced him to support the second reading of the Bill — and let him tell hon. Members that it was a consideration to which he attached considerable importance — it was this—that he had every reason to believe that in doing so he should be fulfilling the honest desire of his constituents. Apart from his declarations before the Election — sufficiently expressive in themselves to justify any support he might give to such a proposal as this—he felt himself doubly bound to do so from the resolutions which had reached him as the result of meetings of many of his constituents. Of all the great questions which had come before them in recent years it was remarkable that at all those meetings, which were attended by several thousands of electors, not one present raised his voice against those measures when the vote was taken. Since that time public meetings continued to be held, and resolutions continued to reach him in favour of the Government, and asking that he should give these proposals his fullest sympathy and support. Thus, either as a matter of personal conviction, or from an honest desire to reflect by his voting and speech the opinions of those whom he had the honour to represent, he felt he was most fully exonerated from the charge that had been so repeatedly put forward by hon. Members on the Liberal side of the House. He was at a loss to understand the attitude which had been taken up by hon. Members sitting on that side of the House above the Gangway who opposed the Bill. They had been told a short time ago by the noble Lord the Member for Rossendale that the measure had been sprung upon the country without proper warning and without due time for consideration. He observed, when the declaration was made, that hon. Gentlemen who had assumed an attitude of hostility to the Bill throughout the debate cheered the utterances of the noble Lord—as much as to say that because they found themselves in Parliament without a mandate from their constituents that was sufficient to justify their opposition to the measure. Well, he was free to say that if a division had taken place upon the first reading of the Bill those hon. Members might have been fully justified in making such a remark; but what had occurred since? He found that many of the constituencies, taking the hint thrown out to them by the noble Lord, and by the significant cheer given by hon. Members above the Gangway, put themselves to considerable trouble by means of conferences, of public meetings, and of open air demonstrations, to give their Representatives a mandate on the question. Notwithstanding that they had been put in possession of such a mandate they still maintained an attitude of hostility to the measure. They refused to be considered as delegates; but they failed to see that in the attitude they had taken up they were not Representatives. There had been much discussion, which, in his humble opinion, was more applicable to the Committee stage of the Bill than to the second reading. The time of the House had been taken up with lawyer-like criticism of details rather than statesmanlike examination of principles. He freely admitted that he was not sufficiently versed in the technicalities of law to warrant him in setting up his opinion on matters of detail against the opinions of hon. and learned Gentlemen who had preceded him. He would reserve his judgment on matters of detail for the time when the Bill went into Committee. [*Ironical Opposition cheers.*] He quite understood the significance of that cheer. It meant that in all probability the Bill would never see the Committee stage. He entertained no such opinion, nor had he ever done so. He preferred to hold with the right hon. Member for West Birmingham (Mr. Chamberlain), whom he was sorry not to see in his place—he was now quoting from a speech made by the right hon. Gentleman at Swansea in 1883—that "though English Radicals may occasionally be unreasonable, they are never irreconcilable." And he could assure hon. Gentlemen who had derisively cheered him, when he referred to the Committee stage of the Bill, that though he and some of his Friends considered some English Radicals unreasonable, they did not regard them as irreconcilable, and he hoped with their assistance that they would carry the second reading of the Bill. The noble eulogy which the right hon. Member for West Birmingham made on the character and enterprize of the people of Ulster left nothing to be said which it was desirable to say by way of compliment to them; but he could not help wondering, when the right hon. Gentleman put forth his claim for the exemption of Ulster from the provisions of the Bill, how he proposed to reconcile the terms of that speech in relation to the minority in Ireland with the terms employed by him in another speech in reference to minorities not merely in Ireland, but in England and Scotland as well. He had a distinct remembrance of a speech which the right hon. Gentleman delivered in November, 1883, a great portion of which was taken up in denouncing what the right hon. Gentleman considered a "fad" of the Chairman of Committees (Mr. Courtney) and of his hon. Friend the Member for the Tyneside Division of Northumberland (Mr. Albert Grey) with reference to proportional representation. He had the curiosity to turn to that speech, and under the head of "Downtrodden majorities" he found these words—he was quoting from the authorized version—

> "What we have to deal with, the evil against which we are protesting, is the inordinate influence and power which minorities have obtained in our system of representation. It is time that someone should stand up and say a word for the downtrodden majority. I believe that what these Gentlemen are trying to solve is a problem for which no solution can possibly be found. When men differ either the majority must give way to the minority, or the minority must give way to the majority. There is no other way out of the difficulty, and if there is any hardship in the surrender, surely it is much less when the operation is performed by the less numerous party."

But the right hon. Gentleman was not

satisfied with that. He told them most emphatically that all the minority had a right to ask for was that they should have a fair opportunity for the discussion of their views, and a fair field and no favour in the attempt to convert the majority. He was disposed to regard that as sound doctrine. He was not aware that anyone in or out of the House desired anything else than that Ulster should have the fullest opportunity for the discussion of her opinions and for the ventilation of her ideas, and it was certain that by the provisions of the Bill fair play would be guaranteed to the people of Ulster. A great deal had been said about alternative schemes; but nothing had so startled the House as the alternative proposed by the hon. Member for the City of Oxford (Mr. A. W. Hall), who said that the alternative of this scheme was one of civil war in Ireland and war with the United States of America. He could only hope that hon. Members would choose the scheme of the Prime Minister before such alternatives. The present measure, as he understood it, was intended by the Government as a message of peace to Ireland. In that sense he believed it was hailed by hon. Gentlemen opposite. In that spirit he believed it to be welcomed by the great majority of Irishmen in Ireland, in England, and in the United States of America. That was a prospect created by the introduction of this measure which he hailed with delight—a prospect which promised fair to bind the hearts of the people of Ireland with the people of Great Britain in a real, happy, and indissoluble union. And he trusted that hon. Members would consider well the responsibility they were taking upon themselves before they were led into the opposite Lobby, and by their vote, it might be, throw out the measure. If he might give a word of advice to the Government, it was "Stand firm to the position which you have taken up, whether your policy be denounced by hon. Gentlemen opposite, or whether it be shunned by some hon. Gentlemen on this side of the House, for it has the sympathy of, and it will ultimately receive emphatic endorsement by, the great and growing democracy of this country."

Mr. TREVELYAN (Hawick, &c.): Sir, I consider myself particularly fortunate that you have selected me to follow a much respected and esteemed county Member. My hon. Friend has strong opinions on the subject of constituents; but now he shall hear what one, at any rate, of his constituents thinks about him. I can assure him that however much he may differ from me in opinion yet even in these times I shall always be glad to go by the name of his constituent. But he must forgive me for saying that I cannot accept altogether his views as to the duty of a Representative. He says that since the last General Election a great many constituencies have provided their Members with a mandate. I should just like to know what he and those who, in the excitement of the moment and charmed by his native eloquence, cheered him—what these hon. Gentlemen would wish a Member of Parliament to do, who, having strong opinions against a measure, gets a mandate from his constituents to support it? ["Resign!"] Does he seriously think that the mandate ought to make any difference in the views which the hon. Member takes of that particular question! Hon. Members opposite say "Resign;" but, Sir, are we to resign on every occasion when we differ from our constituents? When we ought to resign is when a General Election is held, and some great public question is before the electorate. Then if a Member changes the views he held at the time he was elected—then I say that a Member who finds himself occupying such a position ought justly to feel himself called upon to resign. But that is not the case here. Nothing could be more decided than the views which I expressed to my constituents on this very question, and nothing could be more enthusiastic and apparently more unanimous than the manner in which they received those views at the time of the General Election. I do not blame them, or any of them, if they have changed their views. If they have changed their views, and now hold different opinions, then at the next General Election they will turn me out. I should then cease to be their Member; but if whenever I receive any new mandate I was to hold different views to what I had previously held, they would justly consider me unworthy to be their Representative, and I should think so myself. Likewise, Sir, I think myself very fortunate in having the opportunity of following so closely my hon. and learned Friend the Attorney General. It was, indeed, a great pleasure to listen to him, for he surpassed himself, which is no easy task. The pleasure of listening to him was, however, in may case, somewhat dashed, because I felt myself bound to follow him. I find that it is now or never with me, and that he has me at a terrible disadvantage. First of all, he is an Irishman, descanting in eloquent terms upon his countrymen, while I am an Englishman. I am willing to attribute to Irishmen all those high qualities which they do possess—I can attribute to them those superhuman qualities which would enable them to work side by side with us Englishmen under the scheme of this Bill, and which I believe no nation with any national character at all would be able to work under. [*Interruption.*] I trust that hon. Members who interrupt will bear in mind the manner in which the speech of my hon. and learned Friend was listened to, and will imitate the courtesy which was shown to him. My hon. and learned Friend has another advantage, in that he is a Member of the Government, which is responsible for the safety of the Empire and of Ireland, and which is pronouncing the new depositories of power to be worthy of the power which they are going to confer, while I, as only an individual speaking against the Government, and doubting whether the new depositories are in all respects worthy of the power, am at a great disadvantage. But in one respect we are on equal terms. He is a consistent Home Ruler, who has never said or thought anything in the least contrary to what he has said from the Treasury Bench to-night, while I, on the other hand, although admitting that the action of the Prime Minister makes it necessary to give more—and much more—than was thought wise and safe six months ago, am bound to say that in all essential respects what I said 12 months ago or two years ago from the Treasury Bench are words which appear to me to have been well founded, and are words to which I keep at the present day. Necessarily I had a great disadvantage to contend against, and my hon. and learned Friend has made great use of it. He had a full opportunity of stating what we who oppose this measure are precluded—and rightly precluded—from stating. He is a supporter of the Bill, and he can classify us as he likes. My hon. and learned Friend made out four classes of us, in the first of which he placed me, and he said that he was unable to understand why I was likely to vote against this measure. Sir, I answer that the reason why I cannot vote for this measure is that I have certain grave objections which have been stated in the course of this debate, and which have never been answered from the Treasury Bench. These objections were stated with very great force by a Scotch Member, whose speech made all of us Scotch Members very proud — the hon. and learned Member for the Inverness Burghs (Mr. Finlay), and likewise in the careful, argumentative, and thoughtful speech of the hon. Member for Carnarvonshire (Mr. Rathbone). They were answered by my right hon. Friend the Secretary of State for the Home Department in a speech about Mr. Pitt and the motives of Grattan's Parliament in the last century; but that speech did not contain one word giving to his hearers the least idea that that very evening there had been made two great speeches containing reasons drawn from the experience of this century, which had to be answered before any of us could vote for this Bill. Those are the reasons which influenced the opponents of the Bill, and instead of having those reasons answered we are told that we must vote for this measure, if we are in favour of autonomy for Ireland, without being told what the autonomy is to be. That I think was the gist of the speech of my right hon. Friend, although his eloquence was such that we perhaps, at times, lost sight of it. We were told that all those who are in favour of granting, under proper safeguards, a Legislative Assembly to Ireland should vote for the second reading of this Bill. That contention was urged still more definitely by an important private Member, my right hon. Friend the Member for Bradford (Mr. Shaw Lefevre), who in his speech said—

> "The principle is clear and distinct; it is that of autonomy for Ireland; that Ireland should have the right to legislate for itself, and administer its own separate affairs, but that Imperial matters and common affairs should be reserved for the Imperial Parliament, and should not be dealt with by the Local Legislature. Everything beyond that remains open, I understand. Whether the Irish Members

shall continue to sit in this House as now, whether they shall sit on Imperial questions, whether Ulster shall be treated exceptionally in any way, or what the constitution of the new Irish Legislature shall be, are important points for future consideration; but they are subordinate questions for the moment, and may be postponed with advantage. But until the main principle is settled nothing can be done."—(3 *Hansard*, [215] 132.)

That is exactly what my hon. Friend the Member for the Wansbeck Division of Northumberland (Mr. Fenwick) said when he told us that we were turning the debate on the second reading into a debate in Committee. There might have been some justice in that criticism when the first reading only of the Bill was before the House, and it might have been said, with some force, that the debate was turned into one in Committee; but it has been attempted to make the debate upon the second reading a debate upon a mere abstract Resolution. That was not the intention of the Prime Minister when this Bill was first introduced. The Prime Minister on that occasion used these words—

> "What I wish is that we should no longer fence and skirmish with this question, but that we should come to close quarters with it; that we should get, if we can, at the root; that we should take measures not merely intended for the wants of to-day and of to-morrow, but, if possible, that we should look into a more distant future; that we should endeavour to anticipate and realize that future by the force of reflection."

That is exactly what I shall address myself to. I quite allow that this Bill may meet present wants. What are the wants of to-day? They are, in the first place, to avoid the necessity of having recourse to coercion and to occupy Irish Members with Irish legislation; and, as we are told in a hundred speeches, to give us time to carry out Scotch and English legislation. Undoubtedly, the Bill may fulfil those wants; but there are many grave questions as to the future which must be answered before many of us can with satisfaction vote for this Bill. First of all comes the financial difficulty. What will be the relative positions of Great Britain and Ireland financially, looked at from a practical point of view? The gross Revenne of Ireland will be £8,350,000. From this we must deduct £830,000 a-year for the expenses of collection, leaving a net Revenue of £7,500,000. Out of this every year will be paid into the British Treasury £4,600,000—that is to say, out of a Revenue of £7,500,000 Ireland is making a bargain by which she will pay £4,500,000 into the Treasury, whose relations to Ireland I will describe in a word later on. That is the Revenue of Ireland, and that is the contribution she will make; is it heavier than she can bear? Now, we want the opinion of British authorities on this point just now, because it is British authority that is required to make the bargain; but it is the Irish authorities who will have to keep it; and what is the opinion of the Irish authorities? We have had a debate this year, when the hon. Member for Monaghan (Sir Joseph M'Kenna), who opened the debate, told us that between 1851 and 1871——

Mr. T. M. HEALY (Londonderry, S.): I rise to Order. I wish to know whether the right hon. Gentleman is in Order in quoting words used in a debate in the House during the present Session?

Mr. SPEAKER: It would not be in Order for the right hon. Gentleman to refer to a past debate in this Session which was not upon the present Bill.

Mr. TREVELYAN: I bow at once, Sir, to your ruling.

Mr. T. M. HEALY: The speech referred to was not mine.

Mr. TREVELYAN: Then I will refer generally to the debate, and say that hon. Members opposite objected to the fact that Ireland was very much overtaxed, and that she had to pay £2,300,000 a-year into the British Exchequer. Now, instead of paying £2,300,000 a-year into the English Exchequer, she will henceforward have to pay £4,600,000 a-year into an Exchequer which will be a great deal more an English Exchequer than ever. Hon. Members have complained on frequent occasions in this House that the local rates of Ireland are so high that the people can not only not pay the rates, but cannot even pay the taxes. The hon. Members who make these complaints are loyal followers of the hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell), and I have no doubt that when the time comes they will vote for this Bill. They will accept the bargain which has been offered to them; but some of those hon. Members are very young men indeed—men whose age many of us who have been returned from the Sister Island envy exceedingly, seeing them so early in political life; and the day may come when these Members will be Irish Ministers; and it will be difficult to blame them if, some 30 years hence, they should do their best to get rid of a payment to the British Exchequer that they considered to be monstrous and extortionate because a long while ago, in a great national crisis, they were silent parties, perhaps, to accepting that bargain. When we consider what loud complaints are made in this Parliament, in which five-sixths of the Members are English and Scotch, on the manner in which Ireland is overtaxed and over-mulcted, just imagine what will be the effect of these complaints when addressed to a purely Irish Parliament; just imagine what will be the case a good many years hence when Ireland is told that her taxation is kept up to a point which is tyrannical and oppressive in order that two-thirds of her entire Revenue should be handed over to a Treasury across the Channel. Again, it is not only in Ireland that this is felt; but the same feelings are entertained by Irishmen on the other side of the Atlantic. I read, and I have for a long time past read, *The Irish World*.

Mr. T. M. HEALY: For what purpose? You did not allow other people to read it.

Mr. TREVELYAN: I hope the hon. and learned Member will allow me to finish my sentence. I have read it, not for the sake of picking out the bitter things said against England, but for the purpose of reading principally the different speeches which have been made by Irish-Americans, in order that I might really know what the Irish-American opinion was.

Mr. T. M. HEALY: You would not let that paper go into Ireland.

Mr. TREVELYAN: I see, in the last number of *The Irish World*, that at a meeting at Pittsburg, attended by 10,000 people, the principal orator, General Megley, said—

> "At this moment there are 900,000 men, women, and children in destitution in Ireland. Although England is by far the richest country, her people pay the least tax. Ireland is the poorest and the weakest, and she is most heavily taxed."

And yet this Bill does not diminish the taxation of Ireland by a single halfpenny, but stereotypes it at the point at which it stands at present. Now, it is quite impossible for anyone who has been Irish Secretary not to see that there has been an opinion very widely held in Ireland that Home Rule will lead to the development of the resources of the country. It is plain that that development cannot come from what hon. Members have favoured from time to time—namely, differential duties, because that is impossible under the conditions of this scheme. It can only come from loans, grants, possibly from bounties, and especially, and above all, from public works which the new Government may propose to execute. But all this requires money; and where is the money to come from? If Ireland is taxed and rated up to the very last point, either the people who expect to have the resources of Ireland developed by the new Government will be terribly disappointed, or else the new Government will have to borrow money at an extravagant rate of interest, which they will be quite unable to pay when we have taken such a large slice out of the surplus. It is said that the Irish Members are the best judges of the bargain they are to make for Ireland. That is very true; and my hon. and learned Friend the Attorney General says that the great evil in dealing with Ireland has been that we have not thought of what their Representatives hold, but only of what the English and Scotch Representatives hold. But I maintain that this is an English and Scotch question as well as an Irish question, and that it will be a very great disadvantage for England and Scotland financially, and in much more serious ways, if Ireland has a great financial grievance of this nature. The Prime Minister expresses my opinion on this matter with very great force, as he always does. He says—

> "To place the State and the Treasury of this country in the position of creditorship is like placing a bastard premium on every attempt to disturb the relations between England and Ireland."—(3 *Hansard*, [280] 453-4.)

That speech of the Prime Minister was made not with regard to this Bill, but it was made with regard to the Land Bill. It was made in 1883 about the land scheme of the noble Lord the Member for Middlesex (Lord George Hamilton). But if it is a bastard premium on ill-feeling between this country and Ireland to place the State and the Treasury of Great Britain in that position of creditorship, how much more is the premium if you place the State and the Treasury in such a position, and in such a grinding and an exacting position with regard to the whole collective taxpayers of the United Kingdom? Then we come to the question of what the relation between the two Governments is. We have had from the Treasury Bench every possible parallel as to the future relations between Ireland and this country; but I think not one of them justifies us in thinking that things will run smoothly between the Treasuries of the two countries. The Prime Minister, in a remarkable passage, referred to the remarks of Sir Gavan Duffy about Canada. Canada has been a favourite subject of comparison, and was descanted upon last by the Attorney General. But if we are to compare the future relations of Ireland to England with Canada, we must compare them all round. What would be our relations with Canada if, out of £6,000,000 of Revenue, Canada had to pay £4,000,000 a-year to the British Treasury? My right hon. Friend the Home Secretary spoke of Victoria. Well, I suppose that the leading Colonies of Australia have, by means partly of their land sales, about the same Revenues as Ireland; but I should like to know what would be the feeling of those Colonies towards us if they had to pay us £4,000,000 a-year? But we need not draw on our imagination as to the difficulty of exacting money from the Colonies. We are told that the Union between Great Britain and Ireland has been so close in the past, and Ireland has gained so much by her military and Imperial connection, that she will, out of gratitude, go on paying for our debt and our military expenditure. Now, if there ever was a country which owed a great deal for military exertions on her behalf by others it was the American Colonies in the last century. It was the two great wars that England fought under Chatham and Wolfe which first gave security, and afterwards predominance, to America; and yet, when a British Minister came on the floor of the House and proposed that America should pay not a sum of £4,000,000, or of £1,000,000, but £100,000 a-year towards the military expenditure of this country, it raised a storm which only ended in the separation of the two communities. Let us go on now to another relation than that of the Colonial relations. It is said that Ireland is not a Colony, but that it is a nation. I think I may say that that was the gist of the speech of the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister in introducing this Bill. That was certainly the meaning of that most remarkable interpolation which the hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell) threw into the speech of the right hon. and learned Member for Bury (Sir Henry James)—an exclamation which had as great an oratorical success as any speech delivered in the debate; and this idea was put into shape, with his usual skill, by my right hon. Friend the Chief Secretary for Ireland. He said that the Prime Minister had made nations in Italy, Greece, and Bulgaria, and now he was going to make a nation of Ireland. Well, Sir, I agree with my right hon. Friend that the conduct of the Prime Minister in these cases was worthy of the right hon. Gentleman's greatest glories; but what sort of relations would Italy have had with Austria if out of the £55,000,000 she had to pay £33,000,000 to Austria? How would it be if Greece had to pay tribute to Turkey? And when the right hon. Gentleman quotes Bulgaria what an example does he give us? [Mr. GLADSTONE dissented.] Oh, if the right hon. Gentleman forgets the reference of the Chief Secretary for Ireland nobody else does. Bulgaria proper is bound to pay a tribute; but I believe—I am not certain of it—that the amount of that tribute has not yet been fixed, much less paid. But in the case of Eastern Roumelia she was bound to pay £200,000 a-year, and she paid it for some six years, and then, finding it very irksome, she got rid of Turkey and the tribute together. The fact is, from one end of Europe to the other, there is no instance of a nation with a separate Parliament and separate Executive paying the predominant part of its Revenue into the Exchequer of another nation. My hon. and learned Friend the Attorney General said that under the British Empire there were 30 separate Parliaments, which worked very well with the Imperial Parliament. There is not one of the 30 which pays us a halfpenny; and yet we are asked to give a second reading to this Bill as a declaration in favour of a separate Parliament and a separate Executive for Ireland, in the expectation that Ireland will in the long run do that which no nation, high-spirited or low-spirited, has ever yet done for a continuance of years, or ever will. But I am going too far afield to look for examples. I was tempted by the example of my hon. Friend the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Mr. Bryce), who went 1,100 miles across the sea to Iceland. He had to go all that distance in order to find a country that would bear out his argument; and the day after he made that speech the Parliament of Iceland behaved in such a turbulent manner towards the country with which it was connected that it had to be suspended.

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR (Liverpool, Scotland): The liberties of Iceland were taken away by the same tyrant King who took away the liberties of Denmark.

MR. TREVELYAN: I prefer to go back to Ireland itself, and to the period regarded as the Golden Age of the relations between the two countries. In 1785, in the full swing of Grattan's Parliament, it was proposed that in the case of the hereditary Revenue exceeding a certain sum the excess should be applied to the maintenance of the Imperial Fleet. It was a very moderate proposal, compared with the proposal in this Bill, because it is proposed by the Bill that some £600,000 or £700,000 should be devoted to the Imperial Fleet; but in what way was it received?—

> "The Member for Armagh in Grattan's Parliament declared that he could hardly contain his indignation while the hon. Member who proposed the scheme was speaking. He was astonished at his hardihood in making Ireland a tributary nation to Great Britain. The same terms were made out to America and rejected, and Ireland would reject them. It was well the hon. Member lived in a country remarkable for its humanity."

Now, Grattan endorsed every word of this; and this was in a Parliament of landlords and Protestants, who were dependent on Great Britain for their safety and their property, and who agreed in general, although, no doubt, there were exceptions, with the main outlines of her foreign policy. But what would be the case in a Parliament which in all probability would not very much like our interference, who would not thank us possibly for our protection, and who I cannot think, from the views I know to be held by leading Irishmen in regard to foreign affairs, would always sympathize with us in any great military or diplomatic crisis either in America or Europe? If you refer to that Ireland on the other side of the Atlantic, whose public opinion we are told this Bill is intended to conciliate—it is not in one leading article or another, or in one speech or another, but the gist and tone and current of American thought all goes in the same direction. I was looking at the report of a great gathering in New York on Robert Emmett's day.

MR. T. M. HEALY: What is the date?

MR. TREVELYAN: It was within the last month.

MR. T. M. HEALY: Was it before this Bill was proposed?

MR. TREVELYAN: No; long after. I will read the passage, and the hon. and learned Member may judge for himself. Mr. Finnerty, speaking to these 10,000 people, said—

> "Mr. Parnell has made no pledge of which Emmett might be ashamed. He has not said if Home Rule is granted the Irish quarrel is closed. I believe Irish ambition will not rest satisfied with the control of the Irish police. If there is an Irish Parliament there must be an Irish Army to protect that Parliament. If there be Irish commerce Ireland must have a Navy to protect that commerce. These are the properties of a free nation. It would seem to me very strange as an Irish legislator, if I were an Irish legislator, to have my seat in the old House on College Green, and looking out of the window to see patrolling before it English soldiers with rifles, bayonets, and plenty of ammunition ready to veto the Acts of that Parliament if England did not like them."

I should never have read that passage if it stood alone.

MR. PARNELL (Cork, City): Is the right hon. Gentleman aware that Mr. Finnerty is strongly in favour of dynamite?

MR. TREVELYAN: Well, I do not know about that; but I know this—that he was the chosen orator on a very great occasion, and that he addressed a multitude of his fellow-countrymen who are quoted at 10,000 people; and I am bound to say that I do not see anything very dishonourable in what Mr. Finnerty said on that occasion. I think it is exceedingly like the language—which I also think far from dishonourable—which the hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell) is reported to have used himself, when he said—

"None of us in Ireland or America will be satisfied until we have destroyed the last link which keeps Ireland bound to England."

Mr. PARNELL: This is not the first time that this calumny has been uttered against me in this House; and as I contradicted the statement the first time it was ever made, some two or three years ago, in this House by the Gentleman who is at present Lord Ashbourne, I think I am entitled to ask the right hon. Gentleman to give the authority for his quotation, the date of the speech, and the place where I am alleged to have made it.

Mr. TREVELYAN: The place was Cincinnati. I do not remember the date; but if the hon. Member considers the words I have read to be calumnious, I withdraw them with regret. [*Laughter.*] I do not quite understand that laugh. I will put what I was going to say in another form. If the hon. Member states that he did not utter the words, I withdraw them at once; and if he considers them derogatory to him in any sense, I not only withdraw them, but express my regret for having used them. For my part, I do not consider them disgraceful. I will, however, withdraw them altogether.

Mr. PARNELL: Mr. Speaker, with your permission, Sir, I think it necessary to ask the right hon. Gentleman for the date, and the place, and the name of the newspaper in which I was reported to have uttered these words. The right hon. Gentleman has not given me the date; he has given me the place—namely, Cincinnati. Perhaps the House will allow me to say that I have only been once in Cincinnati in all my life, and I have by me a verbatim report of both of the speeches which I made at Cincinnati on the day in question, five years ago, and no such words or any one of the words quoted by the right hon. Gentleman appears in those speeches. I may also further state that I have carefully looked over the reports of my speeches in other parts of America, in 1879 and in 1880. Of course, one cannot absolutely depend upon memory at such a long distance of time; but I cannot find in any one of the reports of those speeches which I brought with me from America any word or words such as those quoted by the right hon. Gentleman. With his permission, I will send the right hon. Gentleman, tomorrow, the newspaper which I brought back, five years ago, containing the original report of my speech at Cincinnati.

Mr. TREVELYAN: I am always ready to accept a denial of words reported to have been used. I find that the date of the speech was the 23rd of February, 1880, and the paper from which I quoted it is *The Irish World.* I am certainly speaking under great disadvantage, in consequence of these interruptions, for which, however, I do not blame anyone, as they have undoubtedly a somewhat embarrassing effect upon a speaker in the midst of his observations. I can assure hon. Gentlemen, on the word of a man whose word has never been disputed, that I have read *The Irish World* very regularly for a long while past, and that the general tone of the speakers and articles is all in the sense which I have described—not the speeches of hon. Members in this House, but of those orators who address their Irish countrymen in America on stated and ceremonious occasions. The Prime Minister, in his Manifesto, says that the opponents of this Bill "fail to express confidence in the permanent success of their opposition." It would certainly be sanguine to express confidence in the success of an opposition to any measure introduced by the Prime Minister as the Head of the Liberal Party; but I must own that I feel little confidence as to the permanent success of the Ministerial proposals. I think they contain within them seeds of friction and collision; and I do not agree with the hon. Member for Wansbeck (Mr. Fenwick) that they do not contain seeds of an ultimate possible separation. Before I sit down I desire to come to that question which prevents me, above all others, from voting for this Bill in its present state—though I believe it could very easily be put into the shape in which I could vote for it—and that is the connection between this Bill and the Land Purchase Bill. You, Sir, have carefully laid down the degree to which the Land Purchase Bill may be alluded to in this debate, and I am not going to transgress your ruling. This is not a debate on the Land Purchase Bill, nor is it a debate on a Coercion Bill, yet every speaker who has supported this Bill from the Government side, has felt himself bound to say that he would vote for the second reading, because he would not vote for a Coercion Bill. I may, therefore, in the same way, be justified in saying that I believe this Bill will bring on the Land Purchase Bill as certainly as the supporters of the Bill think its rejection would bring on a Coercion Bill; and as I am every bit as much opposed to that Bill as they can possibly be to a Coercion Bill, I am justified, therefore, in voting against this Bill. I will only make one remark on the merits of the Land Purchase Bill in answer to the observations of the President of the Local Goverment Board. He said it was—

> "Better and fairer for the Irish people, as well as for the landowning class, that we in this Imperial Parliament, together with the Irish Members, should settle the question and get it out of the way."

I say that this Land Purchase Bill would not settle the question, that it would not get it out of the way; that all it would do would be to make the British taxpayers the ultimate landlords, and to transfer to them and the British Treasury all the odium and unpopularity that has gathered round the landlord class. There I will cease even to tread on the fringe of the forbidden ground. I come now to what I have undoubtedly a right to say, and that is that the Land Purchase Bill is very unpopular below the Gangway on this side of the House. I like it as little as any hon. Member can, and I intend to give it a rigid and strict resistance; but I think that they will not, for they intend to vote for the second reading of this Government of Ireland Bill, and in voting for that, as sure as the sun shines in heaven, they will vote for the second reading of the Land Purchase Bill. ["No, no!"] Some will do so willingly; others with regret; some in full faith in the great financial and administrative capacity of the Prime Minister; but a good many most reluctantly. Every day I see in the papers resolutions from Liberal Associations calling upon their Members to vote for the second reading of the Irish Government Bill, and at the same time expressing dislike and distrust of the Land Purchase Bill. Now, Sir, there never were men so deceived as the members of these Liberal Associations, and I say this the more willingly because it is a case of self-deception. The Government in this matter has been as fair and out-spoken as any Government could be. The Prime Minister, Earl Spencer, and my right hon. Friend the Chief Secretary, and all the leading Members of the Government on this special question have all emphatically declared that the two Bills are inseparable, and from the nature of the case they must be inseparable. If the Home Rule Bill passes, not only will the Government feel itself bound to use its great and enormous influence to pass the Land Bill, not only will my noble Friend the Member for Rossendale (the Marquess of Hartington) and his Friends vote for it, and of course hon. Members opposite, but I know of not a few quiet-going Radicals who have told me in private that if this Home Rule scheme be adopted they will vote for the Land Purchase Bill in justice to the Irish landlords. Knowing this, we who are opposed to the Land Bill, not in word only, but in deed and in truth—we who intend to vote against it, not because we are Radicals, or think our names ought to appear in such a division, but because we think it a bad Bill and one ruinous to the country—we oppose it here and now. The land policy of the Government is, among other things, to my mind to a great extent the condemnation of their Irish Government policy. If the nation, at the instance of the Government, deliberately sets up a particular system of administration and legislation, that system should be applied to all classes alike. A Government which is good enough for the manufacturer and the professional man and the shopkeeper, is good enough for the landlord, and the Land Purchase Bill is a confession that the Ministry dare not trust the new Government of Ireland—[Mr. GLADSTONE: No.] In justice to those who agree or disagree with me I hope I may be allowed to finish the sentence. The Land Purchase Bill is a confession that the Ministry dare not trust the new Government so far as to carry out the Land Act of 1881—the Land Act which in 1883 and towards the close of that year the Prime Minister described, and, as my experience as Irish Secretary tells me, described most truly, as having saved and rescued the security of landed property in Ireland. But there are other indications in this Bill that the Government are a little uneasy about their new policy. The Civil servants, the Resident Magistrates, and the humbler ministers of the law might have felt a certain confidence that the Government would have ventured to trust them and theirs to the new order of things, if it had not been for the extraordinary precautions taken for the safety of the Judges. My hon. and learned Friend the Attorney General says that we must not yield to fears that are ill-founded. If the fears of the Judges were ill-founded, Her Majesty's Government ought not to have yielded to them; if they were well-founded, I think the fact is a serious condemnation of the Bill. The Judges, we are told, if they have any misgivings about the future are to be allowed to abdicate their functions. But how about the Resident Magistrates and the Crown Solicitors and the Civil servants who have done their duty by this country? I think the House has not in this debate, except from the hon. Member for Carnarvon (Mr. Rathbone), heard what ought to be said about the fate in store for them. They are to be forced to go on serving a party of gentlemen with whom, like the Judges, they have been placed in relations more or less uneasy. They are forced to go on serving their new masters for two years, unless the Ministers of that Party choose to dismiss them. Now, I do not want to attribute any improper conduct to the future rulers of Ireland; but I do feel that the position of those Civil servants, after all that has been said about them in this House, and in the Press of Ireland, will be a very painful and anxious one. Hon. Gentleman opposite, speaking in all good faith, have denounced the Civil servants on charges general and particular with great vehemence, and those hon. Gentleman will now be their masters. Having made those charges they will be almost bound to get rid of a good many of them. Those Civil servants, like the Judges, will not get full pensions, but the well-known terms given on abolition of office. Everyone acquainted with Public Departments knows what that means. It is the system by which, when the staff of an Office has been reduced, the opportunity is taken to get rid of the least efficient members of the Service on retiring pensions. That is the ordinary operation; but here the very men who are most faithful to their duties, and who most efficiently carried out that system of government which was the system of the present Cabinet and of Earl Spencer, will be the very men who will most probably be sent about their business on those terms of abolition of office, which are meant to be given only to men who are bad bargains. Now, these difficulties and dangers, and others to which I might have referred, all come from the Imperial Government, as being on the eve, I suppose, of surrendering very quickly, and without calculating the result, all real and effective control of the country. I will not enter into the question whether the Imperial Parliament retains a real control, because I consider that has been given up by the most eloquent and subtle of those who have contended that that control was maintained. If any hon. Member doubts that assertion, I would refer him to the words in which the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs spoke in his argument of this control being one which would only be exercised on very special occasions indeed. The words used by my hon. Friend were that it is because the right of control by the Imperial Parliament has been abandoned that we have been landed in all this difficulty, from which we are asked to extricate ourselves by means of the Land Bill, and which is the real reason of all our differences upon the North of Ireland Question. A great deal of ridicule has been thrown on the North of Ireland Question by the Attorney General, who spoke of it with great ability and with great humour. The hon. and learned Gentleman observed that strong things had been said with regard to that question in 1869, at the time of the abolition of the Irish Church. I allow, as fully as he does, that there have been very foolish men in all times. But I may observe in reference to that time, that although strong things were said then we were not afraid of them; and what many people who have had experience of Ireland are afraid of now is not any strong things that may be said, but the very disastrous things that may be done. The Irish Church Abolition was carried out by an arrangement between the Imperial Parliament and all Ireland; whereas, in the present case, the dispute will lie between a Nationalist Parliament and a Nationalist Government and the minority of the North. I know very well that much that has been said upon this subject has been in the very worst taste. But that knowledge does not conceal from me the fact—which my experience of Ireland teaches me, and which has been stated over and over again in public by Earl Spencer—that there was great danger at one time of a collision occurring between the two Parties in the North of Ireland, and that had it not been that there was a strong Central Government, supported not only by the Army, but by the Resident Magistrates and the police, disturbances would have arisen which might have assumed the dignity as well as the horrors of a serious civil war. If these dangers were to be apprehended in 1883 and 1884, I see no reason why there should not be the same danger in 1886. It is because we propose to give up our hold upon law and order in Ireland that such dangers as these arise. It is for that reason that all persons who have offended the dominant Party in Ireland, in the country districts, are living in such a state of painful agitation. It is because we have given up our hold upon law and order that we cannot protect the Judges and the landlords, and that we have been obliged to bring in the Land Purchase Bill in order to shield them. Now, Sir, let me ask why cannot the Government alter this Bill in such a way as to obviate what appears to some of its most faithful and devoted followers to be very grave defects? I know that the concessions which I suggest may be said to be very large. It is a very large concession to the Imperial Parliament that the Government should keep the hold my right hon. Friend wishes to have upon law and order; but at the same time such a concession would leave still remaining an enormous benefit and boon to Ireland. I cannot believe that it will read well in history that a Liberal Government threw away the support of a good many Liberals because they would not keep a proper hold upon law and order—at all events, until this new system had been fairly tried. Now, Sir, I have done. The noble Viscount the Member for South Somerset (Viscount Kilcoursie), expressing what I hope were not in all things the sentiments of the Government, said that in the approaching division there would be found in the one Lobby those who were desirous that friendly and peaceful relations should subsist between Great Britain and Ireland—a matter which I do not at all dispute—and in the other Lobby the supporters of the Marquess of Salisbury. And then the noble Viscount went on to talk of a Dissolution having terrors for others, but perhaps none for him. If the noble Viscount had been 20 years in this House he would have known that there were Liberals as good as he—Liberals but for whose exertions in the cause of reform neither he nor any other Liberal like him would ever have sat in this House for South Somerset—who take a different view of the situation from him. As to the Dissolution, all I can say is that if my constituents think, as I believe they will not think, that in acting according to my conscientious belief on such a question as this I am unfit to be their Representative—then I fancy many besides me will think that the future conditions of holding a seat in Parliament are such as render it not worth the holding.

Mr. T. M. HEALY (Londonderry, S.): We all admire the great and statesmanlike qualities, the intellectual gifts, and the very high capacity of the right hon. Gentleman who has just sat down. We must all agree that if it were possible to govern Ireland upon the existing system, and if anybody could have achieved success as its Governor, the right hon. Gentleman was just the man. But I do not think that even he will claim, when he writes his own biography, as he has written those of other distinguished men, that his administration of Ireland was a very great success. Therefore, when we find a right hon. Gentleman with such high attainments and so many very sympathetic qualities having made such a failure in Ireland asking the House to reject this Bill, I ask with what authority can he presume to speak on the measure of the Prime Minister? What qualities has he to entitle him to pronounce as a judge in this debate? As to his past experience, it is founded on failure—an experience, in point of fact, of failure and desertion. We are told that what Ireland wants is a firm Government—a Government of resolute action—to maintain the law with vigour and persistency. If it is impossible to find those qualities in the right hon. Gentleman opposite—the biographer of Fox—where are you to look for them? After two years of Office the right hon. Gentleman sickened of the task he had undertaken. Where is his Successor? In which of the ranks of the Liberal dissidents will he seek for a man to carry out Lord Salisbury's policy of coercion for 20 years, or is he prepared to give up the comforts of his own fireside and the pleasure of his literary studies for the sake of carrying out a policy of repression in Ireland for a period of 20 years? I have the utmost respect for the right hon. Gentleman, and it is because I have so high a respect for him that I despair of seeing any English Gentleman bringing to the solution of this Irish Question, under the present situation, greater qualities of head and heart than he has done. I would ask any hon. Gentleman who opposes this Bill to point to any other right hon. Gentleman better qualified than the right hon. Member for the Border Burghs (Mr. Trevelyan) to give effect to the existing system of the government of Ireland. And when such men as he have broken down, who are you going to get to carry on Castle government on the basis of the *status quo?* In this melancholy business we are confronted by the fact that while the right hon. Gentleman opposes this measure, it is very strongly supported by another statesman—Earl Spencer—who was connected with him in the government of Ireland. It is remarkable, that while the right hon. Gentleman served only two years in Ireland, and comes back from there so "cocksure," Earl Spencer, who differs from him so greatly on this question, passed the entire period of his Viceroyalty of 1868 in that country, and was again there as Viceroy from 1882 down to the time of the fall of his Government. Nor did Earl Spencer desert Ireland before that event. I think it would have been highly instructive if the right hon. Gentleman had given the House some explanation of his reasons for leaving the side of Earl Spencer in Ireland. When we see that Nobleman, with his large experience of Ireland, supporting the Prime Minister, what weight are we to attach to the opposition of the right hon. Gentleman, whose experience is so much less, and whose opposition is on such unsatisfactory lines? I did expect to hear more fully from the right hon. Gentleman what the ground of his opposition really is. He said that very little alteration and modification would make the Bill acceptable to him. I fully expected, when he said so, that he would have told the House exactly what alteration he advocates. What is his plan? I admit, of course, that it is very easy to oppose any particular measure. Let me, however, take a different question by way of comparison. Let me take the question of religion. I belong to a particular religion, and the right hon. Gentleman belongs to a different one. It is easy to say—"Make a little alteration in your religion and it will be acceptable to me." Which of the Seven Sacraments are we to leave out? Which of the Ten Commandments must we re-edit? What are the precise alterations the right hon. Gentleman desires to make? I must say that after having entertained the House for a considerable period—and we always listen to him with attention and gratification — it would have been much more satisfactory if he had not sat down without giving an inkling of what his plan is. At present it is absolutely bottomless—precisely in the same condition as that in which the plan of the right hon. Member for West Birmingham (Mr. Chamberlain) has been left. Take, again, the question of religious distinction. The right hon. Gentleman says that a very little alteration would make this scheme acceptable to him. Now, there is a scheme before us. Members of different religions, who differ in controversial matters, do not hesitate to say what are the blots they hit upon in any particular religion, and what are the particular doctrines they themselves recommend in contrast. If the right hon. Gentleman is so very sure of his scheme in comparison with that of the Prime Minister, what are the doctrines and what are the dogmas he recommends? While a man may with great certainty recommend a particular religion as a vehicle of salvation, is there not any religion against which he could not take the most extraordinary and apparently the most logical objections? We can object to anything; but at present we have a scheme before us logical, consistent, and complete to a very great extent, which, if we destroy it, will result in negation. What are you going to put in its place? The right hon. Gentleman has put nothing in its place. Let the Liberal dissident Members going into the Lobby to record their vote on this Bill remember that they have a living scheme on the one side and the ghost of a scheme on the other. Will they vote for a ghost in one Lobby, or for a thing of flesh and blood in the other? Why is it that hon. and right hon. Gentlemen who have satisfied themselves of the difficulties and the imperfections of the scheme of the Prime Minister, and who feel so strongly on the matter, cannot put forward a better scheme of their own? The right hon. Gentleman began his speech, as usual, by a series of quotations gathered from a distance of 3,000 or 4,000 miles. He quoted the authority of *The Irish World*. It is a singular thing that no Irish newspaper is ever quoted; and I will tell the right hon. Gentleman that if *The Irish World* is to be continually quoted against the Nationalist Party as a text-book, it would be at least more honest on his part if he had allowed us the privilege of reading that newspaper during the last three years. I do not know anything that can be supposed to degrade the art of government more than to put an official of high principles, of great honour, and of stainless character into a public position in Ireland and to compel him to open and read my letters and newspapers, and those of my friends.

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That statement was cheered to the echo by the thousands who attended the meeting; but that sentence of the speech was mutilated in the report in *The Irish World*. It did not suit the book of that organ. It is idle to suppose for a moment that the millions of the Irish race, powerful, intellectual, and brave men, who are backing the people of Ireland, accept that newspaper as their only mouthpiece. Why, it was denounced by eight Bishops sitting in solemn conclave in Cincinnati so far back as 1880. I repudiate altogether the insinuation that we are advised or controlled by *The Irish World*. We are told that we have received money through it. It is quite true that we have received money through *The Irish World.* Let me say, that while I differ from many of the views of Mr. Patrick Ford, he is a man of unselfish aims and unquestionable motives. He never makes his appearance in public; he is an absolute recluse; he lives in a little house in Brooklyn, and does not go over to even his office in New York, and he is absolutely a writer in a closet. *The Irish World,* of course, was used by branches of the Land League as a medium for the acknowledgment of subscriptions. But the bulk of the subscriptions would be received all the same if *The Irish World* had never existed, as that paper was but their channel and not their cause. My hon. Friend the Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell) reminds me that the National League has never received any subscriptions from *The Irish World;* so that the state of things I am referring to existed four or five years ago. The right hon. Gentleman has quoted a statement of Mr. Finnerty's. Mr. Finnerty edits a newspaper in Chicago, and represented a district of Chicago in Congress. It is said that he made a speech on Emmett's day, but the right hon. Gentleman did not fix the day. This Bill was brought in on the 8th of April, and Emmett's day, as well as I remember, was on the 4th of March, and yet the right hon. Gentleman stated absolutely as a fact that the speech was made long after the Bill of the Prime Minister was brought in. It is perplexing when such statements are made by Gentlemen of the highest integrity, stainless character, and loftiest position, and it only shows in what a haphazard manner Irish questions are dealt with by right hon. Gentlemen who are not fully acquainted with Irish history. Now, the speech of the right hon. Gentleman, while it gives us no foothold on which to decide the merits of this Bill, went into a number of points that appear to me might very well have been reserved for the Committee stage. The right hon. Gentleman especially went strongly against the financial part of the Bill. Will the right hon. Gentleman support us when we come to claim that a lower tribute be exacted from the Irish people? Because we have stated —my hon. Friend the Member for the City of Cork has stated most distinctly— that we claim a reconsideration of the financial provisions of the Bill. That being so, surely the question at issue is one of principle, and not of pounds, shillings, and pence, because I never will believe that the English people, who have paid so many millions for the liberation of the West Indian slaves, and who lavished their treasure and their blood like water in the Crimean War—perhaps for a mere idea—will, when they come to consider a question of peace with Ireland, reduce the issue to a matter of 6*s*. 8*d*. The peace of Ireland is worth more than £2,000,000 or £3,000,000 a-year. We are told that the Canadian people, the Australian people, and the people at the Cape pay nothing to England, and that the Irish people will be dissatisfied if they are not treated in a similar way. But the Cape, and Canada, and Australia do not have the British Army spending their money among them; I presume that the British Army alone spend something like £2,000,000 a-year in Ireland; and we have in addition, not only the British Navy, but a ready market for our produce. Supposing that the tribute is too high, and I feel that it is too high, I say—knowing to some extent the English people, and having watched the spirit in which they have treated this Bill—I say that when the amount of the tribute comes to be considered, for the sake of making a lasting and durable peace, the English people will evince no desire to drive a hard bargain so far as mere pounds, shillings, and pence are concerned. Let me tell hon. Members why. It is because you have a great Empire which is vulnerable at many points, and you have in that little Island across the water as martial a people as ever trod the surface of the globe. Their support to you in time of battle is worth a good deal more than could be purchased for £3,000,000 or £4,000,000 a-year. If you really cement the union of these two nations, and make the Irish people contented, and if ever a time of danger arises, and you call on Ireland for 100,000 men, while £3,000,000 or £4,000,000 might sometimes, perhaps, be got with friction, there would be little difficulty, in a pacified and prosperous Ireland, in finding brave men and strong arms to protect the Empire, and defend it in any strait in which it may be placed. This is not a question to be treated as it has been—treated as a mere mathematical or arithmetical question to be decided by rule of thumb. That would be the most monstrous proposition that has ever been placed before this House. You are dealing not with pounds, shillings, and pence, but with flesh and blood—with a people who have been accused of being a sentimental people, but who are, at any rate, a warm-hearted and a sympathetic people. I venture to think that nobody could have believed—certainly I could not—that such a change could be wrought upon the minds and consciences of an entire nation as has been wrought by the speech of the Prime Minister on the 8th April last. I have myself fought the Government in this House as hard as anybody. I have not been afraid or ashamed, either here, or in Ireland, or in America, to express my sentiments. But I will go back to the Chicago Convention, or to any Convention that may be called in Dublin tomorrow; and though we are told by the right hon. Member for the Border Burghs that we are young men, who in 30 years' time may be Ministers, and that being young we might rashly pledge our people, I say we should be able from any Convention of the Irish race at home or abroad to obtain the acceptance of this Bill. The Irish race has manifested in a thousand ways that it supports us in our acceptance of this measure. That being so, no deductions that may have been drawn from the past speeches of hon. Members in this House, or of the Irish people at home or abroad, are in point in the consideration of this measure. When Irish Members fought in this House in former times, they felt as it were that they were addressing a Government whose ears were stuffed with lead. But we have now found out the difference. For my own part, I do not hesitate to say that I have been deeply touched and moved, not only by the public and private utterances of hon. and right hon. Gentlemen, but by the private sympathy shown to us by English gentlemen in this House and out of it. And an extraordinary change has come over many of the English newspapers. In past times the difficulty was to gain the ear of the English people. "England had the ear of the world," John Mitchel said, and it could pour into it what calumnies it pleased. But now, through the most powerful newspapers such as *The Manchester Guardian*, *The Manchester Examiner*, *The Newcastle Chronicle*, *The Birmingham Daily Post*, and other leading Provincial journals, a different tone is running. The speeches and declarations of the Irish Members were misquoted and misrepresented; but now some of your country organs are copying our speeches direct from the Irish National newspapers. To give an idea of the way in which the Irish Members have been misrepresented in the Press by a gang of conspirators in Dublin, who purvey news to England, I may say that it was telegraphed to *The Newcastle Chronicle*, on the day on which Earl Spencer made his speech in Newcastle, that I had declared that I had never withdrawn, and never would withdraw, anything that I had said with regard to Earl Spencer. Now, what were the facts? I really spoke in the opposite sense, and I said that I should withdraw nothing till the contrary was proved; but I went on to draw a comparison between Earl Spencer's action and the magnanimity of his conduct and character, and that of some other right hon. Gentlemen who were acting very much like the right hon. Member for the Border Burghs (Mr. Trevelyan). But all the context was omitted, and the whole tone and purpose of my remarks deliberately and shamefully misrepresented. But I will assume that the Irish Members are a thoroughly bad lot, that they are thoroughly unregenerate, and that they have made speeches which no Englishman would approve. I will take the estimate of the hon. and gallant Member for North Armagh (Major Saunderson), who quotes our speeches, and says—"Will you place Ireland under the rule of men like these?" I admit that I and my hon. Friend the Member for South Tyrone (Mr. W. O'Brien) have made speeches which are objectionable from an English point of view. Men who have been months in gaol without trial are not generally very amiable; but are we to live for ever, and is Ireland for all eternity to be condemned to slavery for speeches made in a passing moment by some of her ephemeral Representatives? At the very most the Irish Members now in the House of Commons cannot control the destinies of Ireland for more than a generation. Are the toiling peasants who have been rack-rented and crushed, are the fishermen who have been deprived of the means of carrying on their industry, and are the artizans who are poverty-stricken to be deprived of their rights, because their Representatives in times of crimes and passion have made speeches a little stronger than usual in English controversies? The thing is absurd. Are the speeches of a particular set of Irish Members, which are quoted at the present time, any ground for refusing to the nation at large its Magna Charta? It is precisely as just as if King John had quoted the speeches of the Barons, before they wrung Magna Charta from him, and asked if he was called upon to forget the views of such wicked and turbulent nobles. When Irishmen were treated unjustly, they spoke one way; when justly, another. There is no inconsistency in their attitude, when your attitude is also changed. I think we may claim for the Irish people the same qualities as other people possess. I think that, taking them as a whole, we may claim for this Party—a Party coming here at a great distance from their farms, their workshops, counting-houses, and professions—that it represents as much intelligence, and, perhaps, although I should not say so, as much righteousness and conscientiousness as any other Party in this House. Let hon. Members compare them with the Loyal minority. I say, do they not show as much worth as the claimants of a monopoly of the intelligence, culture, and wealth of Ireland? We cannot admit North-East Ulster's modest claim to all the talents and all the virtues. When England wanted statesmen, she did not care from what part of Ireland she got them; she did not ask whether Burke was a Cork man or an Ulster man, or whether or not Lord Wolseley was a Northerner; and whenever the question was asked, the Duke of Wellington's capacity was allowed, although he was born near Dublin. Having had these products from Ireland in the past, having had the privilege of giving you Irish Premiers, and the leadership of Irish Generals, I venture to think that the people of Ireland are just as capable of carrying out a moderate and sober system of self-government as any people on the globe. The right hon. Gentleman says that a terrible state of things will arise in Ireland if this Bill is passed. I should like to ask him what state of things will arise if it does not pass? Has the right hon. Gentleman considered that point at all? Will he, like Olivier, with a light heart go into the Division Lobby against the Prime Minister's Bill? Is he quite sure that the effect of not passing this Bill will not be greater than the evils of not passing it? We know the evils of the present system; but we know nothing of the mischiefs of the future system, except from the prophecies of the right hon. Gentleman. Grattan well said—"You cannot argue with a prophet; you can only disbelieve him." And that being so, I ask English Gentlemen, who are only opposed to some of the details of the Bill, to consider whether they are prepared to take the tremendous risks of opposing the Bill, and plunging Ireland into all the disastrous consequences which I venture to think will ensue—consequences tenfold worse than anything which has arisen out of the previous system of government there. There is another reason why the present time should be chosen for passing the Bill. For the first time in modern history the Irish people have shown a receptive temper. For the first time in your history a statesman has brought forward a great measure for Ireland, when not under the threat of civil war, under no pressure of foreign complications, nor because any prison has been blown down at home, but simply on the dictates of his own experience. It is this, I say, which recommends the scheme of the Prime Minister to the Irish people, and has produced a softness of heart towards him—that they observe the right hon. Gentleman bringing in the Bill under the circumstances I have described. Is it, then, desirable to allow this acceptable moment to pass away? Is it desirable to thwart, to battle with, and to obstruct one whom every hon. Gentleman opposite, however he may differ from him, must recognize as the first English statesman of the century? And, if he cannot settle this great question at the present moment, which of your puny whipsters is going to settle it hereafter? When we were only about 40 in number, and about 20 in effective strength, the right hon. Gentleman the Member for the Border Burghs was not so fond of standing up against us at that Table. He told his constituents at Hawick that sometimes he would rather face a pitched battle than that little handful of 20 men. Would he, after the Irish people have been angered, and this Party trebled in strength, like to be the Minister to carry through this House some petty scheme for County Boards? Instead of facing a pitched battle, I think he would rather stand a siege than do anything of the kind. But, in dealing with this measure, hon. Gentlemen address themselves to difficulties with which all are familiar; they address themselves to points of detail, and not to principles; and I say that is the advantage we have in this scheme being brought forward by a statesman who has had all these difficulties of detail presented to him, in the Canadian Settlement, the Australian Settlement, the Cape Settlement, and others. We are told that this scheme will lead to separation; that it will lead to the dismemberment of the Empire; that it will lead to the oppression of the Loyal minority; that it will set class against class; that the Civil Service will be ruined, and that every class which has supported the Empire through thick and thin will be constrained, despoiled, and isolated. Is there one of these prophecies from which the Prime Minister, 50 years ago, has not learned his A B C? I take the speech of Lord Derby, then Lord Stanley, on the Canadian Settlement in 1837. He said—and anyone would imagine it was the Member for the Border Burghs speaking—

> "What would be the consequence of granting the Canadian demand? The establishment of a French Republic in Lower Canada. The concession of legislative independence will remove the only check to the tyrannical power of the dominant majority."

That is the West Birmingham style. Lord Stanley continued—

> "A majority in numbers only, for in wealth, in education, and in enterprize it is greatly inferior to the minority of settlers of British descent."

Now we have the hon. and gallant Member for North Armagh (Major Saunderson), for Lord Stanley went on—

> "If these settlers find themselves deprived of British protection, they will protect themselves; measures to this effect will be taken within six months after the concession is made."

The hon. Member for South Belfast—I will not call him gallant—said, at a meeting of the Royal Black Hobahs in Dublin last December, that the very first day after the introduction of this measure there would be the signal for civil war in Ireland. Lord Stanley added—

> "Numerically the English settlers were in a minority, but that assistance would not be withheld from them by their comrades in New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, or, if need be, in Great Britain. They were British subjects claiming protection against a tyrannical majority, and only asking to be left in the enjoyment of their liberties as British subjects."

I presume that the Prime Minister, 50 years ago, heard all that; I presume at the time he was greatly alarmed; but apparently he has since been able to recover from his fears. The stuff about civil war now talked he has heard a dozen times over generations ago. We have, then, a scheme brought forward by a Minister who remembers similar controversies before most of us were born, who is aware of the threats and thunderbolts that were hurled against former schemes of legislation, and who pledges his success and his reputation in the evening of his days, when his career is not only dear to his fellow-countrymen, but to himself, and when he must be anxious to hand down to posterity the record of a successful and glorious life—we have him now coming forward with this Bill; and is it likely that, with an experience greater than all of ours, he would bring in any Bill likely to make his name in future generations hateful to Englishmen? We hear hon. Gentlemen talk of their duty, their constituents, and of their desire to preserve the British Empire untarnished in its lustre; but are they more patriotic than the Prime Minister? Have they contributed more than he has to the greatness of the Empire, or given to the Throne a firmer foundation in the hearts of Her Majesty's subjects, than the Minister who, with his hoary experience, pledges his past and future fame to the success of this measure? Sir, I say, then, that for the passing of this measure, this is the acceptable time. This is not a closed, a secret Assembly. Every word which is spoken here is telegraphed wheresoever the English language is spoken; and Members like the late Irish Secretary should be cautious what language they hold, lest anyone should be able to point to the words of men like him as a proof that this Bill was grudgingly given, and, therefore, that there should be no gratitude for it, and no generous recognition of the sympathetic attitude of the English people. No room should be given by such speeches for enemies to misrepresent that attitude; and I say, if we are able to pass this measure in the spirit in which it is conceived, it can never be said that it was granted in sullenness and distrust, and that the Irish people will, therefore, not accept it, merely to wrest further advantages from the English people, and to separate the two countries. But I fear lest those arguments are likely to be used if the Bill is thrown out, and if the whole question is again plunged, as it were, into a seething cauldron. We hear a great deal about the Irish people being cursed by Party spirit, and of the miseries which have been brought on the country by this being made a Party question. Treat it, then, as an International question between two peoples, and the union between the two Democracies will not long be delayed; and I say let every man be heedful of the consequences of stepping in between them. The hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General quoted from a remarkable speech addressed to the House in 1869 upon the question of the Irish Church Act, and perhaps it may be of some interest to hon. Members to know what was the exact position taken up in the past times by the Orange Society, of which we hear so much, and of its determination to resist this measure to the death. Will the House be surprised to hear that this Orange Society, after the passing of the Irish Church Act, passed a very remarkable resolution? One of the chief Articles of the Society is that its members are pledged on oath to maintain the Union. I am speaking in the presence of some distinguished members of that Organization, and I ask what happened when the Irish Church Act passed? This resolution was proposed by the Chairman, Brother Edward Waller, Deputy Grand Master—

"That all statements and provisions in the objects, rules, and formularies of the Orange Institution which impose any obligation on its members to maintain the Legislative Union between Great Britain and Ireland, be expunged therefrom."

That resolution was carried by a majority of 22 to 18. Lord Enniskillen, the Grand Master, in a letter to a Dublin newspaper dated February 5, 1871, denied that such a resolution had been carried; adding that if it had been, he and other members of the Institution would have withdrawn from it immediately. The truth, however, is that the resolution was carried by the majority of 22 to 18 votes; but in order to carry any resolution to change the constitution of the Orange Order, a two-thirds majority is required. Who started the Home Rule movement in Ireland? It was the Protestants and the Orange Society.

MR. JOHNSTON (Belfast, S.): I beg to contradict that statement.

MR. T. M. HEALY: Great latitude must be allowed to the hon. Member for Belfast here. When we meet him in the field, in the contest with which he threatens us, perhaps we may have to take stronger measures. I say that the Home Rule movement in Ireland was started by the Protestants and by the Orange Society. Nearly every man who met Isaac Butt at the meeting on May 17th, 1870, after the passing of the Irish Church Act, was a Protestant, and many of them were Orangemen. Who acted as Secretary to the great Home Rule Convention of 1873? It was a gentleman of the name of Colonel King-Harman. These men raised the flag of Home Rule, and we nailed it to the mast; and so much was this the case that no less a person than Cardinal Cullen, who being a staunch Churchman, and perhaps somewhat doubtful as to the proceedings of the new Protestant Nationalists, took alarm at the idea of the country getting into the hands of those Orange and Protestant Nationalists, whom he considered to be acting in pique at the Disestablishment of the Irish Church, and without any serious intention to permanently stand by their country. And so it proved, for when the Conservative Government came into Office and were able to give away dignities and offices, the support of Loyalists and others melted rapidly away. But let us consider some of the resolutions passed by those gentlemen at that time.

On July the 9th, 1870, a resolution was passed denouncing the Party Processions Act of Mr. Chichester Fortescue as—

> "Inconsistent with the rights of freemen and one to which we shall never submit, and which forces upon us the conclusion that England can no longer be permitted to legislate for this country, and we hereby declare that Irishmen shall no longer be slaves in their own land, and we call upon all classes of Irishmen by every legal means to assist our Organization in gaining their freedom."

I appeal to the hon. Members for South Belfast (Mr. Johnston), East Belfast (Mr. De Cobain), and North Armagh (Major Saunderson)—even supposing that we are wrong in the view we take of Irish liberation, I say, you, at least, are the minority; we are the majority. You have for the last 500 or 600 years been in the possession of the good things, while we have been left out in the cold; you have occupied high places, while we have been in prison. You have been in Office, and we have been in exile; you have been landlords, we have been the evicted. You see the Irish people like a captive bird beating out its heart against the bars; would it not be worth your while to say we will make some sacrifice in the interests of common humanity for the sake of the enormous majority of the Irish people? Can you not say that you view with pity the fact that thousands of Irishmen in each generation find their way to prison; that millions have been driven across the Atlantic; that you view their sorrows with regret, and that you will see if a change cannot be effected, some better system devised—in short, that you will grant to Ireland a measure of local government such as that which is proposed by the Prime Minister? I say that would be the attitude of statesmen and of patriots; it would be the attitude of Gentlemen seriously desirous for the good, not of a particular class or of a particular religion, but of the country at large; and I maintain that no knot or section of the people in a corner of the land has the right to obstruct the path to peace and freedom of the masses of the nation. I claim from them, if they are really the Representatives of the wealth, education, and intelligence of the country, as they allege, that they should make a sacrifice and resign themselves to the working out of a plan which their fellow-countrymen feel convinced that the prosperity of our common country requires. We are told they are the cream of the population and its heaviest taxpayers. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for East Edinburgh (Mr. Goschen) was good enough to say the other day that Ulster paid the greater part of the taxes of Ireland. Sir, I think it a monstrous thing that a Gentleman occupying the position of the Member for Edinburgh should make a declaration of that kind, and lend the authority of his financial reputation to a deceitful and inaccurate piece of figure-cooking. The right hon. Gentleman arrived at his conclusion by simply taking Schedule D, which relates to Income Tax from trades and professions alone, and omitting Dublin from the calculation. The taxes paid by the agricultural population are not included in that Schedule at all. As nearly all Ireland lives by farming, I think it would have been more decent if the right hon. Gentleman had presented a more candid statement to the House. Although the right hon. Gentleman said that Ulster was the richest portion of Ireland, the fact is that there are 14 counties in Leinster and Munster richer than any county of Ulster, and these 14 counties pay more money in the shape of taxes than any Ulster county. Dublin pays in Income Tax three times more than Belfast, and Waterford, with the same population, three times more than Derry. As to the allegation that Ulster is superior in point of education, I will content myself with pointing out that in Dublin, where the population exceeds that of Belfast by 50,000, there were at the last Election only 869 illiterate voters, while in Belfast the number was 1,559. Even the people in Munster are more literate than in Ulster—turn it as you will, in wealth and intelligence, experience shows that Ulster is below both Leinster and Munster. I read with great regret the other day a speech delivered by the noble Marquess the Member for Rossendale (the Marquess of Hartington). The noble Marquess has been a bitter opponent of this Bill; he has made many straightforward and honest attacks upon it, and has not attempted to get rid of it by a side-wind. He has not attempted to stab the Prime Minister with a blade lubricated with compliment. He has attacked him in front and not behind, though he has made some statements regarding the Irish Members which he might very well have left unsaid. He says now that he is willing that certain changes should be made in the government of Ireland, though three years ago he declared that it would be madness to grant Ireland anything in the way of local self-government until Irish Members had given guarantees that they would not use it as a weapon for obtaining separation. The Irish Members are now prepared to give guarantees, but the noble Marquess will not accept them. Whatever course we take an excuse is invented to thwart us. Now it is our sincerity that is impugned, and the meanest motives for our acceptance of the Bill are attributed. Because, forsooth, some of us may, if it passes, become salaried Ministers, it is insinuated our mouths are being sealed with prospective hush-money. I must say that in regard to men who have fought the battle as we have fought it —many of whom have faced gaol and exile, hardships and ignominies, in a cause we were proud to suffer for—he might have spared us the reflection that we regarded the Bill in the light of a gigantic personal bribe. I can draw no other conclusion from this portion of the speech of the noble Marquess at Bradford, in which he says that these leaders and teachers of the Irish people have every reason to be satisfied with the prospect which is now opening before them. He says that for us there is opening a prospect of political power and influence within our own country—to us is opening a prospect of the spoils of political victory; but that the people to whom our teaching has been addressed will, but to a small and limited extent, be sharers in our joys and satisfaction. To tell us, who have been willing to face every risk that men could face to bring this question to the point it has now reached, and who would not hesitate, if victory seemed once more as far off as it but so lately did, to fight the battle all over again, that we are now accepting this Bill because of the spoils and satisfactions, is, perhaps, the greatest insult that could be addressed by one Member of this House to another. True, it is not, perhaps, a greater insult than was addressed by the chief supporter of the noble Marquess—namely, *The Times* newspaper—to his own followers, when it reminded the noble Marquess that, once in power, and once the master of patronage, on the defeat of this Bill, he would have very little difficulty in filling up the minor Offices of a Government with Gentlemen of flexible consciences. Perhaps a perusal of that suggestion in *The Times* infected the minds of the noble Lord in regard to men of whose action his present political acquaintances supply no standard. Sir, we Irish Members have filled offices in Ireland, but they were offices in the cells of Kilmainham and Richmond Gaols. We did not hesitate to face odium and obloquy in this House when we could have won its favour in past times; and to tell us, as the noble Marquess has told us, that we are agreeing to these things for the sake of some paltry remuneration which an Irish State can give, is about, perhaps, as contemptible a form of argument as ever entered the head of even a British aristocrat. Then the right hon. Gentleman the Member for East Edinburgh (Mr. Goschen) tells us that the passing of this Bill will drive wealth out of Ireland. Well, Sir, we may drive wealth out of Ireland if we act like some other people who have had the management of a system of government in the East—I believe that some English Gentlemen have had the government of Egypt in their hands, and have managed, to some extent, to drive wealth out of that country. They have not hesitated, in that poor country, to dabble in its Stocks and in its Loans; and though, perhaps, our credit in Ireland may not be very high, I venture to think that some Gentlemen who are now doing their best to defeat this Bill will not be backward in encouraging us to issue loans. I venture to say that an Irish State will not be established three years before its Stocks will have been bulled and beared by some such firm as Goschen and Frühling. When all these prophecies of corruption are indulged in, and all these imputations of mercenary motives are made, I wonder what it is we have done to deserve them. The hon. and gallant Member for North Armagh (Major Saunderson) taunted my hon. Friend the Member for South Tyrone (Mr. W. O'Brien) with being in receipt of American money. I am almost ashamed in my hon. Friend's presence to mention a fact to which I will venture to allude. A fund was raised six months ago for my hon. Friend, to defend him against the persecution of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for the Border Burghs (Mr. Trevelyan). A sum of over £1,000 was left as a balance of that fund, which was freely given by my hon. Friend, who signed a cheque for the amount, and sent it to his poor fellow-townsmen of the town of Mallow, and that irrespective of creed or class. But why are we to be taunted in this manner? Are we Irishmen, I might almost say, as was asked of the Jew, not men like yourselves? What is it that has driven the Irish Representatives into the position they have taken up? What is it that has compelled them to speak words of anger and of ferocity, I might almost say, and of defiance in this House? You drove them to do it; and just as they have been driven to exhibit these human feelings by one line of conduct, may they not by the adoption of another line be made to exhibit quite an opposite set of feelings? I believe, Sir, in the alchemy of justice, in its efficacy and permanent effects. I believe the Irish people are deeply touched and deeply moved by the present attitude of this country towards them. Englishmen have seen with joy and satisfaction the efforts of the men who have fought for liberty in Greece, in Bulgaria, Poland, and Italy. The same Englishmen will consider the object of this Bill, and will see that the difficulties and tyrannies we have suffered under have been far worse than those they have assisted to put an end to in other countries. They will see that the people who are labouring under these evils, though perhaps not so picturesque, are in the main as worthy of their sympathy; that they have human hearts and human souls; that, at any rate, they are Her Majesty's subjects; and Englishmen will feel that while they did no wrong to the Poles, the Italians, the Bulgarians, and the Greeks, they have done wrong to us. They will do us some reparation, make some attempt to banish our woes, our poverty, and our sufferings. We have heard no note of sympathy or pity in any of the speeches which have come from Liberal Gentlemen on the opposite side of the House against this Bill. Tory Gentlemen, who were bound to oppose it, have felt themselves compelled to utter some friendly words of sympathy with the Irish people. Nearly every Tory Member who has spoken has declared that it is with regret that he feels himself bound to offer opposition to the measure. Is it the Liberal dissidents alone who have their hearts hardened? I ask them not to be led away by difficulties. There are blots on the sun, and though there may be blots on the Bill of the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister, those blots are small indeed compared with the blots you would create on the hearts of the Irish people by its rejection. You have resisted and prevented every Irish reform for centuries. I appeal to you now to give us this boon with a free and generous hand; and if you do I can promise that the Irish people will be willing to join you in every endeavour to make this Realm what we all desire it should be made—an Empire of which every citizen may be proud, and against which no reproach can be brought by reason of the sorrows or the wrongs of any race within its ample boundaries.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Debate be now adjourned."—(*Mr. Rigby.*)

Motion *agreed to.*

Debate *further adjourned* till *Thursday.*

## PUBLIC HEALTH ACTS (IMPROVEMENT EXPENSES) (*re-committed*) BILL.

(*Mr. Dodds, Sir Edward Reed, Mr. Arnold Morley, Mr. William Cook, Mr. Bullard.*)

[BILL 7.] COMMITTEE.

[*Progress 18th May.*]

Bill *considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Clause 2 (Interpretation).

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE (Chelsea): I do not wish to press any Amendment to any portion of this clause; but desire merely formally to move to omit the words in the 2nd paragraph, from line 24 to line 27, in order to put to my right hon. Friend who represents the Government in this matter (Mr. Stansfeld), and to my hon. Friend in charge of the Bill (Mr. Dodds), certain difficulties which might occur under these words. I do not know whether any hon. Members in this House, who represent rural interests, are aware of the fact that this

Bill applies to a very large number of rural districts. It is a Bill prepared by Municipal Corporations who have chiefly had in view, I think, the interests of urban districts. But the measure deals with urban districts which are merely technically urban districts—for instance, large Local Board districts, which often contain numerous parishes, and this is particularly the case in Yorkshire; and there are a large number of rural districts that have urban powers. We have, therefore, to look at the Bill, not only as an urban, but also as a rural measure. Under the words I refer to this might occur—a road might be held to be a street, though those who have been engaged in preparing the Bill might never have expected that it would have been possible for it to be so considered. Take the case of a man laying out an estate. He makes a gravel road through it, with streets sketched out in the same manner, with a view to recommending the sale of certain plots for building purposes. Plans are prepared and put up at railway stations and at other convenient places, with a view to the better sale of the land. In most of these cases all the land belongs to one man; but there are cases in which there is more than one owner of such building land, although one man possesses by far the larger quantity. The Local Authority may be greatly under the influence of the man laying out the land, and in such a case a great hardship might be inflicted upon the other proprietors of land along the new street or adjoining it. The gravel road might be held to be a street, under this Bill, for the reason that ultimately it is intended to use it as a street. In this way a man may be forced to contribute largely to the expense of making the street, though he might derive no benefit from it, and not only that, but although he may be altogether opposed to the speculation. I formally move to leave out these words. I do not intend to press the Amendment; but I wish to ask the attention of the hon. Gentleman in charge of the Bill to the point. He is perfectly familiar with rural districts; and I would ask him whether, in his opinion, there would not be likely to be some hardship in these words—

"Includes any land laid out as a street, whether or not buildings have been erected on either side thereof?"

*Sir Charles W. Dilke*

Amendment proposed,

In page 1, line 24, to leave out the words "'Street,' in addition to having the meaning assigned to it by the 'Public Health Act, 1875,' includes any land laid out as a street, whether or not buildings have been erected on either side thereof."—(*Sir Charles W. Dilke.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Clause."

Mr. DODDS (Stockton): The right hon. Gentleman, apparently, has not fully considered Clause 7 of the Bill, by which ample provision is made to secure that owners of property abutting on a street shall not be charged a higher amount towards the expenses of the paving, flagging, sewering, and so on, of the street than the benefit which it is considered likely to confer upon them. The Bill applies not merely to urban, but also to rural districts. It applies, in fact, to every road in regard to which Clauses 151 and 152 of the Public Health Act are in operation.

Sir CHARLES W. DILKE: We must not lose sight of the fact that the rural Sanitary Authority may take a different view of the question whether or not an owner adjoining a proposed new street is benefited to the view the owner himself may take. I think, as I have already said, that serious objection may be taken to the words I have referred to; but, as I said before, I do not propose to press my objection to them.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

On Motion of The President of the Local Government Board (Mr. Stansfeld) (Halifax), the following Amendment made:—In page 2, line 15, leave out "more than one person is the owner," and insert "two or more persons are the owners."

Mr. CARBUTT (Monmouth, &c.): I beg to move the Amendment which stands in my name.

Amendment proposed,

In page 2, line 25, at end of the Clause, to add the words—"'Owner,' in addition to having the meaning assigned to it by 'The Public Health Act, 1875,' shall, where the lands or premises fronting, adjoining, or abutting upon any street are held upon a building lease subject to a ground rent, include the freeholder or lessor, who shall become liable to be charged with the expenses of executing the private street works jointly with the 'owner,' as defined in 'The Public Health Act, 1875,' and in proportion to the benefit to be derived by him from such private street improvements, regard being had not only to the ground rent payable to him, but also to the number of years remaining unexpired under the building lease."—(*Mr. Carbutt.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there added."

MR. DODDS (Stockton): I cannot accept the Amendment, which would introduce a new definition of the word "owner." The Courts have given decisions which have bestowed upon the word a distinct and clearly-defined meaning, and to introduce this Amendment into a Bill intended only to extend the sections of the Public Health Act of 1875, would be to introduce serious confusion. I, therefore, must ask the Committee to refuse to pass this Amendment.

MR. BRUNNER (Cheshire, Northwich): I beg to support the Amendment; and I trust that even if the hon. Member cannot accept it, he will endeavour to meet the grievance which it is obviously intended to remove.

MR. DODDS: It may be desirable to meet the grievance, but it is not in the power of a private Member to introduce a Bill for the purpose. This measure has been designed for the purpose of meeting the imperfections in the Act of 1875. I cannot hold out to the hon. Member any hope that we shall be able to deal with the point in this Bill. A A time, no doubt, may come when it may be possible to introduce a Bill to remove the grievance the hon. Member wishes to meet.

MR. CARBUTT: The grievance of which I complain is felt so keenly in a very large number of towns where land is let on small leases that I think it would be well to go to a division.

THE PRESIDENT OF THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD (Mr. STANSFELD) (Halifax): I must ask my hon. Friend not to press his Amendment to a division. It seems quite clear that the Amendment as it stands will not effect the object in view. In the next place, the Amendment makes the Sanitary Authority the judges of the proportions in which the liability shall be charged upon the owner or the freeholder. That, I think, is very objectionable.

MR. BRUNNER (Cheshire, Northwich): I hardly understand how the Sanitary Authority can be proper judges of the proportions to be paid by one set of men, and not proper judges in case of a division between the lessor and the lessee. Surely, if they can judge in the one case they can judge in the other. But I submit to the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Local Government Board (Mr. Stansfeld) that the Sanitary Authority is not the final judge —there is a higher authority.

Question put.

The Committee *divided*:—Ayes 62; Noes 76: Majority 14.—(Div. List, No. 107.)

Clause 2, as amended, *agreed to.*

Clause 3 (Private street works).

On Motion of The PRESIDENT of the LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD (Mr. Stansfeld) (Halifax) the following Amendment made:—In page 2, line 26, leave out "any urban district," and insert "the district of any sanitary authority."

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE (Chelsea): I beg to move formally the omission of the words "two months" in page 3, line 11, and the insertion of "one month," in order to call the attention of the right hon. Gentleman who represents the Government to the clumsiness of this Bill in regard to its working. The Metropolitan system, which is a different one to that proposed by this Bill on this point, works very quickly indeed. This Bill will take from 12 weeks to 12 months to work in each case. The shortest possible period in which the expenses can be calculated and the works begun will be 12 weeks, and, on the average, about six months will be occupied in getting the work in order. I think that is too long. I merely mention the matter to see whether the right hon. Gentleman can suggest anything by which the Bill can be brought into operation more speedily.

Amendment proposed, in page 3, line 11, to leave out the words "two months" in order to insert the words "one month."—(*Sir Charles W. Dilke.*)

Question proposed, "That the words 'two months' stand part of the Clause."

THE PRESIDENT OF THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD (Mr. STANSFELD) (Halifax): My attention has not been directed to the point raised by my right hon. Friend, and therefore I cannot pronounce on the subject now. I shall be very happy to consider the matter, and, if possible, meet his views.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Clause, as amended, *agreed to.*

Clause 4 (Objections to proposed works).

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE (Chelsea): As the hon. Gentleman the Member for Leeds (Mr. Jackson) is not present, I will move the first Amendment which stands in his name—it is to leave out "majority in number" in line 26. That will raise a question which we can raise again in a few minutes, probably in a more convenient form. It is very difficult to see why Clause 4 is drawn in the form in which it is drawn. The Committee will see there are two parts to Clause 4. In one of those parts a single owner can stop the proceedings under the Bill; but by the other portion of the clause a majority of owners is required to stop the proceedings. I admit that upon some of the legal points it may be a wise proceeding; but surely a different system might prevail upon the points which are really matters of fact. The Sub-sections (*a*) and (*d*) seem to me to be on all-fours with the cases contemplated in the second part of the clause; and, therefore, after hearing what my hon. Friend (Mr. Dodds) has to say, I shall be inclined to move to take Sub-sections (*a*) and (*d*) out of the first part of the clause, in order to put them in the second part of the clause. This Amendment seems to raise the same question, and, therefore, I move it. As to the question of majority, there is another point which we ought to take in view, and it is this—that probably very many cases will arise in which there is no majority, where there are only two owners concerned, and they take opposite views. The word "majority" would not meet that case at at all.

Amendment proposed, in page 3, line 26, to leave out the words "majority in number."—(*Sir Charles W. Dilke.*)

Question proposed, "That the words 'majority in number' stand part of the Clause."

MR. F. S. POWELL (Wigan): Does the right hon. Gentleman intend to propose the whole of the Amendments standing in the name of the hon. Member for Leeds (Mr. Jackson)?

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE: I want to hear what hon. Members opposite have to say in support of their Amendments as they stand on the Paper. The question in regard to the first part of the case would be best raised, I think, not by the Amendment which I have moved in the name of the hon. Member for Leeds (Mr. Jackson), but by moving to leave Sub-sections (*a*) and (*d*) out of the first part, and putting them in the second part of the clause. The other point as to the majority is a very difficult one. I put it before the Committee as one which concerns rural and not urban districts. In rural districts you frequently find cases in which only two persons are interested, and in which, therefore, there cannot be a majority. Hon. Members opposite are probably more interested in that point than I am myself.

MR. DODDS (Stockton): The Amendment of the hon. Member for Leeds (Mr. Jackson) has been fully considered by those who are associated with the promotion of this Bill; and, on the whole, we think that the form in which the clause stands is preferable to that suggested by the hon. Gentleman. I shall be glad to hear what the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Local Government Board (Mr. Stansfeld) has to say on the subject. Personally, I am in favour of the clause as it stands.

THE PRESIDENT OF THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD (Mr. STANSFELD) (Halifax): The question is a very proper one for discussion. The objections are—

> "That the alleged street is not within the meaning of this Act; that the street is wholly repairable by the inhabitants at large; that the proposed works are insufficient or unreasonable, or that the estimated expenses are excessive,"

and so on; and the proposal of the Bill is that all these objections can be made by at least one-half of the owners of the property in the street, and that the objections which any single owner may raise shall be objections in respect of his own property alone. The real question for us to decide is whether the first class of objection should be raised by an individual owner.

MR. DODDS (Stockton): As to the word "majority," there is considerable force in the suggestion of my hon.

Friend the Member for Chelsea (Sir Charles W. Dilke), and we shall be glad to consider the matter by Report. I think the Amendment may be made.

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE (Chelsea): I am glad the hon. Gentleman in charge of the Bill has consented to consider by Report the question of the advisability of retaining the word "majority." The matter, as put by the President of the Local Government Board, was, perhaps, a little misleading to hon. Gentlemen from the rural districts. The right hon. Gentleman spoke of the majority of the owners in the street; but one, and probably the most important, point is, whether it is a street or not. A rural authority may wish to have a gravel path made into a street, or to have it known as a street. The point is whether, in such a case, we should insist upon a man representing the majority of owners before he can be heard in the matter at all. I think in such a matter any owner ought to be heard.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

On Motion of The PRESIDENT of the LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD (Mr. Stansfeld) (Halifax), the following Amendment made:—Page 3, line 29, after "or the," insert "owners or."

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE (Chelsea): I moved the Amendment standing in the name of the hon. Member for Leeds (Mr. Jackson) to see whether hon. Mem-Members opposite had considered the Amendment. The Amendment, which would meet the view I have put forward, would be to take Sub-sections (*a*) and (*d*) out of the first part of the clause and put them in the second part. That would insist on power being given to any one owner to object in a case where it was alleged the alleged street was not a street, and also in a case where the proposed works were insufficient or unreasonable, or that the estimated expenses were excessive. I would leave (*b*) and (*c*), which are legal points, to be dealt with in the manner proposed in the clause; but the matters of fact which would most frequently arise I propose to put in the second part of the clause.

Amendment proposed,

In page 3, to leave out "(*a.*) That the alleged street is not a street within the meaning of this Act."—(*Sir Charles W. Dilke.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Clause."

MR. DODDS (Stockton): I think that, on the whole, the suggestion of my right hon. Friend will be an improvement of the clause, and therefore I shall be happy to agree to the Amendment.

Amendment *agreed to.*

On Motion of Sir CHARLES W. DILKE, the following Amendments made:—Page 4, leave out—

"(*d.*) "That the proposed works are insufficient or unreasonable, or that the estimated expenses are excessive."

Line 8, to insert after the words "that is to say," the words—

"That the alleged street is not a street within the meaning of this Act," and "that the proposed works are insufficient or unreasonable, or that the estimated expenses are excessive."

Clause, as amended, *agreed to.*

Clause 5 (Hearing and determination of objections).

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE (Chelsea): I do not propose to move any Amendment of this clause, but simply wish to call the attention of the Committee to the two different appeals proposed in the Bill. There is an appeal to a Court of Summary Jurisdiction, and there is an appeal to the Local Government Board. My impression is that the appeal to the Local Government Board is one to which all the aggrieved parties are likely to resort. I do not think anyone will go to a Court of Summary Jurisdiction; and I should have thought it would have been best to provide for an appeal to the Local Government Board only. The Committee need not be afraid that if that course were taken great expense would be thrown on the country; because there is provision in the Bill for raising the costs from the owner. Even if an increase to the Inspector's staff of the Local Government Board were necessitated under this Bill, there would be no extra charge to the country. I do not know whether my hon. Friend for Stockton (Mr. Dodds) has considered the matter; but if he has not, I hope he will do so before Report.

MR. DODDS (Stockton): There may be cases in which both parties are quite ready to take the opinion of the magistrate in the locality. It would be a pity, therefore, to exclude a Court which is sitting at your own door, and compel the parties to resort to an appeal to the Local Government Board, however trivial the question in dispute may be. I think it is better to have two strings to our bow. The retention of this provision can do no harm; but it is easy to conceive cases in which it would probably be a great convenience and a saving of expense to resort to a Court of Summary Jurisdiction.

Mr. F. S. POWELL (Wigan): I agree with the hon. Member (Mr. Dodds) that it is too much to refer all cases, no matter how trivial, to the Local Government Board.

Sir CHARLES W. DILKE: Personally, I am disposed to accept the suggestion of my hon. Friend (Mr. Dodds) that we should leave the clause as it is; but I hope the President of the Local Government Board will promise us that the Local Government Board will not assume that the intention of Parliament was that the matter should go to a Court of Summary Jurisdiction. There is just the danger in providing the two appeals that the Local Government Board will say—"Parliament meant you to go to a Court of Summary Jurisdiction before you come to us." I hope the Local Government Board will be willing, through their Inspectors, to act in all cases in which the parties desire they should.

The PRESIDENT of the LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD (Mr. Stansfeld) (Halifax): I think that under Sub-section (2) the Local Government Board would have no option in the matter.

Sir CHARLES W. DILKE: What I was afraid of was that the Local Government Board might consider that they have power to insist that certain legal points should be settled by a Court of Summary Jurisdiction before the parties came to the Board.

Mr. STANSFELD: The words of the sub-section are—

> "Notwithstanding anything hereinbefore contained, the sanitary authority may, before any application is made to a Court of Summary Jurisdiction, and if before the expiration of the period for objections they are so required in writing by a majority of the persons making an objection, or by a person entitled to object alone, shall refer to the Local Government Board all such objections, and that Board, after such local or other inquiry as they see fit, may make such order in the matter as to them may seem equitable."

I do not think the Local Government Board could refuse.

Clause *agreed to.*

Clauses 6 to 8 *agreed to.*

Clause 9 (Final apportionment of expenses).

Sir CHARLES W. DILKE (Chelsea): I propose to omit the word "expended," in page 7, line 2, and to insert "borrowed," and then to move the omission of the words—

> "From the respective dates of payment of such moneys until such completion."

Local Authorities are not able to borrow all the money they want for these matters, in the small sums in which they are obliged to pay the money. A case in point came before me when I was at the Local Government Board. The Chiswick Authorities had to raise a total sum of £15,000. They could only raise it in amounts of £5,000, while they only had to pay £1,000 at a time. A certain loss in interest would fall on the rates, if we carried this section in the form in which it stands. I admit this clause does away with nine-tenths of the grievance Local Authorities have at the present time, though it leaves a small portion of the grievance untouched. If the Committee accepts this Amendment, and then omits the words from "from" to "completion," we shall at once get rid of the last vestige of the grievance, and I cannot but think it is well to remove all the hardship.

Amendment proposed, in page 7, line 2, to leave out the word "expended," and insert the word "borrowed."—(*Sir Charles W. Dilke.*)

Question proposed, "That the word 'expended' stand part of the Clause."

Mr. DODDS (Stockton): I labour under a great disadvantage in not being able to follow the Amendment suggested by the right hon. Gentleman, those Amendments not appearing on the Paper. But upon the statement of the right hon. Gentleman that nine-tenths of the difficulty under which Local Authorities labour will be met by my clause, I am content to take it in its present form.

Mr. F. S. POWELL (Wigan): I think it would be well to take the clause as it stands.

Mr. BRUNNER (Cheshire, Northwich): I am sorry I cannot recognize the improvement suggested by the right hon. Baronet (Sir Charles W. Dilke). The clause will protect the Sanitary Authority if they spend the money before they have borrowed it, and that seems to me to meet the difficulty far better than the proposal of the right hon. Gentleman would.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Clause *agreed to.*

Clause 10 (Time of payment, charge on premises, and recovery of sum due for expenses).

THE PRESIDENT OF THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD (Mr. STANSFELD) (Halifax): I beg to propose to leave out "within," in line 38, and insert "at the expiration of." The words of the clause are—

> "And shall be payable to such authority within one month after payment of such principal sum has been demanded."

Amendment proposed, in page 7, line 38, to leave out the word "within," and insert the words "at the expiration of." —(*Mr. Stansfeld.*)

Amendment *agreed to.*

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE (Chelsea): The clause provides that the payment of the principal sums due shall be spread over a period not exceeding 20 years from the date of the final apportionment. I propose to omit the word "twenty," and to insert in its place either "ten" or "twelve." "Twenty years" has been adopted by the Bill, instead of "thirty years," as at the present time. Thirty years has always been felt to be preposterously long, and I cannot but think that 20 years is too long. The works contemplated could not last for 20 years. Ten or 12 years is the outside period the works will last. I think it is improper, even as a maximum, to put in so long as 20 years. I should like to have the opinion of my hon. Friend (Mr. Dodds) on the point.

Amendment proposed, in page 8, line 14, to leave out the word "twenty," in order to insert the word "ten."—(*Sir Charles W. Dilke.*)

Question proposed, "That the word 'twenty' stand part of the Clause."

MR. DODDS (Stockton): I regret my right hon. Friend has taken objection to this reduced period. I do not at all agree with him that works of sewage will not last for a considerably longer period than 20 years. If you saddle the present generation with too heavy a burden, by making it repay the money borrowed within a very short period, the result very often is that very necessary work is not done, and money is not borrowed.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

THE PRESIDENT OF THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD (Mr. STANSFELD) (Halifax): Section 8 requires that—

> "The said register shall be kept in accordance with such regulations as the sanitary authority may from time to time make, with the approval of the Local Government Board, and shall be admissible in evidence, on its mere production from the custody of such authority."

I propose to add after "Board" the words—

> "Or in accordance with any general regulations from time to time made by that Board."

It is convenient that for certain cases there should be this provision.

Amendment proposed,

> In page 9, line 17, after the word "Board," to insert the words "or in accordance with any general regulations from time to time made by that Board."—(*Mr. Stansfeld.*)

Amendment *agreed to.*

Clause, as amended, *agreed to.*

Clause 11 *agreed to.*

Clause 12 (Recovery of expenses summarily or by action).

MR. WESTLAKE (Essex, Romford): The Amendment which stands in my name is intended to make the cost of street improvements repayable by the owners at an earlier stage of the proceedings. The provision contained in the Amendment exists extensively; it exists in the Metropolis by virtue of Public Acts, and has been sanctioned by various Local Acts for a number of Local Boards; and it has been found so satisfactory in its working that I have been requested by the Local Boards of East Ham and Barking, which have had the opportunity of observing its usefulness under the neighbouring Local Board of West Ham, which is one of those that possess it, to move its insertion in this Bill. The purport of the Amendment is that the expenses shall be recoverable in advance. It has been found that, where the power exists, the expenses are much more freely paid in advance. The owners know that upon the payment of the expenses depends the chance of the Local Board being willing to take over the streets and make the improvements. If the work is done before they are made to pay, they are by no means as ready to pay as they were when they came to the Local Board to make the request. The Local Board are obliged to institute law suits, and heavy expenses are incurred. I beg to move the Amendment which stands in my name.

Amendment proposed,

In page 9, line 26, to leave out from "(1)," to end of line 34, and insert—" At any time after the expiration of the two months mentioned in section three, or if any objection affecting the premises in question has been made under section four, then, at any time after the matter of such objection shall have been determined, the sanitary authority, in addition and without prejudice to any remedy under the other provisions of this Act, and whether before the private street works in question have been commenced, or during their progress, or after their completion, may from time to time recover from the owner or owners for the time being of any premises included in the provisional or final apportionment, either as a civil debt in a court of summary jurisdiction for the county or place in which the premises are wholly or partly situate, or as a simple contract debt by action in any court, the sum, if any, charged under this Act on such premises in respect of the expenses of such private street works, or, if no such sum has so become charged, the sum provisionally apportioned on such premises in respect of such works, which last-mentioned sum, being so recovered, together with a corresponding portion of the interest mentioned in section ten, sub-section (1), shall be reckoned in diminution of the amount to be charged on the said premises under this Act; and, in case the amount otherwise to be charged on the said premises under this Act shall be less than that provisionally apportioned on them, and recovered as aforesaid, the sanitary authority shall repay the difference to the owner from whom the last-mentioned sum was recovered."—(*Mr. Westlake.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Clause."

MR. DODDS (Stockton): This seems to be an attempt to incorporate upon the system of the Public Health Act, which is in operation in the country generally, the Metropolitan system, which is different in important particulars. In the next place, I think it would be exceedingly hard upon the owners of property, many of whom have sufficient difficulty in finding money after improvements, to compel them to pay beforehand for the work that it is intended to do. It is now the practice of the Local Board with which I am connected to allow the owners of property to make application to extend the time of payment by two or three years, according to the circumstances, the owners of the property paying interest on the various instalments. As this is the first charge on the property, there can be no loss if ordinary precautions are taken. I must, therefore, oppose the Amendment of my hon. and learned Friend.

Amendment *negatived.*

Clause *agreed to.*

Clause 13 (Exemption from expenses of incumbent of church, &c.)

MR. CARVELL WILLIAMS (Nottingham): Clause 13 limits the exemption to cases in which there is a building for the purpose of worship. There are cases where land has been purchased with the view of erecting a place of worship upon it, and my Amendment is to give to the owners of such land the benefit of this exemption. It may be objected that the land may never be used for the purpose for which it was purchased, and that exemption may be improperly granted. I propose to meet such a case, by limiting the exemption to land which can be used only for that purpose.

Amendment proposed,

In page 10, line 3, after the word "poor," to insert the words "or the trustees to whom has been conveyed land for the exclusive purpose of erecting thereon any place of public worship."—(*Mr. Carvell Williams.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE (Chelsea): Is the hon. Gentleman (Mr. Carvell Williams) aware what the effect of this Amendment would be in law? It is a very common thing that trustees have the power to sell at any time. There was a case at Usedale Road quite recently in which land was bought by trustees of a chapel for the purpose of erecting a chapel. A new street has been made through the land, and the trustees have contributed their share to that new street. Since that they have sold the land for other purposes, and the chapel is to go to Fulham. This is a case, I think, to which this Amendment would apply. Of course, there are, too, a great number of cases in which chapels have ceased to be used as places of public worship.

Mr. DODDS (Stockton): I have already explained privately to my hon. Friend who moved this Amendment the reason why I cannot adopt it. I should say, in the first place, that the clause has been already amended so as to meet the principal objection my hon. Friend had to it as it stands in the Public Health Act, which is limited exclusively to ministers, and not extended to property vested in trustees. I know of two cases in my experience in which land bought for places of worship has been put to other uses. In one case in Middlesborough land was bought for a parsonage house. The ground, however, became so valuable for building purposes that it was sold, and a number of public-houses built on it. In Stockton, within the past 12 months, a plot of ground of considerable size was given by a gentleman as a site for a church and school, and other buildings connected with them. The land around was let for building purposes, and streets were formed. What happened? A chapel was built on part of the property and a school upon another portion, and upon the remaining part of the property a row of very nice dwellings have been built during the past six months, which get the full benefit of all the paving around the site without any charge whatever. For these reasons, as well as for others which I have mentioned to my hon. Friend, I regret that I cannot accept the Amendment. I have given him a great deal, and now he asks for more.

Mr. BRUNNER (Cheshire, Northwich): I could mention three cases similar to those mentioned by my hon. Friend.

Mr. CARVELL WILLIAMS (Nottingham, S.): I venture to say that the cases mentioned by the hon. Member (Mr. Dodds) would not be covered by these words, because I apprehend that the land in these cases was not conveyed for the purpose of erecting places of worship and for no other purpose. The case I have in mind is one in which it would be impossible to devote the land to any other purpose.

Mr. DODDS (Stockton): The Amendment would involve an inquiry into the title of every piece of land.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Mr. CARVELL WILLIAMS (Nottingham, S.): The hon. Member (Mr. Dodds) who has charge of this Bill has undoubtedly cured a defect in the existing law, by inserting the words "or trustee" in the first line of Clause 13. By a recent decision doubt was created as to the applicability of the exemption to cases where there was neither incumbent or a minister. That doubt will be removed by this Bill if it should pass; but what I ask for is that the parties in pending cases should be put in the same position as those who will come under the Bill. I wish to give the benefit of the Bill to those who have suffered as a result of a quite recent decision.

Amendment proposed,

In page 10, at end insert—"(2.) Section one hundred and fifty-one of the principal Act shall read as if, in the first line thereof, the words 'the incumbent, minister, or trustee,' had been inserted, instead of the words 'the incumbent or minister,' and, as so altered, shall apply as well in all cases where notices or orders have been already given or made, or works executed, or shall hereafter be given or made or executed.' "—(*Mr. Carvell Williams.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

The PRESIDENT of the LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD (Mr. Stansfeld) (Halifax): Section 151 is already repealed.

Mr. CARVELL WILLIAMS: That being the case, I shall raise the question in another form on the Report.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Clause *agreed to.*

Clauses 14 to 16 *agreed to.*

Clause 17 (Application of sums received from owners, &c.)

The PRESIDENT of the LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD (Mr. Stansfeld) (Halifax): I beg to move to insert after "may," in line 14, "subject to such conditions as they may deem necessary."

On Motion of The President of the Local Government Board (Mr. Stansfeld) (Halifax), the following Amendment made:—Page 11, line 14, after "may," insert "subject to such conditions as they may deem necessary."

Clause, as amended, *agreed to.*

Clause 18 (Power to borrow for private street works fund).

THE PRESIDENT OF THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD (Mr. STANSFELD) (Halifax): I propose the omission of this clause, and also of Clause 19. My reason is simply this—the object of these clauses is to enable the Sanitary Authority to set aside excess of repayments for objects other than those contemplated by the scheme. We gave that power in the 17th clause, subject to the assent of the Local Government Board.

Clause *negatived.*

Clause 19 (Annual return to Local Government Board) *negatived.*

Clause 20 (Adoption of private streets).

On Motion of Mr. DODDS, the following Amendment made:—Page 12, line 13, after the first "authority," insert "either before or after the passing of this Act."

Clause, as amended, *agreed to.*

Clause 21 *agreed to.*

Clause 22 (Application of Act to part of a street).

Amendment proposed,

In page 12, line 40, to leave out from "the part not so repairable to expenses," in line 4, page 13, inclusive, and insert—"This Act shall apply to the whole street as if no part of the street were repairable by the inhabitants at large: Provided, That where any expenses are incurred under this Act in respect of the street, a proper proportion of such expenses, having regard to the part of the street which is repairable by the inhabitants at large, shall be charged upon such inhabitants and paid as other expenses of such repair are paid, and the authority paying these expenses, where not the sanitary authority, shall for the purposes of this Act be deemed to be an owner of premises charged with expenses of private street works."—(*Mr. Stansfeld.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Clause."

MR. DODDS (Stockton): In my opinion, and in the opinion of those who have taken very considerable interest in this matter, the clause as it stands in the Bill is preferable to the amended form suggested by the right hon. Gentleman. Under the circumstances, however, I feel I have no alternative but to submit to the Amendment.

Amendment *agreed to.*

On Motion of The PRESIDENT of the LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD (Mr. Stansfeld) (Halifax), the following Amendments made:—Page 13, line 26, after "any," insert "Sanitary authority resolve to execute any;" line 26, leave out "are executed."

MR. F. S. POWELL (Wigan): I have the following Amendment on the Paper:—Page 10, after Clause 12, insert the following Clause:—

"The owners or proprietors of any canal or navigable river shall not be liable in any expenses of private street works under this Act, in respect of any land or premises of such owners or proprietors which shall be used solely as a part of their line of canal or navigation or towing path hereof, and shall have no communication with the street in connection with which such expenses are incurred."

I do not propose to move this, but propose to give way to the hon. Member for Leeds (Mr. Jackson), because his clause is more complete. It applies to railways as well as canals. The purport of the clause is very simple, and I think it is also just as well as simple. There are cases in connection with both railways and canals where there is a road or passage belonging to the Company not accessible from the public highways. It is especially the case in regard to canals; and we propose that where there is a towing-path or a passage of that kind the Company shall not be liable for the expenses under the Act, provided there be no communication with the public street. If, however, the communication be estalished at some future time, then liability would arise. My hon. Friend below me will bear me out, I think, that this has been introduced into a Local Act this year. I think it is a just provision. It is hard on Companies that they should have to pay expenses in respect of that from which they derive no advantage whatever. I will move the clause in the name of my hon. Friend.

Amendment proposed, in page 10, after Clause 13, to insert the following Clause:—

(Exemption of premises of Railway or Canal Company having no communication with street.)

"No Railway or Canal Company shall be liable to any expenses under this Act in respect of any of their premises fronting, adjoining, or abutting on any street, if such premises are used solely for the purposes of their Railway or Canal undertaking, and have no communication with such street, but in the event of a communication being made with such street at any time after the expenses of any private street works in respect thereof shall have been apportioned under this Act, the Railway or Canal Company making such communication shall pay to the sanitary authority the amount which, but for the provisions of this section, they would, in the first instance, have been liable to pay, and the sanitary authority shall divide such amount among the owners for the time being of the other premises, according to the proportions in which the original expenses were divided amongst them in the final apportionment made under this Act,—(*Mr. F. S. Powell,*)

—*brought up*, and read the first time.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Clause be read a second time."

MR. DODDS (Stockton): I regret that I cannot accept this clause; and I venture to suggest to the Committee that there is no absolute necessity for it. It would not be fair to exempt either railways or canals from contribution. Clause 7 already contemplates the consideration of the degree of benefit derived by the premises from the works carried out. The question will be the amount of any benefit derived, so that any Railway Company will have the right to say—"Our property is very slightly benefited; therefore we object to have any of the apportionment put on us, or, at any rate, none but a nominal amount." I know a case at the present moment where a Railway Company purchased land for a siding. Stipulations were made that they should not have access to a road that it was intended to make, but should have means of exit from and access to their platform at two particular points agreed upon on two public roads. Well, very recently, within the past few months—during the present year, in fact—the Company have altered their plans; and now that a roadway adjoining the railway has been formed and dedicated to the use of the public, they have placed three gateways in the fence by the side of the road, and they will derive as much benefit from the road as people on the opposite side of the street, who had to contribute to the expenses. I submit that Clause 7 provides adequate relief for Railway Companies, and to omit to charge them altogether would be an injustice to the owners of other property on the estate, especially as many circumstances may arise to render the land that now forms the site of the railways, or may hereafter form the site of the railways, available for other purposes. We had an instance of that in the conversion of Regent's Canal into railways. I think Clause 7 deals adequately with the case of railways and canals.

MR. STUART-WORTLEY (Sheffield, Hallam): I think there is something in what the hon. Gentleman says as to the alternative contained in Clause 7. But I would point out that that clause gives an extraordinarily large discretion to the Sanitary Authority. It will not lay them under the necessity of considering whether any reduction can be made, but will leave it to their sense of justice whether or not they shall consider what justice is.

MR. DODDS (Stockton): There is an appeal from their decision.

THE PRESIDENT OF THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD (Mr. STANSFELD) (Halifax): If the hon. Member will refer to Clause 4, Sub-section (*c*), he will find the following ground for objecting to the proposal of a Sanitary Authority:—

> "That certain premises ought to be excluded from or included in the provisional apportionment."

That, I think, entirely meets the case.

MR. F. S. POWELL (Wigan): I withdraw the Amendment. I have raised the point, and I must remain content with that.

COLONEL E. HUGHES (Woolwich): The effect of this clause would be that possibly the owners on one side of a street might have to pay for the paving on both sides. If the clause were limited to streets made after the canal, perhaps it would be right; but with regard to streets made, though not paved, before the canal was made, I think it should not apply. The Companies ought to bear burdens that may possibly fall on the land they take.

Question put, and *negatived.*

CAPTAIN COTTON (Cheshire, Wirral): The new clause I rise to propose was the subject of an Instruction before the Bill went into Committee. It repeals Clause 156 of the Public Health Act of 1875, by which it was enacted that it shall not be lawful in any urban district to bring forward any house or building forming part of any street. I have used the words "to erect or bring forward" so as to make the clause apply to new as well as to existing buildings. This has been found necessary on account of certain decisions that have been given on the subject by the Law Courts. I may add that I looked into the Burgh Police and Health (Scotland) Bill, and that, so far as I can make out, this clause is fully provided for in that measure.

Amendment proposed, after Clause 22, to insert the following Clause :—

(Buildings not to be brought forward.)

"Section one hundred and fifty-six of 'The Public Health Act, 1875,' is, save as hereinafter mentioned, hereby repealed, and in lieu thereof it is hereby enacted that it shall not be lawful in any urban district, without the written consent of the urban authority, to erect or bring forward any house or building in any street, or any part of any such house or building, beyond the main front wall of the house or building on either side thereof, nor to build any addition to any house or building beyond the front main wall of the house or building on either side of the same.

"Any person offending against this enactment shall be liable to a penalty not exceeding forty shillings for every day during which the offence is continued after written notice in this behalf from the urban authority.

"Provided, That the repeal by this section enacted shall not affect anything duly done or suffered, or any right or liability acquired, accrued, or incurred, or any security given under the section hereby repealed, or any penalty, forfeiture, or punishment incurred in respect of any offence committed against such section, or any investigation, legal proceeding, or remedy in respect of any such right, liability, security, penalty, forfeiture, or punishment, as aforesaid; and any such investigation, legal proceeding, and remedy may be carried on as if this Act had not been passed,"—(*Captain Cotton*,)

—*brought up*, and read the first time.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Clause be read a second time."

THE PRESIDENT OF THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD (Mr. STANSFELD) (Halifax): It may save time if I at once state that I shall be happy to accept the clause, which will be a great improvement in the Bill.

Motion *agreed to*.

Clause *added* to the Bill.

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE (Chelsea): Would the Government undertake to consider whether a new clause could not be brought up to deal with what is a very hard case indeed? At the present moment, if a scheme is prepared for the laying out of a new district in which there are a great number of new streets—sometimes as many as 20 or 30 being dealt with at once—the expense of laying down a new sewer may be charged to one particular street. The sewer may have been laid down for the benefit of the whole of the streets, and not for one only. The point is a technical one that ought, I think, to be dealt with by the promoters of the Bill.

MR. F. S. POWELL (Wigan): That point is dealt with in the power which is given to deal with adjoining property.

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE: I do not think the point is dealt with. You might throw the whole expense of several streets on one street. You can throw a portion of the expense on the whole district for which the authority serves, no doubt.

MR. BRUNNER (Cheshire, Northwich): I do not think that the clause the hon. Gentleman the Member for Wigan refers to could be understood to meet the case mentioned without a great deal of straining. I trust the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Local Government Board (Mr. Stansfeld) will give us an undertaking to consider the point raised by the right hon. Baronet.

MR. DODDS (Stockton): I should be glad to consider the point. If the right hon. Gentleman would prepare a sketch clause of the matter in his mind, and would send it to me, I should be happy to give it every consideration. If I am to give an opinion upon it upon Report, it would be a great convenience to me to have the suggestion put into writing, and sent to me in the course of the present week. I propose to take the Report stage some time next week, so that I think, in the interest of expedition, it will be well to follow the course I point out.

Amendment proposed, in Schedule, page 16, line 25, to leave out the word "can."—(*Mr. Stansfeld*).

Amendment *agreed to*.

THE PRESIDENT OF THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD (Mr. STANSFELD) (Halifax): I beg to propose the Amendment on the Paper relating to the

Schedule after line 28. The second part of the Schedule defines the notices to be given, and it does not appear to me to be sufficient. I propose that the notice, or a copy of it, shall be served on every owner or person in occupation of the premises, and, where there is no one on the premises, that it shall be posted up on some conspicuous part of them. I also provide for the notice being sent by post. It appears to me that my proposal will materially improve the Bill and the law on this subject.

Amendment proposed,

In Schedule, page 16, after line 28, insert—"Any notice required by this Act to be given shall be served on every owner affected thereby by delivering the same, or a true copy thereof, to him, or at his residence, or to some person on the premises in respect of which the notice is given, or, where there is no person on the premises who can be so served, by fixing the same on some conspicuous part of the premises. It may also be served by post by a prepaid letter addressed to the owner at his last known or most usual place of abode, or at the premises, and, if served by post, shall be deemed to have been served at the time when the letter containing the notice would be delivered in the ordinary course of post, and, in proving such service, it shall be sufficient to prove that the notice was properly addressed and put into the post.

"Any notice required to be given to the owner of any premises may be addressed by the description of the 'owner' of the premises (naming them) in respect of which the notice is given, without further name or description."—(*Mr. Stansfeld.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

Mr. DODDS (Stockton): I do not at all like this clause, and, objectionable as it is to me, it is still more so to friends associated with me in this matter. If, however, the right hon. Gentleman who has moved it will promise between this and Report to consider the matter fully in the light of representations that will be made to him, I will not resist the introduction of the Amendment.

Mr. F. S. POWELL (Wigan): May I be allowed to say a concluding word? I hope the Committee will sanction the insertion of these words. I do not think the Schedule as it stands in the Bill is at all sufficient. The Bill may involve the payment of a considerable sum on these expenses—a sum which, if not considerable in itself, will be found considerable when you consider the position of the owners, many of whom will be, comparatively speaking, poor persons. It appears to me that the notice which would have to be given under Part II. of the Schedule, as it stands, would be very insufficient. The Schedule says the notice shall be—

"publicly posted in or near the street to which it relates once at least in each of three successive weeks."

Such publication cannot be sufficient, for the notice may be destroyed by a shower of rain, or pulled down by a mischievous child.

Mr. JOHNS (Warwick, Nuneaton): I would suggest that the notice should be required to be sent in a registered letter, instead of an ordinary prepaid letter

Question put, and *agreed to.*

On Motion of The President of the Local Government Board (Mr. Stansfeld), the following Amendments made:—Schedule, page 16, line 29, leave out "shall," and insert "may also;" page 17, line 2, leave out from "and such publication" to "in such street," in line 4; leave out from line 10 to line 12, inclusive, and insert—

"Where several notices are given in respect of the same works, and are not given on the same day, the date of the giving of the last of such notices shall be deemed, for the purposes of this Act, to be the date of the giving of all of them."

Schedule, as amended, *agreed to.*

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Chairman report the Bill, as amended, to the House."

Mr. STUART-WORTLEY (Sheffield, Hallam): I should like to know whether, between this and the next stage, there will be time for the Bill to be reprinted?

Mr. DODDS (Stockton): Yes; I will take care that it is reprinted.

Bill *reported;* as amended, to be *considered* upon *Thursday* 3rd June, and to be *printed.* [Bill 230.]

## *MOTIONS.*

—o—

### METROPOLITAN FIRE BRIGADE EXPENSES (NO. 2) BILL.

On Motion of Colonel Edwin Hughes, Bill to amend the Law relating to the expenses of the Metropolitan Fire Brigade, *ordered* to be brought in by Colonel Edwin Hughes, Mr. Dixon-Hartland, Sir Richard Temple, Mr.

Baumann, Mr. Isaacs, Mr. Tatton Egerton, and Mr. Baggallay.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 231.]

### PETERHEAD HARBOUR OF REFUGE BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Duff, Bill to empower the Admiralty to form a Harbour of Refuge at Peterhead, in the county of Aberdeen, and to execute and maintain breakwater piers and other works and conveniences in connection therewith; and for other purposes, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. Duff, Mr. Hibbert, Mr. Henry H. Fowler, The Lord Advocate, and Mr. Solicitor General for Scotland.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 232.]

*Ordered*, That the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills do examine the Peterhead Harbour of Refuge Bill, with respect to compliance with the Standing Orders relative to Private Bills.

### ULSTER CANAL AND TYRONE NAVIGATION BILL.

*Ordered*, That the Order [13th May] That the Select Committee on the Ulster Canal and Tyrone Navigation Bill do consist of Nine Members, Five to be nominated by the House, and Four by the Committee of Selection, be read and discharged.

*Ordered*, That the Select Committee do consist of Eleven Members, Seven to be nominated by the House, and Four by the Committee of Selection.

*Ordered*, That Mr. Healy and Mr. Sexton be added to the Committee.—(*Mr. Henry H. Fowler.*)

House adjourned at half after Two o'clock till Thursday.

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## HOUSE OF LORDS,

*Thursday*, 27*th May*, 1886.

MINUTES.]—Sat First in Parliament—The Earl of Chichester, after the death of his father.

Public Bills—*Committee*—Crofters (Scotland) (No. 2) (95-127).

*Committee — Report* — Municipal Corporations (Scheme Confirmation) * (90).

Provisional Order Bills—*Second Reading*—Commons Regulation (Stoke) * (102); Commons Regulation and Inclosure (Totternhoe) * (103); Local Government * (104); Local Government (No. 2) * (105); Local Government (Poor Law) * (106); Local Government (Poor Law) (No. 2) * (107); Local Government (Poor Law) (No. 3) * (108); Local Government (Poor Law) (No. 4) * (109); Local Government (Poor Law) (No. 5) * (110); Local Government (Poor Law) (No. 6) * (111).

*Committee — Report* — Drainage and Improvement of Lands (Ireland) (No. 2) * (84).

### PRIVATE BILLS (STANDING ORDER No. 128).

Report from the Select Committee *considered*.

The LORD CHANCELLOR (Lord Herschell), on rising to move that Standing Order 128, which provided that no interest out of capital should be paid on calls under Railway Bills be vacated, and that a new Standing Order recommended by the Select Committee be adopted in lieu thereof, said, it would be in their Lordships' recollection that a short time ago a Select Committee was appointed to inquire into the Standing Orders of that House with regard to Railway Bills, prohibiting the payment of interest or dividend out of capital during the construction of works. That Committee was appointed to consider whether any alterations ought to be made in the Standing Order of their Lordships' House, having in view the fact that the Standing Order of the House of Commons, which was formerly the same as that of their Lordships' House, had been two years ago altered very materially, and also seeing that on more than one occasion their Lordships had thought fit to dispense with their Standing Order in its existing form. The Select Committee took the matter into their consideration, and were unanimous in the Report which they presented to their Lordships' House, although certain differences of opinion were no doubt entertained by Members of the Committee as to the extent to which it was expedient or justifiable that a Bill should authorize the execution of railway or other works and sanction the payment of interest out of capital during construction. But it was felt that the matter could not be left in its present very unsatisfactory position, because while the House of Commons allowed, under certain somewhat stringent regulations, the insertion of a clause sanctioning such payment of interest out of capital during construction, their Lordships' House, by Standing Order 128, absolutely prohibited it. The result of this was that a measure containing such a clause could pass through the other House; and in one case, at least, their Lordships suspended their Standing Order, and permitted the insertion of the clause as sanctioned by the House of Commons. The Select Committee had thought it better to recommend that substantially the Standing Order of their Lordships' House should be the same as that of the House of Commons; and therefore they had recommended only certain verbal alterations in that Standing Order, which, in their opinion, made its object and purpose somewhat more clear in an important particular, and also one or two alterations in form rather than substance, which were necessary to bring it more into conformity with the proceedings in their Lordships' House. Substantially, what he asked them to adopt was the Standing Order, which two years ago was adopted by the House of Commons. Everyone must be agreed that where an undertaking was secured by statute with the permission to those who were to execute the works to pay interest during the time of construction out of capital and not out of earnings, it was extremely important that those who were induced to invest their money in the undertaking should have clear and distinct notice of what was being done; and, provided that they had such notice, he thought it would not probably be considered necessary, at all events in all cases, that the care of the Legislature over them should go further than that. The Standing Order of the House of Commons was stringent with regard to the interest to be allowed, the time during which it was to be allowed, when it was to begin, and the conditions of subscription of capital under which a loan was to be allowed. In the Standing Order now recommended to their Lordships it was made perfectly clear that the notice of a Company having power so to pay interest must be given in every prospectus, advertisement, or other document of the Company inviting subscriptions for shares and in every certificate of shares. The Select Committee were unanimous in the conclusion at which they arrived that a provision of that sort might be recommended to their Lordships' House with a substantial feeling of security against any injustice or wrong being done. Of course, to a very great extent, people must take care of and protect themselves; but when an Act of Parliament was required it might reasonably be maintained that some further protection might be inserted for the benefit of the unwary and those who were wanting in caution. He thought that if they secured that in every case the document which invited them to part with their money should at the same time make known to them exactly what was being done in the matter of paying interest out of capital during construction, beyond that people might be left to take care of themselves. The Select Committee were satisfied that there was substantial ground for altering the Standing Order of their Lordships' House, inasmuch as it was thought by most of the Members that unless a provision of this sort were adopted undertakings of a perfectly substantial and legitimate character would not, and could not, be carried out, because money which would be subscribed with such a provision would not be subscribed without it. A provision of this sort was not required to bolster up unsound and speculative concerns, but might be legitimately introduced in the case of sound and substantial ones. It was most undesirable upon a matter of this kind, unless there was some extremely strong reason for it, that there should be a difference between the Standing Order of their Lordships' House and the Standing Order of the House of Commons. It did occur to the Committee that in some respects, perhaps, changes might be desirable; but they thought it would be better in the meantime to pass the Standing Order in the form in which the House of Commons adopted it, and, should further amendment prove desirable, the matter should be made the subject of a communication between their Lordships' House and the House of Commons, so that the Standing Orders of both Houses upon this matter might ultimately be the same.

*Moved*, "That Standing Order No. 128 be vacated, and that the following Standing Order be adopted in lieu thereof:

"A clause shall be inserted in every Railway Bill prohibiting the payment of any interest or dividend out of any capital which the Company have been or may be authorised to raise, either by means of calls, or of any power of borrowing, to any shareholder on the amount of the calls made in respect of the shares held by him, except such interest on money advanced by any shareholder beyond the amount of the calls actually made as is in conformity with the Companies Clauses Consolidation Act, 1845, or the Companies Clauses Consolidation (Scotland) Act, 1845, as the case may be; and except such interest (if any) as the Committee on the Bill may, according to the circumstances of the case, think fit to allow, subject always to the following conditions:—

(1.) That the rate of interest allowed by the Committee do not in any case exceed four per centum per annum;

(2.) That interest be allowed to be paid in respect only of the time allowed by the Bill for the completion of the railway, or such less time as the Committee think fit;

(3.) That payment of interest be not allowed to begin until the Railway Company have obtained a certificate of the Board of Trade to the effect that two-thirds at least of the share capital authorised by the Bill, in respect whereof interest may be paid, have been actually issued and accepted, and are held by shareholders, who, or whose executors, administrators, successors, or assigns, are legally liable for the same;

(4.) That interest do not accrue in favour of any shareholder for any time during which any call on any of his shares is in arrear;

(5.) That the aggregate amount to be so paid for interest be estimated and stated in the Bill, and be not deemed capital within Standing Order 112;

(6.) That notice of the Company having power so to pay interest out of capital be given in every prospectus, advertisement, or other document of the Company inviting subscriptions for shares, and in every certificate of shares; and

(7.) That the half-yearly accounts of the Company do show the amount on which, and the rate at which, interest has been paid:

And the Company shall be authorised by the Bill to pay interest accordingly, but not further or otherwise.

"If in any case the Committee on the Bill do not think fit to allow any such interest, then there shall be inserted in the Bill provisions making liable to penalties, recoverable summarily, any director or officer of the Company who shall, directly or indirectly, pay or procure to be paid any interest or dividend prohibited as aforesaid, and making illegal and void any contract entered into by the Company, or the directors thereof, or any of them, under which payment of any interest or dividend prohibited as aforesaid shall be, directly or indirectly, provided for.

"No Railway Bill authorising the payment of interest out of capital shall be read a second time until a report thereon from the Board of Trade has been laid upon the Table of the House."—(*The Lord Chancellor.*)

THE EARL OF SELBORNE said, he had always been of opinion that the principle of their Lordships' Standing Order was a very sound one. He felt the force, however, of what was said by the noble and learned Lord on the Woolsack as to the great necessity for something like unanimity of action upon this subject between the two Houses of Parliament. He would not oppose the Motion, although he continued to think that the Standing Order of their Lordships' House was better than that of the other House.

Motion *agreed to;* and *resolved* accordingly.

The said Standing Order to be *printed.* (No. 126.)

## CROFTERS (SCOTLAND) (No. 2) BILL.

(*The Earl of Dalhousie.*)

(NO. 95.) COMMITTEE.

House in Committee (according to order).

### I.—*Security of Tenure.*

Clause 1 (A crofter shall not be removed except for breach of statutory conditions).

LORD LOVAT, in moving, in line 12, before Sub-section 1, to insert a new sub-section—namely—

> "A crofter shall reside on his holding unless serving with an embodied regiment of Militia,"

said, it was desirable that the crofter should continue to reside on his holding. As the Bill stood, he did not see anything to prevent a crofter fencing his croft round, planting it with trees or anything else he chooses, going off to America, and returning after 20 years, and coming down upon the proprietor for payment for any improvements. The object of the Bill was not to do that, but to provide land for the crofter; and, therefore, he moved this Amendment, so as to secure that the crofter should reside on his holding.

Amendment *moved,*

> In page 1, after line 12, before sub-section (1.), insert as a new sub-section—"(1.) The crofter shall reside on his holding unless serving with an embodied regiment of Militia."—(*The Lord Lovat.*)

THE DUKE OF RICHMOND AND GORDON said, he thought an Amendment which he had put down would meet the object of his noble Friend better. He intended to propose that the definition of a crofter should be a person who resided habitually on his holding.

LORD NAPIER AND ETTRICK said, that there were many cases of men who had to leave their crofts and serve with the Army, and who might be away for a year or a year and a-half. While he was away his croft might be taken care of by his wife or his mother, and it would be hard to deprive him of it in these circumstances. He might be absent, and yet the croft suffer no damage, and there might be a *bonâ fide* intention on his part to come back.

In reply to Lord ABINGER,

LORD NAPIER AND ETTRICK said, that the case he had put was not at all an unusual one. It certainly was a very ordinary case in past times, when hundreds of crofters returned from military service and resumed agricultural operations on their crofts. He would be more inclined to accept the suggestion of the noble Duke to insert the word "habitually" than to accept the noble Lord's Amendment.

THE SECRETARY FOR SCOTLAND (The Earl of DALHOUSIE) said, he hoped the Amendment would not be pressed. Enough had been said already to show that it was an objectionable Amendment; but it was even more objectionable than had been shown, for crofters often went to the fishings, and even worked for a while on the large farms. If the Amendment were accepted, he was not sure that it would not seriously affect the value of the Bill.

LORD LOVAT said, he was quite ready to accept the suggestion of the noble Duke to insert the word "habitually" in the Definition Clause and withdraw his Amendment.

Amendment (by leave of the Committee) *withdrawn.*

LORD ABINGER moved, as an additional sub-section, to insert—

"The crofter shall have been convicted of felony, or theft, or be in receipt of parochial relief."

While he regretted that legislation such as this had been proposed, he thought they should endeavour to make it as innocuous as possible. It put the interests of the landlords on one side and the interests of the crofters on the other. Now, while he might admit that there were ruthless landlords, yet, on the other hand, they had sometimes worthless tenants; and the privileges of the Bill should not be, in his opinion, extended to convicted felons and thieves, or to crofters who were in receipt of parochial relief. He had been for 25 years Chairman of the Board of one of the largest parishes, and he found that the old feeling of independence was very much wearing off, and that many were on the poor roll who ought not to have been there. Under the circumstances which would be introduced by the power of bequest contained in the Bill, the landlord ought to have some power over crofts held by persons in receipt of parochial relief.

Amendment *moved,*

In page 1, line 16, after ("tenancy") insert as a new sub-section—"The crofter shall have been convicted of felony, or theft, or be in receipt of parochial relief."—(*The Lord Abinger.*)

THE DUKE OF ARGYLL said, he hoped his noble Friend would not press his Amendment. He did not think it would have any practical value, while it had an exceedingly offensive aspect. He could sincerely say that among the crofting population in the West of Scotland ordinary crime, such as was here referred to, was almost unknown, and he did not remember the case of any crofter being convicted of theft or felony. It was offensive to apply it to them when it did not apply to the larger class of farmers, who were not deprived of their farms by law on conviction for theft. As to those receiving parochial relief, he had never heard of a man being admitted to be a pauper in his district who had got a croft. The ratepayers looked after that. There might be cases in which a crofter became bankrupt, and his cattle and goods sold off. He might then become a pauper; but if he came upon the roll he could not retain his holding. The Bill would really gain nothing by the Amendment.

LORD ABINGER said, he had no intention of proposing anything offensive. As there was so little likelihood of his Amendment being enforced, there could be little objection to its being inserted.

THE EARL OF DALHOUSIE said, he did not understand the point of the Amendment. If the crofter did not pay his rent, he could, under Sub-section 1 of this clause, cease to be in possession of his croft.

LORD ABINGER maintained that a difficulty might arise in this way in connection with the Bequest Clause. If a man became a pauper he did not pay his rent; but if he had not paid for two years he had to get six months' notice. If he died in the interval his son might come in and get the croft, and the landlord would have no claim against him for the past rent. The object of the Amendment was to give the landlord power to take over the holding on the crofter taking parochial relief.

Lord NAPIER and ETTRICK said, he agreed with the remarks of the noble Duke (the Duke of Argyll), and would even go further. He asked their Lordships to consider whether there was not a moral question involved here? The noble Lord (Lord Abinger) proposed that when a man was convicted of an offence, not only he should be removed from his croft, but his family should also be made to suffer, and they must all remove somewhere else. The man might go to a town, and become worse there and increase its criminal population. It seemed to him a more rational thing that every parish should consume its own vice and crime, and not be so solicitous to send its crime to other parts of the country. Then in regard to the point of parochial relief. Under the Bill the smallest occupier paying the smallest rent became a crofter; and they could easily conceive circumstances in which an old man or an old woman should be in temporary distress and receive outdoor relief. Would it not be a gross act of cruelty if they were to sanction the summary expulsion of such old persons from the holding to which they were warmly attached? On the whole, he regarded the Amendment as very pernicious in its tendency, and he hoped their Lordships would not agree to it.

The Duke of RICHMOND and GORDON said, he would be very sorry if their Lordships assented to this Amendment, and he would suggest a difficulty. There was no such crime known in Scotch law as felony. It therefore would be easy to pass the Amendment to that extent, because it would be inoperative but for the other considerations. He thought it would be a very ungracious act if they should put in such words as were proposed. He concurred with the appeal of the noble Earl the Secretary for Scotland, who on the second reading said that the Bill should be discussed with every desire to ameliorate the condition of the crofters. In that spirit he thought the words now suggested were unnecessary, and therefore he could not support them.

Amendment *negatived.*

Lord ABINGER said, he proposed to amend the 4th sub-section of Section 1, which provided that the crofter should not, without the consent of his landlord in writing, sub-divide or sub-let his holding, by inserting the words "or permit any other family to reside in the same house."

Amendment *moved,*

In page 1, line 25, after ("thereof") insert ("or permit any other family to reside in the same house.")—(*The Lord Abinger.*)

The Earl of DALHOUSIE said, he could not accept the Amendment, which he thought was too dictatorial.

Lord NAPIER and ETTRICK said, there were, no doubt, many cases in which parents took in the families of their sons into very small houses; and sometimes, even in cases of sickness and death, scenes very shocking to decency occurred. They had several examples of this before the Royal Commission. If the noble Lord would insert the word "habitually" he should feel inclined to support the Amendment.

The Duke of ARGYLL said, that no doubt the Amendment was pointed against what was a real evil in the Western Highlands, where there was great overcrowding in the cottages. He had found it almost impossible to prevent it, and such a provision as that proposed seemed rather to belong to the class of Bills which dealt with sanitary questions than with Bills dealing with questions of tenure. He had no doubt that Parliament would adopt further and more stringent measures with regard to the health of the people; and if Local Bodies were ever intrusted with such duties they would take cognizance of this great evil. It was a difficult and invidious duty to cast out a crofter because he admitted his son's wife. The crofters did not take in crofters, but allowed their married children to come in and overcrowd the house. He thought that was an evil which they must put up with for the present, and wait for the progress of education and local government.

Amendment *negatived.*

The Duke of ARGYLL moved, as an Amendment, to add the following new sub-section:—

"The crofter shall not persistently violate any written condition for the protection of the landlord's interest or the interest of the neighbouring crofters which is legally applicable to the holding, and which shall be sanctioned as reasonable by the Land Commissioners."

The object of the Amendment was to

prevent the abuse of rights by one man to the disadvantage of his landlord and his neighbours. As the Bill came up to this House there was no possibility of getting rid of a crofter unless he did not pay rent. But there might be a whole string of regulations which the crofter had signed as conditions of keeping his holding, and he might evade every one of them. Some of these stipulations were in the interest not of the landlords, but of the neighbouring crofters. It was common to put in conditions as to the amount of cattle to be on the common grazing, and there was no more common cause of quarrel than when one man of strong will, perhaps not with the highest character, put on more cattle than his own share on the common grazing. Sometimes this one man overruled the rest of the crofters. In order to present this state of things the landlord often inserted a provision that the crofter should keep his cattle to the proper limit. He knew one case, he was sorry to say, where a minister of the Church of Scotland who had a right of grazing put many more cattle on the common grazing ground than he had a right to do. He understood that the Government were prepared to accept the Amendment if words were inserted to show that the agreement had actually been signed by the crofter. He was willing to accept the proposal of the Government, although such matters were very often simply customary obligations. However, he admitted that there was some difficulty, and he was quite willing to limit his Amendment to the case where the crofters had actually signed the conditions.

Amendment *moved*,

In page 1, line 27, after sub-section 4, insert as a new sub-section—"The crofter shall not persistently violate any written condition for the protection of the landlord's interest or the interest of neighbouring crofters which is legally applicable to the holding, and which shall be sanctioned as reasonable by the Land Commission."—(*The Duke of Argyll.*)

THE EARL OF DALHOUSIE said, he would accept the Amendment, subject to the limitation suggested by the noble Duke.

Amendment *agreed to.*

LORD ABINGER begged to move an Amendment to give the landlord power to enter a holding for the purpose of taking "limestone," in addition to stone, marble, &c., already provided for.

Amendment *moved*, in page 2, line 12, after ("stone,") insert ("limestone.")—(*The Lord Abinger.*)

THE EARL OF DALHOUSIE considered the introduction of the word "limestone" was unnecessary.

THE DUKE OF RICHMOND AND GORDON believed that limestone was stone.

Amendment (by leave of the Committee) *withdrawn.*

Amendment *moved*,

In page 2, sub-section (6.), line 20, leave out ("sea,") and after ("shore") insert ("of the sea, lakes, or rivers.")—(*The Lord Lovat.*)

THE EARL OF DALHOUSIE said, he had no objection to the addition of the words, although it was not always easy to draw the line between the shore of the sea, or a river, or a lake.

THE DUKE OF ARGYLL thought his noble Friend might safely accept the Amendment. In some parts of Scotland there were immense lakes, 20 or 30 miles long, to which such a provision as this ought obviously to apply. The extension was of no importance as against the interest of the landlord, although its use to the landlord would be considerable.

Amendment *agreed to.*

LORD LOVAT moved to enable the landlord to take "wild birds or vermin," as well as game and fish. This provision was principally directed against wood-pigeons.

Amendment *moved*, in line 25, after ("fish,") add ("wild birds or vermin.") —(*The Lord Lovat.*)

Amendment *agreed to.*

LORD LOVAT moved to add the following new sub-section :—

"The crofter shall be subject to removal at the first term after six months' notice if convicted of smuggling spirits or allowing smuggling on his holding, or if convicted of felony, or if twice convicted of poaching."

He considered it was highly important in the interests of the crofter as well as the whole neighbourhood that smuggling should be discouraged.

Amendment *moved*,

In page 2, after sub-section (7.), add as a new sub-section—"(3.) The crofter shall be subject to removal at the first term after six months' notice if convicted of smuggling spirits or allowing smuggling on his holding, or if convicted of felony, or if twice convicted of poaching."—(*The Lord Lovat.*)

THE DUKE OF RICHMOND AND GORDON thought the provision was unnecessary, and that the offence of smuggling was already sufficiently provided against. A severe penalty was attached to smuggling. If a crofter was convicted of smuggling he was not likely to hold his croft very long.

Amendment (by leave of the Committee) *withdrawn.*

Clause, as amended, *agreed to.*

Clause 2 (Provision for resumption by landlord).

THE DUKE OF ARGYLL moved an Amendment dealing with the power of the landlord to withdraw land from a holding for the purpose of feus. He felt quite sure that neither House of Parliament wished that the rights of owners in Scotland should be unreasonably interfered with. On some estates there were landlords who derived much from the feuing value of their land. They looked to it as a means of raising the rental of their property and of recovering some of the immense losses sustained by them in consequence of agricultural depression. The introduction of feuing districts into the Highlands could never be anything but a public advantage. Feuars were of very great importance to the landlords, and there was no conceivable case in which land withdrawn for the purpose of feuing would not be of public service. The Bill provided that land should only be withdrawn for the purpose with the sanction of the Land Commission, and he submitted that that was not a wise restriction. If the landlord took land from the crofter, he always gave ample compensation, and, in the case of larger holdings, clauses were inserted in the leases providing that the landlord might take back land for this particular purpose at a fixed rent. If this Amendment were passed, it would, of course, be in the power of the Land Commission to decide in favour of so large an amount of compensation as would preclude the land from being taken over; but such a contingency he did not fear, as he had every confidence in the reasonableness of the men forming that Body.

Amendment *moved,*

In page 2, line 27, leave out ("the Land Commission may on the application of"); in line 38, after ("landlord,") insert ("may,") and leave out ("and upon being satisfied that he desires to.")—(*The Duke of Argyll.*)

THE EARL OF DALHOUSIE said, he did not think the substance of the Amendment differed very much from the intention of the Bill; but he objected to it on the ground of its form. It was quite inconsistent in form with the clause giving the crofter absolute fixity of tenure. Under the noble Duke's Amendment that fixity of tenure would be invaded, and the only power left to the Land Commission would be that of assessing and fixing the amount of compensation to be paid to the crofter in the event of his being removed by his landlord. If this Amendment were passed, the crofters, on whose behalf this Bill was introduced, might fairly argue in this way—"By the 1st clause of this Bill you give us absolute fixity of tenure, and by the 2nd clause you allow that fixity of tenure to a certain extent to be taken away. You allow the landlord, because he is a rich man and able to pay for the luxury of removing us, to turn us out, however injurious it may be to us." Of course, it would be quite possible to fix a prohibitive sum for compensation; but he submitted that the Bill as it stood was a very good Bill. It had been drafted with great care, and had already passed through a great many storms and tempests in "another place," and he hoped it would pass in its present form. This might be regarded as a small Amendment; but to the crofters it was a very large and important one. At any rate, it was one which told on the landlords' side of the case.

THE DUKE OF ARGYLL said, he would not press his proposal to a division.

Amendment (by leave of the Committee) *withdrawn.*

Amendment *moved,*

In page 2, line 37, after ("Commission,") insert ("whom failing the sheriff of the bounds.")—(*The Lord Abinger.*)

THE EARL OF DALHOUSIE said, he could not understand under what circumstances such a provision could possibly be necessary.

The Duke of RICHMOND and GORDON also failed to grasp the state of things contemplated by the Mover of the Amendment. The powers of the Land Commission with regard to extension closed by Clause 21 after the expiration of five years. The duties of the Land Commission for other purposes would continue; but he could not see when the action of the Sheriff could be called in, because if the Land Commission were abolished by some future Government, or even by the existing Government, should they remain in Office so long, they would be certain to substitute some authority for it.

Lord ABINGER said, that the Government might or might not make adequate provision.

The Marquess of SALISBURY pointed out that it was only one of the functions of the Commission that came to an end at the expiration of five years.

Amendment (by leave of the Committee) *withdrawn.*

Lord ABINGER moved to include "planting" in those reasonable purposes having relation to the good of the holding for which land might be resumed.

Amendment *moved*, in page 2, line 41, after ("letting,") insert ("planting.")—(*The Lord Abinger.*)

The Earl of DALHOUSIE said, he objected to the Amendment. He thought the general words would include planting.

The Earl of GALLOWAY hoped their Lordships would assent to the proposal of his noble Friend. To reject it was to show an absolute want of confidence in the Land Commission by whom the Act was to be administered. To insist on the exclusion of planting was one of the most extraordinary species of tyranny he had ever seen in his life. If it were unnecessary the Land Commission would put it right.

The Duke of ARGYLL said, he did not see any harm in adding the word.

The Earl of DALHOUSIE said, he would consider the matter on Report.

Amendment *agreed to.*

On the Motion of Lord Napier and Ettrick, Amendment made, in page 3, line 1, after ("industry,") by inserting—("Or for roads practicable for carriages from the croft or crofts to the high road or the sea-shore.")

Lord ABINGER moved to insert an Amendment giving the Sheriff of the bounds—

"Failing the Land Commissioners, power to give the landlord resumption of a holding for the purposes specified in the Bill."

The Amendment proceeded—

"The landlord shall also have power to resume possessisn of any croft or crofts for such estate purposes as he may consider necessary upon payment to the crofter or crofters of compensation at the rate of seven years' rent of the croft or crofts so resumed."

A somewhat similar Amendment had worked very well in the Irish Land Act.

Amendment *moved*,

In page 2, line 9, after ("Commission,") insert ("whom failing the sheriff of the bounds shall determine. The landlord shall also have power to resume possession of any croft or crofts for such estate purpose as he may consider necessary upon payment to the crofter or crofters of compensation at the rate of seven years rent of the croft or crofts so resumed.")—(*The Lord Abinger.*)

The Earl of DALHOUSIE said, the Amendment of the noble Lord went a great deal further than the one which, after discussion, had been withdrawn. The Amendment was not compatible with the 1st clause of the Bill, which conferred fixity of tenure upon the crofter. He could not accept it on behalf of the Government.

Lord ABINGER said, they gave fixity of tenure to the tenant, but they practically handed over the landlord's property without any compensation. He had no objection to substitute 10 for seven years; but there ought to be some point at which the landlord could resume possession.

The Duke of RICHMOND and GORDON said, he hoped the Irish Land Act would not be cited as a reason for the passing of this Bill. He objected as much to the provisions of the Bill as any of their Lordships; but he was aware that some such Bill was necessary; and having passed the 1st clause, which practically gave the crofter fixity of tenure, he would not like to be a party to any action which would undo what had been done in the 1st clause. If they gave fixity of tenure, and then said that the landlord might resume the land whenever he pleased, it seemed to him that they were giving with one hand and taking away with the other. It was not a question of how many years' rent the tenant should have as compensation, but of whether he should remain on the land or not. He accepted the Bill as applying to the Highlands of Scotland; but he trusted no such application would be made by other parts of Scotland, nor he hoped was there any necessity for it. He might mention that the only person who seemed under the Bill not to have fixity of tenure was the large tenant. Between the passing of the Act and five years from that time any tenant who had entered into a lease for 19 years might be disturbed at any period between now and five years, whether he liked it or not.

Amendment *negatived.*

Clause, as amended, *agreed to*, and *added* to the Bill.

Clause 3 (Removal of crofter for breach of conditions) *agreed to.*

II.—*Rent.*

Clause 4 (Present rent) *agreed to.*

Clause 5 (Rent altered by agreement).

THE EARL OF DALHOUSIE moved to alter the wording of this clause, giving power to alter rent by agreement by substituting for the latter part of the clause the following words:—

> "The rent so agreed on shall be substituted for the present rent so long as such agreement subsists, and after the expiry thereof so long as no different rent shall have been fixed by the Land Commission upon the application of the landlord or the crofter, and so long as no new agreement between the landlord and the crofter shall have been made."

It was only necessary to add that the object of the alteration was to make the meaning of the clause more clear.

Amendment *moved,*

> In page 3, line 28, leave out from the first ("and") to the end of the clause, and insert—("The rent so agreed on shall be substituted for the present rent so long as such agreement subsists, and after the expiry thereof so long as no different rent shall have been fixed by the Land Commission upon the application of the landlord or the crofter, and so long as no new agreement between the landlord and the crofter shall have been made."—(*The Earl of Dalhousie.*)

THE DUKE OF ARGYLL said, on the second reading he had addressed a good many observations against the principle of the Bill, founded upon what he found was a misunderstanding of this clause. In his opinion, it was by far the most important clause in the Bill. It was a clause in favour of free contract, giving the crofter access to the capital of his landlord. Having excluded the crofter from the benefit of public money for agricultural improvements, it would have been a monstrous injustice to have also prevented him entering into an agreement with his landlord for improvements. But upon inquiry, although the wording excluded such a case, he found it was not the intention of the Government to do so. The Amendment of the noble Lord professed to give what he had advocated, and if it really did so it would materially reduce the mischief which undoubtedly would result from the Bill if such a clause were not inserted. He would accept the Amendment in the meantime, and if he found it did not meet his views of the case, he could move an Amendment on Report.

THE EARL OF DALHOUSIE said, he would consider the suggestions which had been made before the Report stage of the Bill.

Amendment *agreed to.*

Clause, as amended, *agreed to*, and *added* to the Bill.

Clause 6 (Fixed rent).

LORD BRAMWELL said, he objected to the term "fair rent," which, although it appeared in the Irish Land Act, ought never to have found its way into any Act. No one knew the meaning of the word. One said it meant such a rent that the man could live and thrive. Those who had to administer the law, as a rule, took off about a fourth. They considered themselves on a mission of reduction. In one case the rent was £6 17*s.* 4*d.*, and the Commissioners struck off the 7*s.* 4*d.* That was absurd.

THE EARL OF KIMBERLEY: Why?

LORD BRAMWELL: If £6 10*s.* was a fair rent, £6 17*s.* 4*d.*, agreed to, could not be unfair, so as to justify altering it. There was only one clear meaning of fair rent, and it did not apply in this case. That clear meaning was "the rent which one person was willing to take and another person was willing to give." In the sense in which it was used here "fair rent" was an improper term. It represented no definite idea. If there was any idea in the mind of the Legislature, it ought to be so stated that people could act upon it; otherwise they would not avoid the confusion which arose under the Irish Land Act. They ought either to strike out the word "fair" or substitute another for it.

The Earl of DALHOUSIE said, that if the noble and learned Lord wished to propose any Amendment, he ought to give Notice of it. The deduction of 5 per cent might be a small one in the learned Profession to which his noble and learned Friend belonged, but it was of some importance to small crofters. The Bill would be worked by practical men, to whom the word "fair" would have an intelligible meaning, whether it was capable of a legal interpretation or not.

Lord NAPIER and ETTRICK thought the expression "fair rent" unreasonable, and peculiarly unacceptable in the present state of the Highlands, when no rent would be looked upon as fair. He thought the word "judicial" should be substituted for "fair."

The Duke of ARGYLL had a large amount of sympathy with the noble Lord, and had frequently pointed out in the Irish Land Act that the words "fair rent" had no interpretation except in the breast of the valuators. But the word "fair" was not altogether without precedent in Scottish law. It was used in the Entail Act, and also in the Lands Valuation (Scotland) Act. The life tenant of entailed property who might accept a fine and let land at a low rent was prohibited from doing so to the prejudice of his successor. It was provided that no life tenant should let his land except on fair rent. The context showed that a market rent was implied. Clause 11 spoke of "such terms as are usually obtained in the letting of land of the like quality and similarly situated." These words were convertible with "fair rent." But they should be considered with reference to the difference between land taken from a landlord to be added to a croft and land which had been improved in value by the occupying tenant. In the Scottish Valuation Act in dealing with land which was not let assessors were directed to ascertain what was its fair letting value.

Lord WATSON said, he always understood that the only object of the first Act cited by the noble Duke was to prevent a life tenant doing injury to his successors.

On the Motion of The Duke of Richmond, Amendment made, in page 3, line 40, after ("holding,") by inserting ("and suitable thereto.")

On the Motion of Lord Napier and Ettrick, Amendment made, in page 3, line 40, after ("executed,") by inserting ("is paid for.")

Lord ABINGER moved to insert, in Sub-section 4, the words "upon consignation of the rent due or finding security therefor." Without some such restriction they might take advantage of the clause to avoid paying rent pending the decision of the Commission. In this way they might dispose of their cattle and goods, and when decision was given they might have practically nothing. They should either deposit the money in Court or find security for it.

Amendment *moved*,

In page 4, line 17, after ("proceedings,") insert ("upon consignation of the rent due or finding security therefor.")—(*The Lord Abinger.*)

The Earl of DALHOUSIE said, it might be unfair to compel the crofter to find security for the whole amount. The rent might be £5, but after the valuation it might be fixed at £3, and surely it would be hard that he should have to find security for £5. Besides, in the last line of the clause the Land Commission had a sufficient discretion left them to protect the interests of the landlords.

Lord NAPIER and ETTRICK said, that he could not imagine an alteration in the terms of the Act more irritating, more unreasonable, or more inept than this. It was manifestly absolutely impossible that many of the crofters should be able to find security.

Lord WATSON said, that the Commission had a right in this clause to impose any condition as to payment of rent during the stay of execution, and the question was whether the Commission should at discretion exact security or a deposit of the money.

Amendment *negatived.*

Clause *agreed to*, and *added* to the Bill.

### III.—*Renunciation of Tenancy.*

Clause 7 (Renunciation of tenancy) *agreed to,* and *added* to the Bill.

### IV.—*Compensation for Improvements.*

Clause 8 (Compensation to crofter for improvements on removal) *agreed to,* and *added* to the Bill.

Clause 9 (Compensation to cottar for improvements on removal).

LORD ABINGER said, he wished to move an Amendment to the effect that compensation for improvements on removal should be only paid when executed by the crofter or his predecessor in the same family "within 30 years."

Amendment *moved,* in page 5, line 13, after ("family,") insert ("under 30 years.")—(*The Lord Abinger.*)

THE EARL OF DALHOUSIE said, that there were plenty of cottages with mud walls which stood much longer than 30 years. He thought the Commissioners should be left to decide whether the improvements were exhausted or not, and he hoped that the house would not put in the limit of 30 years.

Amendment (by leave of the Committee) *withdrawn.*

LORD ABINGER moved the omission of the sub-section providing that the improvements for which compensation was to be given should not have been

"Executed in virtue of any specific agreement in writing under which the cottar was bound to execute such improvement,"

and to insert in its place—

"Executed in virtue of the stipulations of a lease, or in virtue of any agreement or understanding expressed in estate regulations or other writings."

Amendment *moved,*

In page 5, line 14, leave out sub-section ("c,") and insert ("such improvements as have not been executed in virtue of the stipulations of a lease, or in virtue of any agreement or understanding expressed in estate regulations or other writings.")—(*The Lord Abinger.*)

THE EARL OF DALHOUSIE said, that it was extremely desirable that the responsibilities of the crofter should be limited to points as to which there could be no doubt whatever. In other parts of the Bill they had refused to have the door open to general regulations and understandings, and had limited the responsibility of the crofter to the specific agreements which he himself had signed, and it would not be consistent if they went away from that principle now.

Amendment (by leave of the Committee) *withdrawn.*

Clause *agreed to,* and *added* to the Bill.

Clause 10 (Principle of valuation) *agreed to,* and *added* to the Bill.

### V.—*Enlargement of Holdings.*

Clause 11 (Application by crofter for enlargement).

THE DUKE OF ARGYLL moved, in page 5, line 27, to insert, after the word "resident," the words "on contiguous holdings." The word "township" had not been raised in the Bill, and yet the principle of the group of crofters had been in the mind of the Government in drawing up the Bill. The five crofters who could make an application for an enlargement of holdings had clearly a reference to a contiguous group, and yet it might so happen that that application was made by one dissatisfied crofter on his property, who might get other four resident 40 miles away, although in the same parish, and they together might go to the Land Commission, and get an enlargement for the one man, while the intention of the Bill was that five crofters in a township should have liberty to apply.

Amendment *moved,*

In page 5, line 27, after ("resident") insert ("on contiguous holdings.")—(*The Duke of Argyll.*)

LORD NAPIER AND ETTRICK thought the words "on contiguous holdings" were rather too stringent. He would suggest such words as "five occupiers on the same estate," or "not remote from each other." He would remind them that five respectable occupants in a township might have a common interest, yet their five holdings might not be contiguous.

THE DUKE OF ARGYLL: Call it "neighbouring holdings."

LORD NAPIER AND ETTRICK said, he had no objection to the word "neighbouring."

THE EARL OF DALHOUSIE said, he was willing to assent to the Amendment with the suggested alteration.

Amendment *agreed to.*

LORD ABINGER moved, in page 5, line 30, after "crofters," to insert words to the effect that the land to be added should "have been previously held by crofters." He said that if the croft was to be enlarged it was only reasonable that it should be enlarged out of land which some time or other had been in the hands of crofters. He did not want to fix any limit of time.

Amendment *moved*,

In page 5, line 30, after ("crofters") insert ("which have been previously held by crofters.")—(*The Lord Abinger.*)

The Earl of DALHOUSIE said, that the noble Lord had overlooked the fact that in many cases crofters had been removed to the seashore from places which they formerly occupied, and it was extremely desirable that there as elsewhere there should be power to enlarge the holdings. These cases might not have been very numerous; still they existed, and the Bill endeavoured to provide for them. If the Amendment were adopted it would certainly not deal with the most plausible of all the grievances of the crofters.

Lord NAPIER and ETTRICK said, there would be a difficulty with reference to the interpretation of the term "crofter." It here meant any occupier holding from year to year and paying rent directly to the landlord. But there were many cases in which men had paid to the landlord, and who were deprived of land which actually was in the occupancy of their predecessors of the same class; but these predecessors had not been crofters, but sub-tenants of tacksmen. Therefore, the proposal of the noble Lord would deprive present crofters of land which did belong to the same class of people formerly, although not under the same name.

The Duke of ARGYLL said, that the Amendment would not work. If his noble Friend went back he would find that the whole of the country was in fact held by sub-tenants, and the crofters were the living descendants of those sub-tenants. Where there was no limitation of time he did not think the direction contained in the Amendment would be of any value.

Amendment (by leave of the Committee) *withdrawn.*

Lord NAPIER and ETTRICK said, that this clause provided that occupiers settled on neighbouring holdings might ask for an extension of their holding, which generally meant common pasture in the same parish. But boundaries of parishes were not identical with boundaries of farms or estates, and it might happen that the area available for the extension of the pasture land would be just over the boundary of the parish. He proposed, therefore, to insert the words "or in an adjacent crofting parish." Unless they had these words they ran a great risk of taking away from some parties their right of getting an extension of their holdings. It was a difficulty that might easily occur.

Amendment *moved*,

In page 5, line 31, after ("parish") insert ("or in an adjacent crofting parish.")—(*The Lord Napier and Ettrick.*)

The Earl of DALHOUSIE said, he would offer no objection to the Amendment.

Lord ABINGER said, he could not agree with the proposal.

Amendment *agreed to.*

Amendment *moved*,

In page 5, line 32, after ("land") insert ("belonging to the same landlord or landlords.") —(*The Lord Napier and Ettrick.*)

The Earl of DALHOUSIE said, he did not object to the provision on principle, but pointed out that it was defective as a piece of drafting.

Amendment *agreed to.*

Clause, as amended, *agreed to*, and *added* to the Bill.

Clause 12 (Intimidation to landlords).

Amendment *moved*,

In page 6, line 2, after ("heard") insert ("on oath,") and after ("thereupon") insert ("and shall ascertain as far as possible how far the small size of the holdings has been due to the action of the landlord or of the crofters.")—(*The Duke of Argyll.*)

The Earl of DALHOUSIE said, he was willing to accept the Amendment.

Amendment *agreed to.*

On the Motion of The Lord Napier and Ettrick, Amendment made, in page 6, line 5, after ("parish") insert ("or in an adjacent crofting parish belonging to the same landlord or landlords.")

Amendment *moved*,

In page 6, line 13, after ("land") insert ("and to acquire the sheep effeiring thereto by valuation or otherwise according to the custom of the country.")—(*The Lord Abinger.*)

THE EARL OF DALHOUSIE said, he must oppose the Amendment.

LORD NAPIER AND ETTRICK pointed out that if the Amendment were accepted Parliament would impose on the crofter the necessity of taking over sheep stock which might be diseased, or which he might not be competent to manage, or which he might not require. If it were adopted it must remain in many cases utterly inoperative.

LORD ABINGER suggested that there was a danger that the poor landlords might be robbed.

THE DUKE OF ARGYLL said, the truth was that landlords in Scotland had got into a very vicious system of valuing sheep and cattle stock. Against that system he had been going for years. Landlords had been in the habit of taking over stock at its full value, and very often at more than its value, whereas it was only reasonable that it should be taken over at the actual market price at the time.

Amendment *negatived.*

On the Motion of the Duke of ARGYLL, Amendment made, in page 6, line 26, after ("seaweed") insert ("for agricultural or feeding purposes.")

Clause, as amended, *agreed to,* and *added* to the Bill.

Clause 13 (Available land).

THE DUKE OF RICHMOND AND GORDON moved to omit the word "near." It was impossible for his Lordship to say what was near, as it was altogether a relative term.

Amendment *moved,* in page 6, line 31, leave out ("or near.")—(*The Duke of Richmond and Gordon.*)

THE EARL OF DALHOUSIE said, he thought the interpretation of the expression might safely be left to the Land Commission.

THE DUKE OF ARGYLL pointed out that it would be very undesirable to confine the expression in any way. There were many cases in the Hebrides where the arable land of the crofts was on the mainland and the pasture on an island a mile or two from the shore. Some of the most bitter quarrels in the Highlands—some that were even now pending—had arisen with regard to grazing on islands.

Amendment (by leave of the Committee) *withdrawn.*

LORD NAPIER AND ETTRICK moved an Amendment to the effect that the landowner might grant the application of the crofter for an enlargement of his holding to the extent of raising the annual value of the holding from £15, as stated in the Bill, to £30. The definition of a crofter was an occupier who paid rent up to £30, and it seemed logical that if the crofter claimed an enlargement he should be allowed to do so up to the extent of raising the value of his holding to £30.

Amendment *moved,*

In page 7, line 36, leave out ("fifteen,") and insert ("thirty,") and at end of clause add—"In the event of an enlargement of his holding being granted to a crofter by an order of the Land Commission, and in case the crofter shall make application in writing to the landlord for pecuniary and other assistance towards the occupation and stocking of such enlargement, it shall be competent for the landlord and crofter to make a voluntary agreement as to the payment of interest and reimbursement by the crofter to the landlord in consideration of such assistance, and on the written application of the parties concerned to the Land Commission, and with the approval of the Land Commission, such payments may be added to the fixed rent of the holding and form part of the same, under the provisions of this Act, until the claim of the landlord, under the terms of the agreement, or otherwise, has been exhausted."—(*The Lord Napier and Ettrick.*)

THE EARL OF DALHOUSIE said, the Government could not accept the Amendment. The Government, in fixing the maximum at £15, had adopted the limit laid down in the Report of the Crofter Commission.

LORD NAPIER AND ETTRICK said, that was a mistake.

THE EARL OF DALHOUSIE said, the Bill was intended to meet the case of the very miserable and smallest crofters, and to enable them to exist in reasonable comfort. It was not the purpose of the Bill to use the power of the State to set them up in a large commercial way of business. Moreover, to take land from one man to give it to another so that he might have a holding worth £30 a-year would be scarcely fair.

LORD NAPIER AND ETTRICK said, there was no inconsistency with the recommendation in the Report of the Crofter Commission and this Amendment. Their Report was based on the principle of establishing townships, which he still thought was a preferable plan; and they suggested that the maximum average holding need not be more than £15 in value; but this would not have prevented a crofter in the township from having a holding of the value of £30.

The Earl of DALHOUSIE apologized for having misunderstood the noble Lord.

Amendment (by leave of the Committee) *withdrawn.*

Clause *agreed to,* and *added* to the Bill.

Clause 14 (Deductions from rent in case of lands held for sporting purposes) *agreed to,* and *added* to the Bill.

Clause 15 (Assigned land).

Lord DENMAN, in whose name the following new Clause stood upon the Paper :—

"It shall be lawful for all crofters to capture or kill any deer which may have strayed upon their holdings, unless they shall have been unfairly enticed by the crofter,"

said, he placed it on the Paper because of Lord Bagot allowing his tenants to shoot deer which had strayed on their holdings. The principle was not unknown in the Crofters (No. 1) Bill, which only cost ½*d.* more than the Government Bill. Stringent provisions were contained to allow tenants to shoot deer upon their holdings, and to be under the Ground Game Act. If their Lordships did not grant this privilege it was within the power of every landlord to do so. If they had a Dissolution, and this Bill were lost, he hoped this concession would be granted by proprietors. He would have no regret though this Bill were not passed. If they were to have a Dissolution, he hoped the Infants Bill and the Women's Suffrage Bill would not be lost.

Amendment (by leave of the Committee) *withdrawn.*

Clause *agreed to,* and *added* to the Bill.

Clause 16 (Bequest of holding).

The Duke of ARGYLL, in moving the following additional Clause :—

"Provided always that in the case of any legatee or heir-at-law more distant than wife, son, grandson, brother, or son-in-law, it shall shall be competent to the landlord on his own part, or on the part of neighbouring crofters, to represent that, in the interest and for the comfort of any adjoining crofters, the holding ought to be added to them, so as to increase their size, and in all cases in which the Sheriff shall determine in favour of such representation, the heir, or the legatee, as the case may be, who but for such determination would have succeeded to the holding, shall have right to any claim for compensation for improvements thereon which would have been competent to the deceased crofter if he had been removed at the date of his death,"

said, his object in this Amendment was to increase the size of the holdings. There would be many cases in which it would be impossible to increase holdings by annexation of adjacent land. He himself never evicted any widow, son, or other near relative; but only the other day, in a township on the West Coast, a man died, and a distant cousin from Glasgow took possession. There was no chance of increasing holdings if distant relations like that could step in. He hoped the landlord would have power to go before a Sheriff in such a case and agree to pay compensation to the legatee rather than allow him to take possession of land where it was desirable to increase the size of the holdings. This Proviso was entirely in the interest of the crofters themselves.

Amendment moved, at end of Clause, add the following :—

("Provided always, that in the case of any legatee or heir-at-law more distant than wife, son, grandson, brother, or son-in-law, it shall be competent to the landlord on his own part, or on the part of neighbouring crofters, to represent that in the interest and for the comfort of any adjoining crofts the holding ought to be added to them so as to increase their size, and in all cases in which the Sheriff shall determine in favour of such representation, the heir, or the legatee, as the case may be, who but for such determination would have succeeded to the holding, shall have right to any claim of compensation for improvements thereon which would have been competent to the deceased crofter if he had been removed at the date of his death.")—(*The Duke of Argyll.*)

The Earl of DALHOUSIE said, that if this Bill had been now put forward for the first time he might have been in a position to accept this Amendment or something like it; but the Bill had passed through a number of changes in "another place," and no Amendment to this effect had, as he understood, had any amount of support from the Representatives of the crofters. The Amendment might be conceived in the interests of the tenants, but he did not think they had that opinion themselves. The Bill established the descendability of the crofter's estate, which he believed the crofters valued, and this Amendment, to a certain extent, trenched upon the right.

LORD NAPIER AND ETTRICK said, the crofters valued an increase of their holdings as much as anything else, and he thought the Government would do well to accept an Amendment in the direction of that moved by the noble Duke.

THE EARL OF DALHOUSIE said, after consultation he would accept the Amendment provisionally, although possibly the wording would have to be altered on Report. Perhaps the Amendment was one which the crofters would favour if they understood it, and on that ground the Government would give way.

THE DUKE OF ARGYLL said, from his personal knowledge of the crofters, he was certain if they understood the Amendment they would be favourable to it.

Amendment *agreed to.*

Clause, as amended, *agreed to*, and *added* to the Bill.

VI.—*Land Commission.*

Clause 17 (Appointment of three Commissioners).

LORD DENMAN said, he approved of one of the Commissioners under the Bill being able to speak Gaelic. He should be perfectly free to oppose the Bill on the third reading; and he was encouraged to take that unusual course by its success the other night in the case of the Durham Sunday Closing Bill.

THE DUKE OF RICHMOND AND GORDON said, that in introducing the Bill the noble Lord opposite said that one of the Commissioners should be a trained lawyer of eminence. Now, with all respect to the Scottish Bar, he was afraid it did not always follow that an advocate of 10 years' standing should have attained to a position of eminence. Of course, upon the men chosen depended the proper and safe working of this Act. He should have preferred to have had one of the Judges on the Commission; but, at any rate, it would be satisfactory to have, before this Bill left this House, some notification as to who the Commissioners were to be. They would then be satisfied as to whether the Commissioners were likely to carry out the Act in a manner such as would commend itself to them.

THE EARL OF DALHOUSIE said, that he hoped that when the Bill was before the House for the third time he would be in a position to give the names of the Commissioners.

Clause *agreed to*, and *added* to the Bill.

Clause 18 (Area covered by the Act) *agreed to*, and *added* to the Bill.

Clause 19 (Procedure in fixing fair rent) *agreed to*, and *added* to the Bill.

Clause 20 (Procedure in enlarging holdings).

Amendment *moved*,

In page 10, line 37, leave out ("necessary or expedient,") and insert ("just: Provided always, the crofters shall be required to bear a fair share of the said cost."—(*The Duke of Argyll.*)

LORD NAPIER AND ETTRICK thought it was rather a wide power to give the Commissioners. They might order the landlord and the crofters to put up solid stone fence of a mile long, or wire fence five miles long, round the crofters' common pasture without any limitation as to the proportion in which the outlay should fall. It was true that the Royal Commissioners contemplated proposals of that kind; but they all understood that there was to be a fair sharing of the expense. He would suggest that the clause be modified.

THE EARL OF DALHOUSIE thought the clause should be left as at present. It confided the matter to the Land Commission, and that Body might find cases in which they might hold that the crofters should bear the whole cost. He did not see better provision could be made by laying down directions in the Bill.

THE DUKE OF RICHMOND AND GORDON pointed out that it was for the benefit of the crofters that the fencing was to be done, and therefore the whole expense should not fall on the landlord.

THE EARL OF DALHOUSIE said, that the words "just to the parties concerned," or "just, necessary, and expedient," might be introduced on Report if the Amendment were withdrawn.

Amendment (by leave of the Committee) *withdrawn.*

Clause *agreed to*, and *added* to the Bill.

Clause 21 (Duration of the Act).

LORD NAPIER AND ETTRICK moved to leave out the clause, and to substitute the following new Clause:—

"The powers of the Land Commission, as defined by the present Act, shall continue for a period of five years from the passing of this Act, and after the expiration of that period all the powers vested in the Land Commission shall be transferred to the sheriffs depute of the counties in which the crofting parishes contemplated by this Act are situated, and shall be vested in them for the purposes of the present Act."

The noble Lord pointed out that Clause 21 contemplated the cessation of the powers of the Commission at the end of five years with reference to one of the most important provisions of the Act. In a great many cases the adjacent sheep farms were held under long leases, and the crofters might never have an opportunity of claiming an enlargement. He did not advocate an unlimited extension of the existence of the Commission. He humbly thought the Commission need never have existed, as the provisions of the Bill might have been cheaply carried out by the existing Judicial Authorities of the country or those authorities otherwise assisted to a slight extent. He did not complain, therefore, of their existence being limited; but what he did object to was that their necessary powers should terminate. He hoped, therefore, that while the Commission should terminate in five years, their powers should fall on those best qualified to cary them out—the sheriffs depute of the counties.

THE DUKE OF RICHMOND AND GORDON thought that would be one of the worst clauses of a Bill which he did not think very satisfactory as it was. There was a clause in the Bill limiting the operation of the Act to five years.

THE DUKE OF ARGYLL said, there was no doubt that this Bill would have the effect of stopping improvements, not only on crofters' holdings, but on the grounds adjacent; and, therefore, for Heaven's sake let them have a definite time fixed for its expiration. For his own part, he would avoid all outlay on farms adjacent to crofters' holdings, because it might result in a demand for the farms to be divided. No landlord could with any security go on improving farms which might be claimed in that way, and thus the Bill would operate most seriously against the improvement of the West Highlands.

LORD NAPIER AND ETTRICK thought the noble Duke would not expect the Bill to be limited to a definite period. It was impossible for the crofters to get all their cases disposed of in five years. The subject would be brought up again at the end of five years, when the period for the continuation of the Bill would be enlarged and the authority transferred from the Land Commission to another body. He would withdraw his Amendment.

Amendment (by leave of the Committee) *withdrawn.*

Clause *agreed to*, and *added* to the Bill.

Clauses 22 to 31, inclusive, *agreed to.*

Clause 32 (Saving in case of holdings in possession of servants).

Amendment *moved*,

In page 13, line 40, after ("holding,") insert ("or buildings,") and after ("landlord,") insert ("or buildings let to shopkeepers, inspectors of poor, tradesmen, or artizans paying above six pounds of rent.")—(*The Lord Abinger.*)

THE EARL OF DALHOUSIE believed the Government would be able to accept the Amendment, but he should like time to consider it.

Amendment (by leave of the Committee) *withdrawn.*

THE DUKE OF ARGYLL, in moving, in page 13, line 42, to insert, after "landlord," at the end of the clause, the following words:—

"Nor on any holdings on which the permanent improvements have been executed by the landlord,"

said, that in the Irish Act it was provided that where, as in England and Scotland, the improvements were executed by the landlords the estate was exempted. Now, he had, on the small crofts exactly as on the large ones, built the houses, drained the land and inclosed it, and he only asked to have the same law applied to him as had been applied in like circumstances to the Irish landlords.

THE EARL OF DALHOUSIE opposed the Amendment, on the ground that under it a crofter, by accepting some of the improvements made by the landlord, might shut himself out of the benefits of the Bill. The Amendment would limit the scope of the Bill too much.

THE EARL OF GALLOWAY said, what was necessary was a proper definition of a crofter. He considered the Amendment reasonable and fair. He hoped the Government would consider the question between this and Report.

Amendment *negatived*.

Clause *agreed to*, and *added* to the Bill.

Clause 33 (Definitions).

THE DUKE OF RICHMOND AND GORDON moved, in page 14, line 2, to insert, after "who," the words "habitually," the object of the Amendment being to define the crofter as one who resided habitually on or near his holding.

Amendment *moved*, in page 14, line 2, after ("who,") insert ("habitually.")—(*The Duke of Richmond and Gordon.*)

THE EARL OF DALHOUSIE said he must decline to accept the Amendment.

Amendment *negatived*.

On the Motion of The Duke of RICHMOND and GORDON, Amendment made in page 14, line 2, by leaving out "or near."

THE EARL OF FIFE said, the Amendment he begged to move would define "permanent improvements" as—

"All improvements which, in the judgment of the Land Commission, shall add to the value of the holding to an incoming tenant."

As this was not an Agricultural Holdings Bill, a general definition was all that was required to guide the Land Commissioners as to what was meant by permanent improvements. If his Amendment were accepted, he would afterwards move to omit the Schedule.

Amendment *moved*,

In page 14, line 19, leave out after ("means") to the end of the paragraph, and insert ("all improvements which, in the judgment of the Land Commission, shall add to the value of the holding to an incoming tenant.")—(*The Earl of Fife.*)

THE EARL OF DALHOUSIE remarked, that the Amendment comprised what was already comprised in the Schedule. It was necessary, or at all events highly desirable, that the definition should be specific. Crofters were not a very well educated class. It was, therefore, as well to give a few instances of improvement in order that they might the better judge what improvements would entitle to compensation. He hoped the Bill would be allowed to remain as it stood.

*The Earl of Galloway*

THE DUKE OF RICHMOND AND GORDON considered the Schedule to be far better than the proposal of the noble Lord, because the Amendment would place an almost unlimited power in the Commission to say what they considered permanent improvements. In his opinion it was far better to retain the Schedule, outside of which the Commissioners had no power; therefore, he strongly opposed the Amendment. He might point out that at the end of the Schedule were to be found the very words which the noble Earl now proposed to insert in the body of the Bill.

LORD NAPIER AND ETTRICK stated that there were numerous cases in which improvements were made by tenants which added nothing to the letting value of the holding, but for which, nevertheless, compensation should be granted. Considerable latitude should, therefore, be left to the Commissioners in determining what were really permanent improvements. Improvements of all kinds should be encouraged as an incentive to industry.

Amendment (by leave of the Committee) *withdrawn*.

Clause *agreed to*, and *added* to the Bill.

Clause 34 (Short title) *agreed to*, and *added* to the Bill.

Schedule.

LORD NAPIER AND ETTRICK said, he had a series of Amendments in respect to the Schedule of the Bill, but he did not intend to press them all; but as the Schedule proposed to give compensation for all kinds of improvements, he proposed in the case of dwelling-houses to limit the claim for compensation to two dwelling-houses joined together by a party wall.

Amendment *moved*,

In page 15, line 1, after ("Dwelling-house,") insert ("of which the external walls are constructed of stone and lime.")—(*The Lord Napier and Ettrick.*)

THE EARL OF DALHOUSIE said, he hoped the noble Lord would not press the Amendment, as he believed it would be more satisfactory to leave the question of compensation as it stood to the Commissioners' own sense of justice.

Amendment (by leave of the Committee) *withdrawn*.

Amendment *moved*,

In page 15, line 10, leave out ("Planting trees,") and insert ("Plantations of trees.")—(*The Lord Napier and Ettrick.*)

THE DUKE OF ARGYLL remarked, that if the Land Commission could not distinguish a plantation when they saw it they might be presumed not to be competent for their other duties. It reminded him of a story he once heard descriptive of the trees in Islay. The trees were said to be very fine, but you could not see them for the grass.

Amendment (by leave of the Committee) *withdrawn*.

Schedule *agreed to*.

The Report of the Amendments to be received on *Monday* next; and Bill to be *printed*, as amended. (No. 127.)

House adjourned at a quarter before Nine o'clock, till To-morrow, a quarter past Ten o'clock.

## HOUSE OF COMMONS,

*Thursday, 27th May*, 1886.

MINUTES.]—PRIVATE BILL (*by Order*)—*Considered as amended*—Mountain Ash Local Board (Gas, Water, &c.)*

PUBLIC BILL — *Committee* — *Report* — Arms (Ireland) [205-240].

PROVISIONAL ORDER BILLS — *Ordered* — *First Reading* — Local Government (Highways) * [235]; Local Government (Poor Law) (No. 7) * [236]; Local Government (No. 5) * [237]; Local Government (No. 6) * [238].

*First Reading*—Local Government (Ireland) (Public Health Act) * [239].

## MOTIONS.

### LOCAL GOVERNMENT PROVISIONAL ORDER (HIGHWAYS) BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Borlase, Bill to confirm a Provisional Order of the Local Government Board under "The Highways and Locomotives (Amendment) Act, 1878," relating to the County of Montgomery, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. Borlase and Mr. Stansfeld.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 235.]

### LOCAL GOVERNMENT PROVISIONAL ORDER (POOR LAW) (NO. 7) BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Borlase, Bill to confirm a Provisional Order of the Local Government Board under the provisions of "The Divided Parishes and Poor Law Amendment Act, 1876," as amended and extended by "The Poor Law Act, 1879," relating to the Parish of Broadwell, and to the Hamlet of Filkins, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. Borlase and Mr. Stansfeld.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 236.]

### LOCAL GOVERNMENT PROVISIONAL ORDERS (NO. 5) BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Borlase, Bill to confirm certain Provisional Orders of the Local Government Board relating to the Rural Sanitary District of the Barnet Union, the Boroughs of Kingston-upon-Hull, and Newport (Mon.), and the City of York, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. Borlase and Mr. Stansfeld.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 237.]

### LOCAL GOVERNMENT PROVISIONAL ORDERS (NO. 6) BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Borlase, Bill to confirm certain Provisional Orders of the Local Government Board relating to the Borough of Burslem, the Local Government District of Denton and Haughton, the Borough of Dewsbury (two), the Local Government District of Heckmondwike, the Boroughs of Lancaster and Southport, and the Local Government Districts of Ulverston and Widnes, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. Borlase and Mr. Stansfeld.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 238.]

## PRIVATE BUSINESS.

### BELFAST MAIN DRAINAGE BILL.

### CONSIDERATION.

Order for Consideration read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill, as amended, be considered upon Monday next."—(*Sir James Corry.*)

MR. SEXTON (Sligo, S.): On the Question that the Consideration of this Bill be taken on Monday next, I wish to point out to you, Mr. Speaker, that I have down on the Paper a Motion for the insertion of a new clause. It was understood that the Bill was to come on on Tuesday last, and a special Whip was made which secured a large attendance, but an understanding was come to that the Bill was to be postponed until to-day. It is now proposed by the promoters to interfere with that arrangement, and to defer the Consideration of the Bill until Monday. In order to avoid a third disappointment, may I ask if it is intended that the Bill shall be taken on that day?

MR. SPEAKER: The Bill necessarily stood over from Tuesday, because the clause proposed by the hon. Gentleman is opposed, and the Standing Orders require that any matter affecting a Private Bill, of which Notice of opposition is given, shall stand over until the next day of the Sitting of the House, when a day shall be fixed for considering it.

MR. SEXTON: As a new Whip will have to be issued, may I ask if it is definitely fixed that the Bill shall be taken into consideration on Monday?

MR. SPEAKER: All I can say is that the hon. Baronet who is in charge of the Bill has fixed it for Monday.

MR. SEXTON: Will the hon. Baronet give us to understand that it will be taken on that day?

SIR JAMES CORRY: Yes.

*Ordered*, That the Bill be taken into Consideration on Monday next.

## *QUESTIONS.*

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### INDIA (BOMBAY)—THE INDIAN FACTORY ACT, 1885.

SIR JAMES FERGUSSON (Manchester, N.) asked the Under Secretary of State for India, Whether he will have any objection to lay upon the Table Copies of the Report of a Commission to inquire into the working of the Indian Factory Act issued by the Government of Bombay in 1885; of the Resolution of the Government of Bombay; and, of the Resolution of the Government of India thereupon?

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. STAFFORD HOWARD) (Gloucester, Thornbury): The Report of the Commission has not been received; but its recommendations are summarized in the Resolution of the Government of Bombay. The Secretary of State has no objection to lay on the Table this document, together with the proceedings of the Government of India on the subject, if the right hon. Baronet will move for the Papers.

### INDIA—ADULTERATION OF WHISKY AT THE CALCUTTA CUSTOM HOUSE.

SIR ROBERT FOWLER (London) asked the Under Secretary of State for India, Whether his attention has been called to an adulteration of MacGavin and Co.'s whisky at the Calcutta Custom House; and, whether he will communicate with the Government of India on the subject?

*Mr. Speaker*

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. STAFFORD HOWARD) (Gloucester, Thornbury): Yes, Sir; the Government of India will be asked to inquire into the case.

### AFRICA (WEST COAST)—THE CONGO.

MR. HUTTON (Manchester, N.) asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, When Her Majesty's Government will appoint a Consul to reside on the River Congo, in order that British interests there may be safeguarded, and that the provisions of the Convention of December 1884, between Her Majesty's Government and that of the Congo State, may be carried out?

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. BRYCE) (Aberdeen, S.): The reorganization of the Consular Service on the West Coast of Africa is under consideration. The scheme will include the appointment of a Consul on the Congo.

### STATE OF IRELAND — CONDUCT OF EMERGENCY MEN AT BALLINAMORE, CO. LEITRIM.

MR. HAYDEN (Leitrim, S.) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether he is aware that the emergency men in charge of the holding from which John Dignan, Probagh, Ballinamore, county Leitrim, was evicted on the 13th March last, burned the timber of the offices and the lofts of the dwelling house, as well as the bushes planted by the tenant's father, thereby depreciating the value of the holding; whether they also threw down and scattered a rick of hay, and refused to allow John Dignan to rebuild it and save it from loss; whether previous to the expiration of the period allowed for redemption, these acts were legal; whether they were done with the knowledge of the police on protection duty at the place; and, whether there is any means by which the tenant can obtain compensation for the loss?

THE CHIEF SECRETARY (Mr. JOHN MORLEY) (Newcastle-on-Tyne), in reply, said, that the police were aware that the caretakers on the farm used some branches from whitethorn bushes growing near the house, and that one or two boards were missing from a henroost. There was about 3 cwt. of hay near the house, and the caretakers took some of it for bedding. The estate bailiff gave permission to the men to cut the bushes; but, as matters of private right and legal title were involved in the matter, he was unable to say anything as to the legality of the action, or as to the means by which compensation was to be sought if it was necessary.

## THE CHARITY COMMISSIONERS—THE TRUSTS OF DEDHAM GRAMMAR SCHOOL.

CAPTAIN PRICE (Devonport) asked the Vice President of the Committee of Council, Whether any complaints have been made to the Charity Commissioners concerning the misapplication of the funds of certain charities left for the benefit of free elementary education of the poor in the parish of Dedham, in the county of Essex; and, if so, whether any steps have been taken to prevent any further misapplication; and, whether the money found to have been misapplied has been refunded?

THE VICE PRESIDENT (Sir LYON PLAYFAIR) (Leeds, S.): The Trusts of Dedham Grammar School are partly for elementary and partly for higher education. It is a fact that, in error, a sum of £319 19*s*. 2*d*. Consols, belonging to that branch of the Foundation which is for aid to elementary education, was in October, 1882, and February, 1883, sold out, and applied in relief of a charge upon the property of the grammar school branch, for the building and establishment of a public elementary school. The error was in due course discovered, and the sum so erroneously applied has been replaced to the proper account.

## THE MAGISTRACY (IRELAND)—MR. J. PORTER PORTER, J.P., MAGHERACROSS, CO. FERMANAGH.

MR. WILLIAM REDMOND (Fermanagh, N.) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If the attention of the Lord Chancellor of Ireland has been called to a report of an assault case heard at the Enniskillen Petty Sessions, which appeared in *The Fermanagh Times* of May 6th, and in which Mr. J. Porter Porter, J.P. of Magheracross, Ballinamallard, county Fermanagh, was defendant; if Mr. Porter Porter was fined by the Court, and made pay costs for assaulting and beating a boy named James Maguire; and, if Mr. Porter Porter is a justice of the peace for Fermanagh; and, if so, whether the Lord Chancellor will call upon him for an explanation of his conduct?

THE CHIEF SECRETARY (Mr. JOHN MORLEY) (Newcastle-on-Tyne), in reply, said, that the Lord Chancellor's attention had not been directed to the matter referred to in the Question until he saw it on the Paper; but he had directed a communication to be sent to Mr. Porter, asking him for any information he can furnish as to his conduct on the occasion referred to.

## IRELAND—POPULATION FOR 1886.

COLONEL BLUNDELL (Lancashire, S.W., Ince) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, What the Irish population of the British Isles is computed to be in the present year 1886; of this population what number live in Great Britain; and, at what rate is the Irish population inhabiting Great Britain increasing or decreasing?

THE CHIEF SECRETARY (Mr. JOHN MORLEY) (Newcastle-on-Tyne): The number of Irish-born persons in the United Kingdom in the present year is estimated by the Irish Registrar General at 5,589,252. The number of these in Great Britain is estimated at 784,519. The rate of increase in the latter is about 680 per annum.

MR. SEXTON asked, did the Return include persons of Irish extraction?

MR. JOHN MORLEY: There is no record on the subject of extraction, therefore I am unable to say.

## LANDLORD AND TENANT (SCOTLAND)—EVICTION AT ARDNAMURCHAN.

MR. MACFARLANE (Argyll) asked the Lord Advocate, If his attention has been called to the eviction of a tenant named Henderson, in Ardnamurchan, by a body of soldiers and sheriffs' officers; whether his wife, who was ill in bed, was carried into the open air by the soldiers, and left with her children without shelter; and, if he will cause inquiry to be made as to the causes which have led to this operation of the Law, which has created much feeling in the district?

THE LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. B. BALFOUR) (Clackmannan, &c.): I have now obtained information in regard to the case referred to in the Question of tho hon. Member. It is the fact that Henderson, who had been in difficulties for some time, was lately removed from his farm, which he held from year to year, being in arrears of a rent of £140 per annum for two and a-half years. The removal, which was at the instance of the trustee for his creditors, was carried out by a messenger-at-arms and six commissionaires, and it is therefore not the case that soldiers were employed. In consequence of the state of his wife's health, his landlord offered him a house in Tobermory, rent free for a year, which offer was refused, as also an offer of temporary accommodation in an inn which closely adjoined the house. It was, further, only, upon a certificate from two doctors, that Mrs. Henderson was in a state to be removed without danger, that the removal was carried out.

## THE MAGISTRACY (IRELAND)—PETTY SESSIONS AT TEMPO.

Mr. WILLIAM REDMOND (Fermanagh, N.) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether the Government in Ireland, having granted a patent for a Court of Petty Sessions in Tempo, county Fermanagh, he will see that the Court is held in that place instead of Lisbellaw, or in both places alternately; and, whether he will cause a polling booth to be in Tempo at the next election, so as to prevent men having to walk ten miles to record their vote in Lisbellaw?

The CHIEF SECRETARY (Mr. John Morley) (Newcastle-on-Tyne), in reply, said, that Courts of Petty Sessions were established by order of magistrates at Quarter Sessions. There was no trace of Petty Sessions having ever been held in Tempo. The question of establishing a polling place at Tempo had been considered by the Law Officers, who advised that there was no jurisdiction for doing so.

Mr. WILLIAM REDMOND asked, was it not a fact that great inconvenience arose from not having a polling station at Tempo, and would not the Chief Secretary do something to remedy that?

Mr. JOHN MORLEY said, he did not know that they had jurisdiction or authority; but he would make inquiries.

## THE REPRODUCTIVE LOAN FUND (IRELAND)—LOANS TO FISHERMEN.

Mr. W. J. CORBET (Wicklow, E.) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If it is a fact that, three months ago, several Arklow fishermen applied for loans to build fishing boats, on the terms laid down by the Fishery Commissioners, but, as yet, have got no reply to their application; if he can state why the Inspectors of Fisheries have not given effect to the measure in the county of Wicklow, with regard to loans for fishing vessels, on the security of the vessels; and, if he will take steps to have loans made to the fishermen at Arklow, under the rules, so as to encourage the shipbuilding and fishing industries of that town?

The CHIEF SECRETARY (Mr. John Morley) (Newcastle-on-Tyne): The consideration of this matter has stood over, pending the decision on the question as to what districts it was intended to limit the application of the rule made by Lord Carnarvon for extending reproductive loans. The decision we have now arrived at is that the rule can only properly apply to the West and North-West Coasts of Ireland.

## ARMY (AUXILIARY FORCES)—COLONELS OF THE IRISH MILITIA.

Sir THOMAS ESMONDE (Dublin Co., S.) asked the Secretary of State for War, If Her Majesty's Government will take steps to ascertain the number of Colonels of Irish Militia who it is alleged have expressed their intention of taking the field at the head of their Corps to assist the Orangemen of the north-east of Ulster in case of a rising?

The SECRETARY of STATE (Mr. Campbell-Bannerman) (Stirling, &c.): I have no doubt that the Colonels of the Irish Militia will do their duty in the same manner as other officers who serve Her Majesty, and I have neither the right nor the inclination to inquire into their political views.

## METROPOLIS—THE POLICE—CAPTURE OF DOGS IN THE STREETS.

Mr. DAWSON (Leeds, E.) asked Mr. Attorney General, Whether the Commissioner of Police has authority under any Act of Parliament to order that dogs shall be captured or their owners summoned when the dogs are under the control of those accompanying them, even if they be not muzzled or led; and, whether he is cognisant of decisions to the contrary effect by stipendiary magistrates of the Metropolis?

THE JUDGE ADVOCATE GENERAL (Mr. MELLOR) (Grantham) (for Mr. ATTORNEY GENERAL): By 30 & 31 *Vict.*, c. 134, s. 18—

> "The Commissioner of Police, if he sees fit, may issue a notice requiring any dog while in the streets and not led by some person to be muzzled in such a manner as will admit of the animal breathing and drinking without obstruction; and the police may take possession of any dog found loose in the streets without such muzzle during the currency of such order, and may detain such dog until the owner has claimed it, has provided a proper muzzle, and has paid all expenses connected with such detention."

MR. DAWSON asked, whether the hon. and learned Gentleman was aware that Mr. Biron had given a decision to the effect that a dog without a muzzle following its owner was to be considered as under proper control?

MR. MELLOR said, he was not aware of any decision under the Act to which he had referred; but he had seen in the newspapers a letter in which Mr. Biron's decision was mentioned. The proceedings before the magistrate appeared to have been taken under a different Act of Parliament to that above named—namely, the Dogs Act, 1871.

MR. MACFARLANE (Argyll) asked, whether, as there seemed to be some doubt as to the law on that subject, the hon. and learned Gentleman would try to induce one of the Government Whips to remove the block placed on his (Mr. Macfarlane's) Bill for clearing up the law relating to it?

### PARIAMENTARY ELECTIONS — REGISTRATION OF VOTERS.

MR. JASPER MORE (Shropshire, Ludlow) asked the Secretary to the Treasury, Whether it is the intention of Her Majesty's Government to introduce a Bill for the purpose of appointing registrars of voters for Parliamentary elections, in redemption of the assurances given by the First Lord of the Treasury that the Law with respect to the registration of voters would be dealt with in the present Parliament; and, if so, whether it is the intention of Her Majesty's Government to endeavour to pass a Bill for the purpose of appointing such registrars of Parliamentary voters in time to enable their attention to be applied to the registration of voters qualified to be placed on the register for the present year, and prior to another General Election?

THE PRESIDENT OF THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD (Mr. STANSFELD) (Halifax) (who replied) said: The Government have now under consideration a measure with reference to the law as to registration of voters, which they hope shortly to introduce. But I have no expectation that it will be possible to pass such a measure in time to affect the arrangements for the registration of voters for the present year.

### NAVY—THE DOCKYARDS—PAY OF JOINERS.

CAPTAIN PRICE (Devonport) asked the Secretary to the Admiralty, Whether any reply has been sent to the petition of the joiners of Her Majesty's Dockyard, Devonport, submitted some months since; and, whether any improvement will be made in their position?

THE CIVIL LORD OF THE ADMIRALTY (Mr. R. W. DUFF) (Banffshire) (who replied) said: In view of the present rate of wages in the labour market, and the fact that there is no difficulty whatever in obtaining joiners at the existing Dockyard rates of pay, the Admiralty do not consider that any increase of pay could be justified, nor are they of opinion that any alteration of position is called for. A reply to this effect will be sent.

### SWEDEN AND NORWAY—POLITICAL RELATIONS AND INTERNAL CONDITION.

MR. W. H. SMITH (Strand, Westminster) asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, If he will lay upon the Table any Reports which have been received from Her Majesty's Representatives in Sweden and Norway as to the internal condition of Norway, and the political relations between Sweden and Norway?

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. BRYCE) (Aberdeen, S.): The Reports to which the right hon. Member refers extend over a considerable space of time, and are of so confidential a character that I do not think they could be published. They will, however, be re-examined, with a view to considering whether they can properly be laid before Parliament.

### THE MAGISTRACY (IRELAND)—MR. VESEY FITZGERALD, R.M.

MR. LALOR (Queen's Co., Leix) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord

Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether his attention has been called to the following circumstances: That Vesey Fitzgerald, esquire, R.M., on the 16th February last, at Maryborough Petty Sessions, made an order for £10, highest penalty, against George Vanston, Poor Rate collector and contractor, on the ground that his workmen interred the corpse of a convict in a private grave without the consent of a relative, and that Vanston lodged an appeal and entered into a recognizance to have his case reheard before the Court of Quarter Sessions: that, subsequently, on the 2nd March, and pending the appeal, said Vesey Fitzgerald, without notice to and in the absence of George Vanston, and another of the convicting justices, altered the order book by inserting that the conviction was under the 41st and 42nd Vic. cap 52, which obliges different statutable requirements to be given with a view to an appeal; whether, on the hearing of the appeal at Quarter Sessions on 16th April, 1886, before Mr. De Moleyns, County Court judge, the said Vesey Fitzgerald during the hearing of the appeal, and contrary to the Act of Parliament, occupied a seat on the Bench, and presided at the hearing, and took part in it; and, is it his intention to recommend a return (under the foregoing circumstances) of the abated penalty of £4 imposed by the County Court judge on the said George Vanston?

THE CHIEF SECRETARY (Mr. JOHN MORLEY) (Newcastle-on-Tyne), in reply, said, that the facts were as stated in the first paragraph of the Question. It was found that the wrong statute had been quoted, and it was necessary, so far, to amend the conviction, which the magistrates had power to do. The certificate given to the defendant showed clearly that the conviction had been so amended. The point was raised on the appeal, and was not maintained. Mr. Fitzgerald informed the Government that he was present when the appeal was heard, but that he took no part in the hearing of it. There did not appear to be any good reason for interference in the matter.

## EDUCATION (SCOTLAND)—ROSSKEEN SCHOOL BOARD, ROSS-SHIRE—THE TEACHERS.

MR. MACDONALD CAMERON (Wick, &c.) (for Dr. MACDONALD) asked the Lord Advocate, Whether the School Board of Rosskeen, Ross-shire, has intimated to its teachers, in a letter dated 11th May, 1886, that the Board has fixed the terms of a new engagement, that the teachers were to get thirteen days to agree to the new terms, and that, in the event of the teachers not agreeing to the new terms, their engagement with the Board would terminate three months after the date of the Board's letter; whether one of the terms of the new engagement is as follows: That the teacher shall have as principal part of his emoluments

> "the school fees collected as at present," that is, "the school fees from time to time as he collects the same himself, which he is hereby taken bound to do, the School Board giving him assistance to recover when in their opinion necessary, the School Board and their successors in office under no circumstances being liable to make good arrears of fees not collected by the teacher;"

whether the teachers are bound to sustain the loss of all school fees not collected by them, while they have no locus standi to sue the defaulters; and, whether, in the event of the teachers declining to accept these new terms within the thirteen days allowed them by the Board, the Education Department will allow the School Board to dismiss them at the end of three months, of which notice has already been given them that their present engagements with the Board will terminate?

THE LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. B. BALFOUR) (Clackmannan, &c.): The Scottish Education Department has been in communication with the school board of Rosskeen with regard to the terms of the agreement referred to in his recent question. Their Lordships are now informed that the Board have resolved

> "to terminate the former agreement, and to give the teachers a fixed sum from the rates, the school fees collected as at present, and a fixed proportionate share of the grant."

This information does not enable my Lords to judge how far the new agreement conforms to the Code, and they are in communication with the school board on the subject. But legal questions arising out of contracts with teachers do not fall within their Lordships' province, and school boards are not responsible to the Department in the exercise of their powers of dismissal.

## THE MAGISTRACY (IRELAND) — MR. FRANK BROOKE, J.P., OF BROOKBOROUGH.

Mr. WILLIAM REDMOND (Fermanagh, N.) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether his attention has been called to the Correspondence between the Lord Chancellor of Ireland and Mr. Frank Brooke, J.P., in which the Lord Chancellor called on Mr. Brooke for an explanation of the following language, used by him at a meeting held at Brookborough on the 16th March:—

> "Brother Orangemen, if England spurns us from her then, and if by the vote of the men who are tied hand and foot to Gladstone's chariot wheels and who would follow him to —— sooner than vote against him, if I say by these votes Home Rule is granted to the Parnellite rebels, then I say England scorns us, and we must let her know with no uncertain sound that we, the loyal minority, will not allow the rebels to place their yoke around our necks, at least without a struggle, and before accepting their law as the law of the land we will rise as one man, and fight for our liberties, our homes, and our glorious religion;"

whether Mr. Brooke acknowledged that this was in every respect an accurate report of what he said on the occasion, and declared that he was unable to withdraw or qualify a single statement, at the same time saying that while he admitted as a general rule citizens were bound to yield obedience to the legislative and executive authority, that he also held that in exceptional cases that authority might be such as to make "resistance" to its power a "right, if not a duty;" whether the Lord Chancellor has intimated that he did not feel called upon to take further action in the case; and, whether the Government will take any steps to mark their condemnation of Mr. Brooke's language as a magistrate?

Mr. JOHNSTON (Belfast, S.): Before the Question is answered, allow me to ask the Chief Secretary, whether, considering that the matter has been already disposed of by the Lord Chancellor, he will not postpone any further action on the subject, and leave it to be settled between the Parnellite Parliament and the hon. Gentleman who asks the Question?

The CHIEF SECRETARY (Mr. John Morley) (Newcastle-on-Tyne): No, Sir; I think I had better deal with it now. I think that everybody—hon. Members in all parts of the House—must feel very strong disapprobation indeed at the language used by Mr. Brooke. That gentleman, however, in his letter to the Lord Chancellor, practically disclaimed any intention to counsel resistance to any measure now before Parliament; and, having regard to all the circumstances of the case, we do not think it necessary or expedient to have recourse to the extreme measure of removing him from the Commission of the Peace.

## COMMISSIONERS OF IRISH LIGHTS—ALLOWANCES TO LIGHTKEEPERS.

Mr. WILLIAM O'BRIEN (Tyrone, S.) asked the President of the Board of Trade, Whether any decision has yet been come to with respect to the memorial for increase of pay, &c. of the lightkeepers of the Irish coasts, which was presented about a year ago, with a recommendation from the Commissioners of Irish Lights; and, if so, whether he can announce what steps will be taken to put the Irish on an equal footing with English light-keepers; and, when the long-deferred increases of salary may be expected to come into operation?

The SECRETARY to the BOARD (Mr. C. T. D. Acland) (Cornwall, Launceston) (who replied) said: It was in January last, and not about a year ago, that the Commissioners of Irish lights forwarded to the Board of Trade for statutory declaration a proposal for certain increased allowances being paid to the lightkeepers in their service. The whole information necessary to enable the Board to come to a decision on this proposal has not yet been forwarded by the Commissioners, and they have been asked to supply it.

## LANDLORD AND TENANT (IRELAND)—THE LAW OF EJECTMENT NOTICES—CASE OF TIMOTHY CONWAY, OF DOON, CO. LIMERICK.

Mr. FINUCANE (Limerick, E.) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether the neglect of a landlord to serve with an ejectment notice a sub-tenant renders the ejectment of the principal tenant illegal; Whether Timothy Conway, of Doon, county Limerick, has been recently evicted, no notice having been served on a Mrs. Hayes, who was a sub-tenant of his for eight years; whether Mrs.

Hayes is still in possession, and was never evicted; whether Conway's farm is now in possession of caretakers guarded by several policemen; whether the Irish Government will order the withdrawal of the policemen until the landlord complies with the requirements of the Law; and, whether the evicting landlord in this case is Major Hare, Brompton Lodge, Chester?

THE CHIEF SECRETARY (Mr. JOHN MORLEY) (Newcastle-on-Tyne), in reply, said, that the answer to paragraphs 2, 3, 4, and 6 in the Question was in the affirmative. There is some doubt as to whether this was a case of sub-tenancy. The omission to serve a sub-tenant would in some cases be a sufficient defence, in other cases it would not. But it should have been put forward at the hearing, and, under the circumstances, the ejectment was considered to be not illegal. The police were necessary, and could not be withdrawn.

### COMMISSIONERS OF NATIONAL EDUCATION (IRELAND)—MODEL SCHOOLS — COMPULSORY PREPAYMENT ON ADMISSION.

MR. FINUCANE (Limerick, E.) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether, in the twenty-nine model schools in Ireland, the Commissioners of Education, who are the managers of those schools, insist on prepayment as a condition of admission to the schools; whether the managers of all other National schools in Ireland have the same right, and have often exercised it, especially in Ulster; and, whether the arrangement and mode of payment of school fees is vested in the manager of National schools by Rule 173 (last revised Code). Rule,

> "So far as practicable a further income must be secured to teachers of National schools by school fees, &c., and the arrangement of school fees is to be made by the managers?"

THE CHIEF SECRETARY (Mr. JOHN MORLEY) (Newcastle-on-Tyne): Sir, the answer to the first paragraph of the Question is yes; but I have further to say that a third of the pupils pay only 1*s.* 1*d.* a-quarter. The rule of the Commissioners is that, so far as practicable, the managers are authorized to levy school fees in advance; but the Commissioners would feel bound to interfere if the right were exercised unreasonably or to the prejudice of individuals. In reply to a further inquiry, of which the hon. Member has given me private Notice, I have to say that the rules say nothing on the subject of arrears; but, bearing in mind that the National Schools are designed for the education of the poor of Ireland, the Commissioners have always held that the proper course is to recover arrears by process at Petty Sessions, and not to resort to the extreme step of expelling a child from the school with a view to enforce payment.

### ARMY (AUXILIARY FORCES) — THE CAVAN MILITIA—CAPTAIN LESLIE.

MR. WILLIAM ABRAHAM (Limerick, W.) asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether any undue pressure was brought to bear on Captain Leslie, of the Cavan Militia, to induce him to resign his Commission; what reason did he assign for so doing; how many vacancies are in the regiment now; and, whether it is the intention of the authorities to promote Lieutenant William Malcomson to one of the vacant companies in the regiment?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN) (Stirling, &c.), in reply, said, that, as far as was known at the War Office, the resignation of Captain Leslie was entirely voluntary—on the ground that he was unable to remain with his regiment. Following the usual course, the vacancy so caused would be filled in accordance with the recommendation of the Military Authorities in Ireland, which he had not yet received.

### ARMY (INDIA)—CASE OF BRIGADE-SURGEON ROSS.

MR. KING (Hull, Central) asked the Under Secretary of State for India, with reference to the case of Brigade Surgeon James Ross, of the Madras Army, compulsorily retired in 1885, Whether, having entered the service of the East India Company in January 1857, and served two months after reaching the age of 55, his retirement was enforced under regulations which have been made subsequently to the Act of the 21st and 22nd Vic., c. 105, s. 55 (commonly known as the "Henley Clause"), in violation of that section, which provides that those serving in the Military Forces of the East India Company are "to be entitled to the like privileges and like advantages as regards promotion, and otherwise, as if they had continued in the service of the said Company;"

if he would explain to the House on what grounds an exception, expressly made by Act of Parliament in favour of Officers then in the service of the Company, is set aside in this case on the authority of the regulations made in 1858 and 1860; whether such action of the Military authorities is legal; and, whether steps cannot be taken to place him on the footing to which he appears to be entitled by virtue of the "Henley Clause."

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. STAFFORD HOWARD) (Gloucester, Thornbury): The action of the Military Authorities—that is, of the Government of Madras—in the case of Brigade Surgeon Ross was legal. The clause of the Act referred to has never been held to bar Her Majesty's Government from a reasonable exercise of the power, which the Court of Directors possessed and used, of altering, in the interests of the public service, the conditions under which their officers were employed. The promotion of officers of the Indian Medical Service has not been altered for the worse; but it was found, following the rule in Her Majesty's Service, essential to efficiency to limit the service of officers of the Executive grade to the age of 55 years, capable, however, on the production of a certificate of perfect efficiency, of an extension to the age of 58 years. This certificate Brigade Surgeon Ross did not obtain, and he was accordingly retired under the regulation which has been in force for nearly 27 years. But whilst, with a corresponding service under the rules in force when he joined the Indian Medical Department, he would have been entitled to a retiring pension of £250 a-year, he now receives one of £500.

## SPAIN—THE COMMERCIAL CONVENTION—DUTIES ON IRON.

MR. JACKS (Leith, &c.) asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, If there is any Schedule, connected with Parliamentary Paper No. 9, showing the amount of Duty which under the new Convention will be charged by Spain on pig iron, iron bars, plates, sheets, rails, and tubes, also on steel bars, plates, sheets, rails, and tubes, and on cast iron pipes; if not, if he can state to the House what those Duties will be?

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. BRYCE) (Aberdeen, S.): A Paper laid before Parliament last year (161) sets forth the reduced duties which will be levied on the articles specified by the hon. Member under the new Convention with Spain. It is proposed to append this Paper to the copies of the Spanish Treaties with France and Germany, which are about to be presented to Parliament.

## METROPOLIS—THE PARKS—GREENWICH PARK—HOURS OF ADMISSION.

MR. EVELYN (Deptford) asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether he is aware that Greenwich Park is not open to the public before 7 a.m., to the great inconvenience of neighbouring residents, and especially of working men; and, whether, since other Royal Parks are open at 5 a.m., there would be any objection to placing Greenwich Park under similar regulations to those of the other Royal Parks?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. CHILDERS) (Edinburgh, S.), in reply, said, he would give an answer tomorrow.

## CONTAGIOUS DISEASES (ANIMALS) (IRELAND) — GLANDERS—COMPULSORY SLAUGHTER OF A HORSE—COMPENSATION.

MAJOR SAUNDERSON (Armagh, N.) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, On what grounds compensation was refused to Edward Brady, of Pollabee, in the county of Cavan, for the slaughter of his mare, suffering from glanders, the said mare having been slaughtered in pursuance of an Order of the Irish Privy Council; and, whether some compensation is not due to Edward Brady to recoup him for his loss?

THE CHIEF SECRETARY (Mr. JOHN MORLEY) (Newcastle-on-Tyne), in reply, said, that there was no provision in the Orders of Council authorizing the Local Authority to compensate for the slaughter of an animal suffering from glanders, and no sufficient case existed for the alteration of that rule.

## PRISONS (ENGLAND AND WALES)—TRANSFERENCE OF CONVICTS.

Sir ROBERT FOWLER (London) asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether, in view of the objectionable scenes which have occurred, on various occasions, in connection with the public removal of convicts and other prisoners by Railway from one establishment to another, the Government will adopt the practice, long in use in Belgium, of appropriating one or more Railway carriages of special construction for the less exposed transit of prisoners?

The SECRETARY of STATE (Mr. Childers) (Edinburgh, S.): In reply to the hon. Baronet, I have to say that my attention has never been called to any objectionable scenes in connection with the removal of prisoners by railway, and I do not know to what particular instances the hon. Baronet refers. In the absence of any evidence to show me that the present system is a bad one and liable to abuse, I should not feel justified in proposing any change, which could only be carried out at very great cost.

## NAVY—H.M.S. "COLLINGWOOD"—BURSTING OF THE 43-TON GUN.

Sir HENRY TYLER (Great Yarmouth) asked the Secretary of State for War, How many guns have been constructed similar to the 43-ton gun which recently failed on board H.M.S. *Collingwood*, and at what cost per gun; how many such guns have been issued and are in service; and, whether steps have been taken to prevent risk from the firing of any of these guns until inquiry has been made into the cause of the failure of the *Collingwood* gun, and the necessity for and best means of strengthening such guns?

The SECRETARY of STATE (Mr. Campbell-Bannerman) (Stirling, &c.): As so many Questions are being asked on this subject, perhaps the House would allow me to state, as briefly as I can, the actual history of the case. The gun to which the accident occurred on board the *Collingwood* was of a pattern designed in the Royal Gun Factories, and was constructed of a steel tube, jacketted with wrought-iron and steel. The design was submitted to the Ordnance Committee, and was by them provisionally approved, to govern the manufacture of guns then under order, leaving the question of the best construction for future guns of the same calibre an open one. Upon Sir William Armstrong and Co. being invited to tender for the manufacture of guns of this description, they raised doubts as to certain features of the design, and as to the form in which the material was employed. The whole question of the construction of heavy rifled guns was thereupon referred to the Ordnance Committee, who, in August, 1882, recommended that the use of wrought-iron in gun manufacture should be abandoned, and that the manufacture of wrought-iron guns should be discontinued; and in September, 1882, they submitted, among other designs, one for the future manufacture of 12-inch guns to be made entirely of steel. It was considered by the War Office—and in this opinion the Admiralty concurred—that a steel gun should be fully tried before the design was finally adopted. Meantime, the guns being made in Royal Gun Factories, among which were five intended for the Navy, had been so far advanced in manufacture that the construction could not be altered, and the Admiralty agreed to these five being completed, and to six other guns required for the Navy being made to the same design, if the Secretary of State considered it satisfactory. A question on this point was referred to the Ordnance Committee, who, while adhering to their previously expressed view that no more guns of the pattern in question should be made, expressed the opinion that, should the exigencies of the Service require it, the six guns under manufacture in Royal Gun Factories might be appropriated for naval service. They added, in a subsequent Report, that in their opinion the guns in question were safe and trustworthy, provided the charge used did not give a pressure of over 15 tons per square inch in the chamber. The Admiralty were informed, and, as guns were required for the Navy, those referred to were appropriated for that service. In all, 14 guns of this design were made, those of subsequent manufacture being of steel, and of modified design. In February, 1885, owing to the accident with a 6-inch gun on board the *Active*, and certain failures at proof, the whole question of the construction of breech-loading guns was again referred to the Committee, which was composed of the President and some Members of the Ordnance Committee, having associated with them the following Gentlemen:—namely, Sir William Armstrong, C.B., Captain A. Noble, C.B., of the Elswick firm; Mr. Leece, of the firm of Sir Joseph Whitworth and Co.; Sir Frederick Abel, C.B., Chemist, War Department; and Colonel Maitland, R.A., Superintendent of Royal Gun Factories. It is to be observed that of these Gentlemen none had been concerned in the design of the 12-inch guns particularly in question, except Colonel Maitland. The Committee, as above constituted, reported in May, 1885, and the terms of their recommendations with regard to guns of the design in question were as follows:—"To remain unaltered; but the charge of 295 lbs. cocoa powder not to be exceeded." Under the above circumstances it has been thought desirable to submit, in the first place, the questions arising out of the recent accident to investigations and report by the Ordnance Committee, as at present existing, with the same associated Members as before, except that another member of the firm of Sir Joseph Whitworth and Co. will be nominated in place of Mr. Leece, who has died since the last inquiry.

ADMIRAL FIELD (Sussex, Eastbourne) asked, whether the answer of the right hon. Gentleman could be printed and circulated among Members, especially military and naval Members, who were interested in the question?

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: The hon. and gallant Gentleman may be perfectly assured that the answer will be printed in the newspapers tomorrow morning.

SIR HENRY TYLER asked the Secretary of State for War, How many Members of the Committee recently appointed to inquire into the failure of the 43-ton gun on board H.M.S. *Collingwood*, have been, and how many have not been, directly or indirectly concerned in the design, construction, consideration, or approval of guns of this description, specifying the names of any such independent Members of the Committee?

[No reply.]

COLONEL SALIS-SCHWABE (Lancashire, S.E., Middleton) asked the Surveyor General of Ordnance, Whether he will defer the commencement of the manufacture of new guns at Woolwich until he has received the Report of the Committee now considering the bursting of the 43-ton gun; and, what sum is estimated for the manufacture of guns at Woolwich during the current year?

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: The 12-inch breech-loading guns now in process of manufacture are entirely different in their construction from the gun which blew its chase off on board the *Collingwood;* consequently, there does not seem to be any reason why the manufacture should be stopped. My hon. and gallant Friend will see, if he refers to the Army Estimates, that the sum of £294,727 is taken as the charge for the Royal Gun Factory during the year. This may be held to represent the cost of guns to be made at Woolwich during the year.

## CRIME AND OUTRAGE (IRELAND)—"BOYCOTTING"—CASE OF PATRICK DEVANY, ROSSCAHILL, CO. GALWAY.

CAPTAIN M'CALMONT (Antrim, E.) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether a young man, named Patrick Devany, residing at Rosscahill, near Oughterard, county Galway, is boycotted on account of his father having taken some three acres of land, from which the previous tenant had been evicted, in consequence of his not having paid any rent for six years; whether Devany was ordered by the parish priest, Father Coyne, to leave the chapel in consequence on March 24th last; whether this reverend gentleman is President of the local branch of the National League; whether this is the same Father Coyne who denounced the local landlord, Mr. Martin, of Ross, from the altar a few years since with the result that a police hut had forthwith to be erected for the protection of the bailiff and steward; and, whether the refusal to give Devany employment under the Government relief works was in any way to be attributed to the action of Father Coyne and the National League?

THE CHIEF SECRETARY (Mr. JOHN MORLEY) (Newcastle-on-Tyne): Sir, the facts are substantially as stated as regards Patrick Devany, who was partially "Boycotted" for the reason that his father took a farm from which the previous tenant had been evicted owing three years' rent. On the occasion when Devany was asked to leave the chapel the congregation had all previously gone out. The erection of the police hut at Ross was in consequence of the posting of a threatening notice to Mr. Martin. The refusal to give Devany employment appears to have been the act of the overseer. No evidence of an illegal act towards Devany, so far as the Government know, has been disclosed.

## CRIME AND OUTRAGE (IRELAND)—THE DISTURBANCES AT LISTOWEL.

Captain M'CALMONT (Antrim, E.) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether he has had any further information regarding the recent disturbances at Listowel, which would show that the original summonses issued by the police at the instance of the Town Commissioners were withdrawn by their direction, the disturbances having been directed against a boycotted gentleman; and, whether the only proceedings taken against the parties have been under Common Law, with the view of merely binding them over to keep the peace?

The CHIEF SECRETARY (Mr. John Morley) (Newcastle-on-Tyne): The prosecutions, which were instituted under the Towns Improvement Act in this case, fell through in consequence of the Town Commissioners directing the clerk not to prosecute. The police, thereupon, acting upon instructions, took such proceedings as were open to them under the general law, with the result that six of the defendants have been bound over to be of good behaviour for 12 months.

## THE ROYAL IRISH CONSTABULARY—PROMOTION.

Mr. ARTHUR O'CONNOR (Donegal, E.) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether promotion in the Royal Irish Constabulary is regulated by selection exclusively, and without any regard to seniority; whether it is a fact that such promotion is entirely in the gift of County Inspectors, without the right of appeal in such cases where a constable considers he has been unjustly passed over for promotion; up to what age are constables deemed eligible for promotion to the higher grades; whether the Inspector General of Constabulary, and the County Inspector of each County, fix their own standard of age for promotion; whether he will grant a Return of constables promoted to the rank of acting sergeants and up to the rank of head constables respectively within the last two years, stating their periods of service, conduct, and the different religious denominations to which they respectively belong; also the number of constables unpromoted from twelve to twenty years' service, specifying the different religious denominations to which they belong, and likewise the religion of the County Inspectors under whom they served; also the number of County Inspectors' clerks, and their religion respectively; whether it is a fact that none are allowed to undergo the examination for these clerkships except those recommended by County Inspectors; and, what is the strength of the different religious denominations of the Irish Constabulary?

The CHIEF SECRETARY (Mr. John Morley) (Newcastle-on-Tyne): Sir, these queries are rather awkwardly arranged in the Question, and I have taken the liberty of answering the paragraphs in a more convenient order than that in which they stand. I will take the first, third, and fourth paragraphs, and my answer to them is "No." It is not the fact that promotion in the Royal Irish Constabulary is regulated by selection exclusively. On the contrary, the regulations enjoin that due weight must be given to seniority; and the Inspector General informs me that he is careful to enforce this regulation. There is no limit of age for promotion. In respect to the second paragraph of the Question, I have to say that promotion is not in the gift of the County Inspectors. County and District Inspectors have the recommendation in their hands; but it rests with the Inspector General to sanction; and every man who considers himself aggrieved has the right of appeal to the latter officer—a right which I am informed is freely exercised. Candidates for the office of clerk must be recommended by their County Inspectors before they can be appointed. The Return on the subject of promotion which the hon. Member suggests would involve a considerable amount of trouble and local inquiry, and would be calculated to give rise to sectarian difficulties which, happily, at present do not exist. Moreover, the Inspector General assures me that while he has no reason to suspect that sectarian or other improper feeling operates in the selection of men for promotion, he is always watchful lest, even unconsciously, any bias should be observable in the recommendations. For these reasons, I am not prepared to assent to the Returns. As regards the religious constitution of the Force generally, if the hon. Member will look at Parliamentary Paper No. 256 of Session 1880, he will see how matters stood then, and I do not suppose that any material alteration has since taken place in the relative numbers.

## SPAIN—THE COMMERCIAL CONVENTION—THE WINE DUTIES.

Mr. BADEN-POWELL (Liverpool, Kirkdale) asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, in regard to the new Convention with Spain, and especially to the third of the points in the attached explanatory Letter, Whether there is implied in the Convention any obligation on the part of British Colonies to modify their wine duties in accordance with Article II. of the Convention, before they can enjoy most-favoured-nation treatment under the Convention; or, whether the conditional modification of the duties on wine is absolutely confined to the tariff in force in the United Kingdom?

The UNDER SECRETARY of STATE (Mr. Bryce) (Aberdeen, S.): The new Commercial Convention with Spain imposes no obligation upon the Colonies to modify their Wine Duties. The proposed modification of the alcoholic scale applies to the United Kingdom alone.

## SECRET SERVICE MONEY.

Sir JULIAN GOLDSMID (St. Pancras, S.) asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether, when examining the whole question of Secret Service Money, he will also consider the desirability of issuing a new Treasury Warrant to divert the statutable payment of £10,000, now made to the Patronage Secretary, and said to be used for political party purposes, from the Patronage Secretary to the Secretaries of State, and thereby economise an equivalent sum voted in the Estimates on account of Secret Service?

The FIRST LORD (Mr. W. E. Gladstone) (Edinburgh, Mid Lothian): The points mentioned in the Question of my hon. Friend are, I consider, included in the engagement I made to the House the other night.

## GOVERNMENT OF IRELAND AND SALE AND PURCHASE OF LAND (IRELAND) BILLS.

Mr. NORRIS (Tower Hamlets, Limehouse) asked the First Lord of the Treasury, If he will state whether Her Majesty's Government regard the Government of Ireland Bill and the Sale and Purchase of Land (Ireland) Bill as still inseparably connected?

The FIRST LORD (Mr. W. E. Gladstone) (Edinburgh, Mid Lothian): In answer to the Question of the hon. Member, I have no addition to make to the declarations on this subject which are contained in a speech made by me in introducing the Land Purchase Bill. The subject is there referred to several times; and if it is not convenient to the hon. Member to make the references, I will be most happy to place in his hands a copy with the passages marked. They will be found at pages 3, 4, 10, 15, 17, and 26; and they will enlighten the hon. Member very fully as to the views of the Government.

Mr. NORRIS: May I be allowed to ask the right hon. Gentleman whether he is quoting from any newspaper, *Hansard*, or what?

Mr. W. E. GLADSTONE (handing a copy of a pamphlet to Mr. Herbert Gladstone, apparently with the view of passing it to the hon. Member): The report is one which, though not corrected by me throughout, has yet been corrected in the most important parts, and is, I believe, to be relied upon as being substantially accurate in the passages to which I have referred the hon. Gentleman.

## H.M. BIRTHDAY—TROOPING OF THE COLOURS.

In answer to Sir John R. Mowbray,

The SECRETARY of STATE for WAR (Mr. Campbell - Bannerman) (Stirling, &c.) said, the arrangements connected with the ceremony of trooping the Colours on Her Majesty's birthday did not rest with the Secretary of State for War, but with the officer commanding the Brigade of Guards. He would, however, take care that the right hon. Baronet's wish that facilities should be afforded to Members of Parliament to witness the ceremony should be conveyed to him.

### GOVERNMENT OF IRELAND BILL—MEETING AT THE FOREIGN OFFICE.

QUESTION. OBSERVATIONS.

**SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH** (Bristol, W.): It is reported—I do not know with what accuracy—that the right hon. Gentleman opposite the First Lord of the Treasury has made a statement, at a certain meeting, with respect to the Government of Ireland Bill. As that Bill stands second on the Orders of the Day for this evening, I am quite sure the right hon. Gentleman himself would wish, before proceeding with the debate, that the House, as a whole, should be in full possession of the intentions and views of Her Majesty's Government in that matter; and I will ask the right hon. Gentleman whether he will make a similar statement to the House now?

**THE FIRST LORD** (Mr. W. E. GLADSTONE) (Edinburgh, Mid Lothian): I must say I feel flattered by the Question of the right hon. Gentleman; for I do not recollect that, on any former occasion, a meeting of Members of any particular Party in this House has been viewed with such general interest as to cause requests to be made across the Table to the person principally concerned in that proceeding to give to the House the purport of what he stated. As I said, I feel it to be a great compliment. If we could only have had the company of the right hon. Gentleman, he would not need to ask us our intentions; but it was impossible, however catholic our intentions might have been, for us so to frame our invitation as to make it possible for the right hon. Gentleman to give us the benefit of his attendance. It is true that the Bill stands second on the Orders of the Day for to-night; but I am not able to say whether it will be reached. I hope it may; but the greatest objection I have to complying in full with the suggestion of the right hon. Gentleman is that I am afraid that, though I considered it was my duty to detain that meeting of my political Friends for upwards of three-quarters of an hour to an hour, I should feel considerable difficulty in inflicting so long a statement upon the House, for physical causes and other grounds. Nor could I undertake to abridge it. I have no guarantee, but I hope it will be reported — accurately reported — in the newspapers to-morrow, so that, if it be of any interest to Members at large, they will be in possession of it, or, at any rate, of the greater part of what I said.

**SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH**: I will put a Question to the right hon. Gentleman, which, perhaps, he will be able to answer within a reasonable compass. I will ask, did that statement announce any change in the intentions of Her Majesty's Government with respect to the measure; and, if so, will he tell us, before calling on us to proceed with the debate, what that change is?

**MR. W. E. GLADSTONE**: If the right hon. Gentleman thinks that anything has taken place so material——

**SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH**: I do not know.

**MR. W. E. GLADSTONE**: It is very difficult, perhaps, for him to form a judgment; it is also extremely difficult for me; but there is no change that I can state in the course of a few words. It has been a general development. I told that meeting what the object of the Government was in inviting our political Friends—those who were Friends on this question—to the Foreign Office. Our object was to convey to them precisely the views of the Government with respect to the second reading, and what was involved in the second reading; and, likewise, the views of the Government on certain points which had been more or less mentioned in the debate, and which we knew to be subjects of interest to them. It would be extremely difficult for me, and I do not think I could undertake to give a repetition of the statement I then made here. I will say, however, that our intentions were expressed in a former debate on the subject of the intervention of Ireland by her Representatives on Imperial questions; but I could not undertake to make a repetition of that statement except in full.

**SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH**: I will ask, then, a Question on one definite point. Did the right hon. Gentleman state that, supposing the Bill to receive a second reading at the hands of the House, it would then be withdrawn?

Mr. W. E. GLADSTONE: No, Sir; I did not use those words. I could not state even this, without giving the reasons for it to which I adverted. I stated that no application would be made to take further steps in the prosecution of the Bill within the compass of the ordinary Session of Parliament.

## *ORDERS OF THE DAY.*

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### ARMS (IRELAND) BILL.—[Bill 205.]

(*Mr. John Morley, Mr. Secretary Childers, Mr. Attorney General.*)

COMMITTEE.

Order for Committee read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair."—(*Mr. John Morley.*)

Mr. T. M. HEALY (Londonderry, S.), in rising to move the following Amendment, which stood in his name upon the Notice Paper:—

> "That, in the opinion of this House, no measure dealing with the disarmament of Orange districts will be satisfactory or impartially administered which requires to be put in force by a proclamation of the Irish Privy Council, composed almost entirely of members of or sympathisers with the Orange organisation,"

said, he had hoped the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant would have been able, at the beginning of the debate, to make some statement which would, perhaps, obviate the necessity of him (Mr. Healy) moving the Amendment. Would the right hon. Gentleman inform them exactly by what means he proposed to put the Bill into operation? He (Mr. Healy) altogether objected to such an Act being put in force by the Privy Council in Ireland, for many of them—indeed, by far the most—were very strong politicians indeed. He had to remind the House that the Bill was stated to be one for the purpose of disarming Orangemen in the North of Ireland and elsewhere, who were in the habit of going to meetings with arms in their hands. The House would remember that the right hon. Gentleman the Member for the Border Burghs (Mr. Trevelyan) stated that, on the occasion of some meetings of Orangemen, "sackfuls of revolvers" were taken from them. That being so, he (Mr. Healy) had called the attention of the Chief Secretary to the fact that either the position of those who carried these revolvers was legal or illegal. If legal, whether there were "sackfuls" or otherwise, they should not have been interfered with; but, if illegal, they should have been prosecuted. He would also point out that over the whole of Ireland only some 60 or 70 prosecutions took place, and that the law was only enforced in one portion of Ireland in the instances he gave. The House would, therefore, see that they had the best reason for looking with suspicion upon the course which the Government had chosen to take in this matter. They had brought in the Bill ostensibly for the purpose of preventing large bodies of men coming to meetings with arms in their hands. But in the North of Ireland, against which the Bill was presumed to operate, what was the state of affairs? At present none of its provisions were in force in Antrim, Down, Derry, or Armagh, or, at all events, not in a large part of the latter. Did the House expect that, in times of excitement, Privy Councillors would be likely to spend even a five-pound note in journeying to Dublin to put an Act in force in districts in which they did not wish it to be enforced? What guarantee had they, if they passed the Act, that it would not be used for the whole of Ireland, but only for the lower Provinces—in fact, that it would not be used against the Orangemen at all? Men who talked so glibly about being prepared to shed the blood of Her Majesty's subjects would not be particular. The whole of the County Antrim remained, at the present moment, unproclaimed; and if the Bill was intended to put down armed bands of men in the County Antrim, or to be enforced, then why was not the Lord Lieutenant's Proclamation issued? He saw that, at the present time, the Privy Council in Ireland, who were to direct the operations of the Bill, was composed of a number of Gentlemen in whom the people had no confidence; and it was, doubtless, owing to that that the Lord Lieutenant could not put the law in force in the North of Ireland, except by and with the advice of the Privy Council. Thus the Act could not be put in force without the assent of the Privy Council, and the House should bear in mind that there was not amongst that body any person in whom the general body of the people had hitherto been able to place the smallest confidence. Why, the people could not even get magistrates upon the Bench in Ireland, much less upon the Privy Council, in whose decisions they could repose confidence. As an instance, he would point to the fact that his hon. Friend the Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell) had been removed from the Commission of the Peace. If he, the most representative and important man in Ireland, was not even allowed to sit upon the Magisterial Benches, was it to be supposed for a moment that he would be elected a Member of the Privy Council? He (Mr. Healy) found a list of the Members of that Body in *Thom's Almanack* for 1885, and it certainly afforded a most instructive study. The first name he found was that of the Prince of Wales, and, following those, Prince Edward of Saxe-Weimar, the Lord Chancellor (of that time, who was Lord Ashbourne), the Duke of Leinster, the Marquess of Waterford, the Marquess of Drogheda, the Marquess of Headfort, the Marquess of Hartington, the Earl of Meath, the Earl of Belmore, Viscount Monck, and so on, with several other noble Lords. The Irish Judges, Lord FitzGerald, the late Irish Chief Secretary, Sir William Hart Dyke, Sir Robert Peel—and any measure which could be brought forward to secure that the right hon. Baronet who lately represented Tamworth should attend would be most acceptable—Mr. Justice Morris, Mr. Justice Chatterton, Mr. Justice Warren, Lord Justice Barry, Baron Dowse, Baron Palles, Sir Michael Hicks-Beach, Judge Ormsby, Chief Justice May, Mr. James Lowther, Lord Justice Fitzgibbon, Mr. Justice Johnson, Mr. Justice Porter, Lord Chancellor Naish, Mr. Hugh Holmes, late Attorney General for Ireland, Colonel E. R. King-Harman, Mr. John Monroe, Mr. Henry Bruen, &c., &c. In fact, a greater collection of curiosities was, perhaps, never gathered together into the Council Chamber. He would like to know, for one thing, if the Chief Secretary was to sit upon one side of the Table, and the hon. and gallant Gentleman the Member for the Isle of Thanet (Colonel King-Harman), The O'Conor Don, Mr. M'Murrogh Kavanagh, and the others, were to sit opposite to him, what chance there would be of this Act being put in force in the North of Ireland? Those were the very Gentlemen who were recommending civil war in the North of Ireland, and they would every one of them insist upon the right of going into the Council Chamber, just as had been done in England when the Whig Peers interfered to prevent the bringing over of a Jacobite Prince, when the succession to Queen Anne was about being settled. How could they expect that men who advised the Orangemen to engage in civil war would, in the Privy Council Chamber, allow the Lord Lieutenant to use this Act against the Orangemen? They were not the men he took them for if they allowed any such thing. It might be said that the Judges would exercise a deliberate influence upon these Gentlemen; but there could be no guarantee that the Act would be properly enforced by the Privy Council as it was now constituted. Was he to be told that a man like Judge Lawson would not back them up, and give such men absolution afterwards in the Queen's Bench, if they were charged with high treason? The Government must be prepared to make large concessions as regarded the constitution of the Privy Council. Why should not the hon. Member for the City of Cork be on the Privy Council in preference to the noble Lord who represented the Isle of Arran? He (Mr. Healy) certainly was at a loss to know on what principle the Bill proceeded. He should prefer to leave the matter to the Lord Lieutenant in person, and he could not see why the Government could not accept his Amendment. The Lord Lieutenant was a responsible person; his words could be noted, and he was represented in the House by the Chief Secretary; but they could not have the same control over such men as the Representative of the Isle of Thanet, Mr. Bruen, or Justice Lawson. They would be exercising their Constitutional right, it was true, and no fault could be found with them; but he did not like the system. There was a way out of the difficulty. They were told by the Prime Minister that, in all probability, there would be an Autumn Session upon the Home Rule Bill. In the meantime the Orangemen, in order to prevent the Bill passing, would undertake the very same sort of amusement that they indulged in to prevent the passing of the Franchise Act. The interval would be used by those who pulled the string of the Orange Party, like the strings of marionettes were pulled for Paddington, Armagh, and North Down. They would get up a sort of gymnastic meeting with revolvers in their hands, and if the Act passed as it stood any amount of human gore might follow, and the Government would have a lively time of it. Now, what he would propose was this—that the Act should pass for one year, so that if the House of Lords threw out the Home Rule Bill, and if by any chance the Tories should come into power next year, the House would have the power of renewing the Bill. Otherwise, as he had said, there ought to be a very large accession to the Privy Council. There was really no necessity for passing the Act for more than a year. It was proposed to pass it for two years, and that, too, on the faith of its being properly exercised by a Liberal Government in whom they had confidence. It was possible, however, that the administration of the Act might pass into the hands of the noble Lord the Member for South Paddington (Lord Randolph Churchill), or into those of the Marquess of Salisbury; and they—the Nationalists—had no confidence whatever in them. He repeated that it would be only reasonable and fair to pass the Act for a year, and see how it worked, for then, if the Tories unhappily came into power, they would have the opportunity of retracing their ground, and criticizing the administration of the Act. The Lord Lieutenant was the Representative of the Queen in Ireland, and he failed to see why the Representative of the Isle of Thanet, Mr. Bruen, or Justice Lawson should have the powers conferred on them by the Act. There was an old saying, that "There's as good fish in the sea as ever were taken out," and there were as good men as those he named who would not have seats on the Privy Council. In fact, fresh blood was wanted in the Privy Council. He failed to see why so important an Officer as that of Privy Councillor should be conferred on men simply because they had served the Tory Party. The Tories always remembered their Friends, and made them Privy Councillors or something else; but the Liberals scarcely ever remembered their Friends, and never made any Members of the Privy Council, except those who had held high Office. The Tories were not such fools. When they were in Office they made magistrates as thick as blackbirds. They made Englishmen like the hon. and gallant Member for the Isle of Thanet Members of the Privy Council. The Tories, in fact, never forgot their Friends. He repeated, why did the Liberals, when in Office, forget their Friends; and why was it that the Tories never forgot them? So far as Ireland was concerned, the answer was plain enough. If the Government was afraid to trust the hon. Member for the City of Cork, let them, at least, appoint some of their political supporters. He would therefore move the Amendment standing in his name, and on a great number of grounds he hoped the House would accept it.

Mr. DILLON (Mayo, E.), in seconding the Amendment, said, that it did not go far enough as far as he was concerned. It was the greatest possible humiliation to them that a Government for which they had a greater respect than they ever had for any English Government before should consider it necessary to renew this Act, which had been a source of great humiliation and annoyance to Ireland. Anyone who had lived in the country for the past five years would know how unnecessary it was to renew the Act, which was a most odious one. It was a most extraordinary phenomenon to notice the reasons put forward by the Government for the renewal of the Act. They admitted that it was not necessary to direct it against the National Party in Ireland, and they further admitted that it would be perfectly useless to put down or get rid of crime. Who, then, was the Act directed against? Why, against those who figured as the supporters of law and order in Ireland, and whose preposterous boast they had heard so much of. For himself, he had not the slightest fear himself of the bullying and brag of the Orangemen. He believed that if there were no Arms Act the Orangemen would sing very low. It should be remembered that when the Arms Bill was announced they blocked it. The Orange people thought to frighten the English into the idea that they would fight. According to the Chief Secretary, this Act would take the arms out of their hands; and he would ask honest English Members, who were frightened by the boastings and threats of war of the Ulster Orangemen, to notice how the Leaders of the

Orangemen in that House would vote on the Arms Act. They wanted to be disarmed so badly that they reminded one of the man who wanted so desparately to fight that he went to a policeman and said—"For God's sake take hold of me, or I'll kill someone." They wanted the House of Commons to take away their arms, and then they would pose before the English people as having been ready to fight, only, unfortunately, the Government had taken their arms from them. But there was another side to the picture, and it was that on account of the preposterous boastings of those gentlemen their country was to be placed under a degrading law, and the Nationalist Party had no security whatever that it would be honestly worked. It was because they believed that the Act would be used for the purpose of paving the way for those gallant warriors of the North of Ireland he opposed the Bill. Those men would be very ready, when they had guns and revolvers in their hands, to meet men who had no weapons at all. If a Tory Government came into power, they might disarm the Catholic populace and leave the Ulster Orangemen armed. If the Catholics were left unarmed and the Ulstermen armed, then he could answer for it that the Orangemen would be ready to take the field quick enough. There were numerous reasons why he objected to the Bill. In the first place, he regarded it as an unnecessary degradation; and, further, he thought it would have the very opposite effect to that which the Government, with perfect honesty, desired to see—namely, an end put to the disturbances in Ulster. He thoroughly believed with Bishop Berkeley that if a wall could be built round Ulster, and there be no English interference, all would be well. He was perfectly convinced that if there were no more Coercion Acts or Arms Acts, and no more interference by Englishmen, who incited the Orangemen or others in Ireland to turbulent proceedings, the Catholic and the Orangeman would lie down like the lion and the lamb together. All the disturbances they had seen of late had been due to outside interference. It was human nature that it should be so. It was a natural tendency, if men were left to live together and to practise neighbourly offices for themselves, they would be more happy and united than if they were interfered with or incited by people outside. Those of them who knew Ulster, and who lived in it, knew that, except at the Party anniversaries, any such Act as a Crimes Act was not needed. If, however, an Arms Act was to be passed in spite of all opposition, they were entitled to ask from the Chief Secretary some assurance that the Act was meant to be, and would be, used for the purpose for which it was asked. As the Act stood at present, it was singularly ill-fitted for that purpose. In the first place, it did away with the control of the Privy Council, and left the matter in the hands of the Lord Lieutenant. He would rather see the Act made by that House to apply to the whole of Ireland, being made operative for only one year. He demanded that for the reason that the Nationalists had always found in the past, no matter what pledges were given in that House, that the Act was applied to the Southern and Nationalist, and not to the Northern and Conservative parts of the country. Again, the Court which was to deal with individual cases was a Court that rendered nugatory all hope of its being impartially administered. He objected to a Court constituted of "two or more Justices of the Peace sitting in Petty Sessions," and desired to have cases dealt with by one or more Resident Magistrates. A Court consisting of "two or more Justices of the Peace sitting in Petty Sessions" simply meant that the North of Ireland Catholics should have no arms, and the Protestants what they liked. Further, he submitted that the penalty of imprisonment for three months was a very severe punishment, and that the term ought to be shorter. Lastly, the power which the police had of arresting any person suspected of having arms should also be abolished, for it was a most humiliating and arbitrary power to put into the hands of the police. The whole question of renewing the Act had been brought about by the absurd proceedings of the Orangemen. Before the House went into Committee he thought they were entitled to call on the Chief Secretary to give them some information as to his views on these points—first of all, as to doing away with the Privy Council and substituting the Lord Lieutenant; next, as to extending the application of the Act to the whole of Ireland; thirdly, as to the constitution of the Courts; fourthly, as to the power to take away licences; and, fifthly, as to the reduction of the terms of imprisonment. He might say, in conclusion, that he thought some further power of appeal ought to be given, and clauses inserted for the guidance of the Courts as to the infliction of punishment, for at present a man might be imprisoned for having a rusty and useless flint gun, or even an old gun lock.

Amendment proposed,

To leave out from the word "That," to the end of the Question, in order to add the words "in the opinion of this House, no measure dealing with the disarmament of Orange districts will be satisfactory or impartially administered which requires to be put in force by a proclamation of the Irish Privy Council, composed almost entirely of members of or sympathisers with the Orange organisation,"—(*Mr. T. M. Healy,*)

—instead thereof.

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question."

THE CHIEF SECRETARY FOR IRELAND (Mr. JOHN MORLEY) (Newcastle-on-Tyne): In reply to my hon. Friend who has just spoken, I have to say that I do not suppose my views on the principle of the Arms Act are materially different to his; but I think that some of his remarks as to certain portions of the Act have been made under an entire misapprehension as to what is our duty now. The cases of imprisonment to which he referred were dealt with under the Crimes Act, and not the Arms Act, and that has been general since 1882. It should be remembered that this is nothing more than a mere Continuance Bill; and it is, therefore, very unusual to attempt to make any alteration in the original Act. It is true that I have put down an Amendment on the Paper, the effect of which is to modify a clause; but what the hon. Member proposes is to open up the whole Act that we are about to renew. That is altogether an inexpedient proposal, and one which we cannot entertain.

MR. T. M. HEALY (Londonderry, S.): On the revival of the Crimes Act it was proposed to renew the Alien Act of 1848.

MR. JOHN MORLEY: Very likely; but I was not in the House at that time. The Bill gives the Lord Lieutenant certain powers, and when he obtains the assent of the Privy Council he can, if he thinks proper, proclaim the two or three counties which are still left outside the provisions of the Bill. The hon. and learned Member for South Derry (Mr. Healy) asked me to assent to the limitation of the expiring Act to one year. But that is a proposal to which I cannot assent. The hon. and learned Member rested his appeal to me on the ground that at the end of this year there might be a Conservative Ministry in our place. Well, Sir, we do not entertain any apprehension of the kind. We propose to renew the Act for two years; and I may add that this Act is not absolutely necessary for the purpose of dealing with the phenomena of lively times, referred to as possible, by the hon. Member, because there is ample power to deal with and put down riotous and violent assemblies. Objection has been raised to the Lord Lieutenant being called upon to consult the Privy Council before proclaiming a given district or county. I do not share in those objections. With regard to the constitution of the Irish Privy Council, I have had the matter looked into, and of the 42 Members, not including the Princes of the Blood Royal, the Commander of the Forces, and other officials, 23 are Conservatives and 20 Liberals.

MR. T. M. HEALY: How many Nationalists are among them?

MR. JOHN MORLEY: I had never thought that a Nationalist would accept the position of a Privy Councillor in Ireland. I believe that there are no Members of the Privy Council connected with the extreme Parties in politics. Therefore, it is not fair to describe the Privy Council as composed mainly, and almost entirely, of members of the Orange organization.

MR. JOHNSTON (Belfast, S.): I beg the right hon. Gentleman's pardon; there is one Orangeman who is a Privy Councillor.

MR. JOHN MORLEY: Then I should say that was quite sufficient. The hon. and learned Member described to the House the manner in which Privy Councillors trooped to the august Chamber on occasions of great excitement in the country. I do not regard his description as at all accurate. I am the latest addition to the Irish Privy Council, and its Members are bound by an oath not to reveal what takes place on those occasions when the Privy Council meets. I believe, however, that the noble Lord opposite (Lord Randolph Churchill) did, on one occasion, disclose, or rather describe, what did take place at a meeting of the Irish Privy Council.

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL (Paddington, S.): No; I never did anything of the sort.

MR. JOHN MORLEY: I am told you did give some sort of outline.

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: Certainly not.

MR. JOHN MORLEY: Well, I was so informed; but I will pass that over. But I may say, without any breach, I think, of the secrecy imposed upon all Members of the Privy Council, that what happens at its meeting is very formal—is, in fact, purely formal. There is no notion of debate, or of Party division. No Party considerations are allowed to have weight at the meetings of the Privy Council. The hon. and learned Member for South Derry has referred to what might be expected to happen if a Privy Councillor in Ireland, holding the views of the hon. and gallant Member for Thanet (Colonel King-Harman), attended and expressed his views. But the hon. and gallant Member, if he were a Member of the Privy Council in Ireland, would no more think of attending its meetings than an English Privy Councillor would think of attending the meetings of the English Privy Council, unless he were summoned to attend. The Privy Council of Ireland has very important functions to perform in connection with the regulation of fairs, tramways, and fisheries. In all such matters it plays a tolerably active part. But in questions affecting the preservation of law and order it would be against practice, it would be against decency, and against all precedent for Privy Councillors to deny the powers which the Executive declared to be necessary for public order and public safety. The words of the Act are quite clear as to the terms and conditions under which any district may be proclaimed. Reference has been made to the fact that Belfast has been proclaimed. That is true; but Belfast was proclaimed under the Peace Preservation Act in 1873. The Peace Preservation Act is an entirely different measure to this. The Arms Acts is a very little Coercion Act indeed compared with it, and yet the Privy Council did not resist the proclamation of Belfast, and the extension to it of the very severe provisions of the old Act. Therefore, on the grounds I have stated, I cannot at all accept the hon. and learned Member's account of the composition of the Privy Council, nor do I accept his view as to their performance of their duties, and I cannot comply with his request that he should so alter the Act as to enable the Lord Lieutenant to put in force the provisions of this Act without the advice of the Privy Council. But if there was not that strong reason for refusing what the hon. and learned Member asks, I should demur to opening up the provisions of the Act on a mere Continuance Bill. I may say, moreover, there have been very few complaints indeed of the manner in which the Arms Act has been administered. I have had very few complaints indeed of the way in which the Act works; and, under the circumstances, I hope that the hon. and learned Gentleman will allow us to go into Committee. I may, however, give him this undertaking—that if it should become necessary to put the Act in force, it will be administered with perfect fairness and impartiality. The hon. Member for East Mayo (Mr. Dillon) wants us to give an assurance that the Arms Act shall apply to all the ports of Ireland. The Act does apply to all ports. The importation of arms is permitted in 12 ports; but it will take place under the supervision of the Custom House officers and under very stringent regulations. The question of extending the Proclamations to all portions of Ireland engages the attention of the Government at this moment; and I am sure that the House will believe my assurance when I state that, on the least sign of disturbance breaking out, the Proclamation will be extended to those districts which are now exempt. The Government will, undoubtedly, and with promptness, resort to the powers they already possess.

MR. WILLIAM REDMOND (Fermanagh, N.) said, it was generally understood that, if the Bill was to apply at all, it was to apply to Ulster. Now, in three Provinces in Ireland there was really no necessity for such a measure as this, inasmuch as the people were practically all of the one mind, and there was very little chance of any collision of opposing Parties when they were nearly all of one way of thinking. As an Ulster Member, therefore, he more than questioned the wisdom of any such measure as this; and as a Member for one of the counties where the Nationalist and Orange feeling was pretty well divided, he might be permitted to say that he was extremely sorry that the Government had not allowed the Bill to drop. He was afraid the general impression throughout the country produced by the renewal would be that the Government were really alarmed and frightened by the prospects which had been held out by certain people in Ulster about disturbances in that Province, and as a sort of proof that the language used predicting civil war was not altogether absurd, but that it was intended that something should really follow, and that it really meant something more than sound and fury. He believed that Nationalists and Orangemen alike would, if polled on the subject, be found to be dead against the renewal of the Bill. Now, in the county he represented—Fermanagh—the Nationalists undoubtedly were not armed. But the Orangemen were to a very great extent, and yet he believed the feeling of the Nationalists, both Protestants and Catholics, in that county would be in favour of dropping the Bill; and why? Because it was bound to engender a sort of bad feeling. Neighbours would, under such a measure, develop bad feelings of jealousy resulting from inequalities and injustice, and the Bill was calculated in that respect to do much harm. But, as a matter of fact, another reason why he objected to the renewal of the Bill was, that it certainly looked bad that that should be done at a moment when a Bill had been introduced, which would undoubtedly result in the permanent pacification of Ireland. Not only, however, was he opposed to the principle of the Bill, but he objected to the way in which it had hitherto been administered, and in which it was intended to continue to administer it. How could they expect people to look with equanimity upon an Act which relegated the power of deciding who should carry arms to those who were, in a great many instances, not only opposed to the people in sympathy and feelings, but who had openly expressed themselves to be so? He believed further that the Bill would put a premium on the possession of arms. It was a sort of Coercion Act, and would give colour to the idea that civil war was likely to take place. The Irish Party were opposed to the measure also, because of the fact that they did not anticipate very much fairness from the way in which it would be administered. In the Privy Council, the Nationalists were not represented; and it was no answer to say, that there were Liberals as well as Conservatives in that Body, and that there was only one Orange Privy Councillor. But one Orangeman there was quite enough to taint the lot. The fact that that Council had such power as they had under the Bill was quite enough to justify the opposition to it. There was not in Fermanagh one Justice of the Peace in sympathy with the Nationalists; and how could the people look with sympathy on the administration of the Act by men who were admittedly of anti-popular opinions? The most partizan magistrates, Orangemen of the most pronounced type, would be empowered to administer the Act, and to take arms out of Nationalists' hand and put them into Orange hands. Some time ago, Viscount Cole, a late Member of that House, and still a magistrate of Fermanagh, said he preached against Roman Catholics as a body, and that they should be exterminated and sent out of Fermanagh and into some other place. Was that a proper man to administer this Act? Another Orange magistrate was brought before his brother magistrates and fined for assault and battery; and another said that, under certain circumstances, the people would be justified in rising up against the law passed by that House. It was ridiculous, on the face of it, to say that such men should be intrusted with the administering of such an Act. If the Act must pass, well and good; but at least the alternative suggested should be adopted—namely, that the power of giving licences should be taken out of the hands of the local magistrates and given to the Resident Magistrates, the paid servants of the Crown. It would be better to make that concession than go to the country with the Bill as it now stood. Bitterness against the Government would result from the measure being left as it was. He would appeal to the Prime Minister—Was it a right and proper thing to allow men like Viscount Cole to decide, or have a voice in deciding, whether people should have arms—Viscount Cole who, as he stated, advised the extermination of Catholics——

Mr. JOHNSTON (Belfast, S.): I rise to Order. Viscount Cole never used such an expression; he explained that he never used it.

Mr. SPEAKER: Order!

Mr. WILLIAM REDMOND: I say that Viscount Cole distinctly advised the extermination of the Roman Catholics.

Mr. JOHNSTON: I deny it.

Mr. WILLIAM REDMOND: I defy contradiction, and if the hon. Gentleman, who is so distinguished in his Party, can prove the contrary, I will apologize humbly. Viscount Cole is a foolish sort of man, and not very much notice was taken of him at the time; indeed, someone told me that his Lordship was a lunatic. I would ask that the power be taken out of the hands of local magistrates known to be partizans, and given to the Resident Magistrates, and that certainly the local magistrates should not adjudicate in cases arising out of breaches of this law. How can a county like Fermanagh, where there is not a magistrate with popular sympathies, be expected to be contented with the administration of this Act by these men? One man said that, as a general rule, citizens were to obey the law, but that if the Home Rule Bill was passed, the people who happened not to like it should rise in arms against it; and in saying that he doubtless felt encouraged by the statements of the noble Lord the Member for South Paddington (Lord Randolph Churchill). All they asked was that the power of granting licences should be taken out of the hands of notoriously partizan men, and transferred to the paid magistrates of the Crown. The Nationalist Members had no fear whatever of civil war—the talk indulged in on the subject was all "bunkum," led off by the noble Lord the Member for South Paddington, who incited the Orangemen of the North to revolt. If the Protestants of Ulster make up their mind to fight, they can do so, for they are sturdy and able men, and will make good soldiers; but I know sufficient of them to predict they will not fight unless the Irish Parliament passes some measure interfering with their rights or privileges, and that they will certainly not do. I hope, in conclusion, that the suggested alterations will be adopted.

Mr. MITCHELL HENRY (Glasgow, Blackfriars) said, he was happy to support the hon. Member for Fermanagh (Mr. W. Redmond) in the appeal he had made. The measure could only be put into operation when a county was proclaimed, and if a county was proclaimed it ought to be done for some good reason, and the Government would always be careful to select competent men as Resident Magistrates. He considered the power should rest entirely with the Resident Magistrates. In a proclaimed district, the licence was to be granted by a Resident Magistrate; but, if he refused a licence, he could be compelled to grant it on a certificate of two magistrates that the applicant was a proper person to be intrusted with a licence. If, however, as he understood, the 4th clause was to be omitted, he did not see that there was very much to complain of; but, at the same time, he thought the Government was much to blame for not having made up their minds with respect to the Act long ago, and for not having brought it in at a time when it could have been fully considered, and when, if Amendments were to be made in it, they could have been made with the full assent of the House after proper discussion. Although the omission of Clause 4 would greatly improve the Bill, it would not make it completely satisfactory. As to the necessity of an Arms Act, he could not see how anyone knowing anything of Ireland could have the slightest doubt that such an Act was required. ["Oh, oh!"] He knew that before the present Act was passed, revolvers, muskets, and all other sorts of weapons were sold everywhere in large quantities openly, not merely in shops for the purpose, but even in drapers' and grocers' shops, it being maintained that every person should be armed. He thought it was highly necessary that some check should be applied to such a state of things. When the present Act was passed, the Government had to pay compensation to traders for the loss of the sale of their stock of arms, and he himself had procured compensation for some traders in the county of Galway. Since that time the Act had been in operation without there being, as far as he knew, any real ground of complaint against it.

Mr. WILLIAM O'BRIEN (Tyrone, S.) said, that to hear the hon. Gentleman opposite (Mr. Mitchell Henry) expressing any approval of what the Irish Party did, was perhaps to be regarded as a happy augury for their agreement on other and more important subjects. He (Mr. O'Brien) shared with his hon. Friend's regret that the Government were not able to make up their minds to discard the Arms Bill altogether. It did seem very odd that the Government should interrupt the debate on the Government of Ireland Bill to pass an Arms Bill. However, he was satisfied that, as the Chief Secretary said, he and they would not personally differ very much on the matter. The Chief Secretary had stated, and he agreed with him, that this was not so much a question of legislation, as of administration. Unfortunately, up to the present, the administration of the Arms Act, even in those districts in the North of Ireland where it was nominally in force, had been an absolute sham. He wished it to be thoroughly understood that neither to him nor his Friends would there be any hardship in the disarming of their fellow-countrymen in the North of Ireland. In the North of Ireland, the trouble arose not from the conduct of the farmers in the counties, but from the action of rowdies in the towns. It was they who were in possession of revolvers, and they would continue to be so until the Government did something to check the Orange magistrates, who had unlimited licence to keep arms, because it was, unfortunately, the Orange landlords who bought arms and distributed them. [Colonel Waring: Oh, oh!] He did not know if his hon. and gallant Friend had himself been generous in the matter of distribution; but it was perfectly notorious that the Orange landlords in the North were building Orange halls, and were equipping and keeping the whole thing going. In point of fact, the whole business in the North of Ireland was simply a landlord organization, with, he admitted, a certain sprinkling of Gentlemen like the hon. Member for South Belfast (Mr. W. Johnston)—perfectly honest Gentlemen, but who, also, at certain seasons of the year, were not exactly models of political sanity. He held that the first condition of putting an end to rowdyism in the North of Ireland was to deal with the Orange magistrates and deprive them of any power whatever in the administration of the Act, not merely the power of giving certificates such as he was glad to say the right hon. Gentleman proposed, but any power whatever of interfering as magistrates, and doing what was one of the grossest scandals in Ireland—namely, sitting as magistrates in judgment on the misconduct of those who, by their own speeches, they had incited to outrage. If these landlords in the North were only once brought to their senses, and half-a-dozen resolute police officers sent to those troublesome towns when occasion arose, it would be extremely easy to deal with these revolver men without special measures at all. If the men in the South of Ireland went and displayed their arms, as was constantly done in the North of Ireland, and fired shots in the streets, the police would pounce upon them and take the arms from them. But why was not something of the kind done in the North of Ireland? But the police would not dream of doing such a thing. In his own constituency the police constantly stood by whilst shots were fired all about the streets. He believed that the right hon. Gentleman's best policy was to show these men that the Government would stand no nonsense, and that wherever arms were used in the streets, they would be seized, and the carriers of them punished. But the policy hitherto adopted in the administration of the Act was, when there was no disturbance, to refuse arms to one section and to grant them to another; and he was sure that the House would agree that there was no reason why a respectable man, a farmer, should be deprived of the right of having a shot gun. The law, if passed at all, should be administered impartially.

Sir JULIAN GOLDSMID (St. Pancras, S.) said, he was by no means an out-and-out supporter of the Nationalist Party; but he thought they had much ground for the claims they were now advancing, and he should like to urge the Government to consider whether they could not meet them. The Resident Magistrates were men who, he assumed, would be acceptable to all parts of the House, and he thought that to them the decision should be given rather than to the local magistrates. Perhaps, if the Government would give the administration of the Act to the Resident Magistrates, the Irish Members would withdraw their opposition.

MR. JOHN MORLEY: I have already explained that the Resident Magistrates and Constabulary Inspectors, purely official persons, are the only persons who have power to grant licences under the Proclamation, and to carry out the provisions of the Act.

MR. HOLMES (Dublin University) said, that from the first moment of the Session, when the question was brought forward, he, with the experience and knowledge of Ireland upon which he could form an opinion, was in favour of renewing the Act. An Act of the kind was certainly very useful for preventing collisions between opposing Parties in various parts of Ireland, its application not being confined, as he understood it was not to be confined, to one part of Ireland more than another. His experience in Irish Administration from 1877 to 1880, during which time a similar Act was in force, was, that the Act had a distinct effect in the way of checking the commission of outrages which were planned, but could not be carried out in some cases, owing to the want of arms; and in other cases, because of the inadequate nature of the arms made use of. Therefore, he thought it very desirable that this Act should be renewed. Had it been proposed that the Act should apply only to particular parts of the country, he should have resisted it; but he would point out that it applied to all parts of Ireland, because it was within the power of the Lord Lieutenant to extend it to any district where it was required. Some observations had been made by the hon. and learned Member for South Derry (Mr. T. M. Healy) as to the words "by and with the advice of the Privy Council," and he should not be doing his duty if he remained silent and did not protest against an attack upon a Body which had always discharged its duty in a spirit of fairness and justice. ["Oh, oh!"] No hon. Member who had taken part in that attack had instanced a single case where the Act had been put in force in a district where it could in justice be said that injustice was done to any one person. [Mr. T. M. HEALY: Wexford was one.] The composition of the Privy Council was not of a one-sided character; it was largely composed of gentlemen who had always professed strongly Liberal opinions. True, there were no Nationalists on the Privy Council; but, so far as he could gather, Members of that Party were among the last who desired to have a seat on that Board. It was within the power of the Lord Lieutenant to proclaim any district in Ireland. All he was bound to do was to seek the advice of the Privy Council, but he was not hampered in any way, and, in the end, responsibility would rest with the Lord Lieutenant; but he was required, in order to have full consideration, to seek the advice of the Council; and surely it was desirable that an Act which involved considerable interference with ordinary liberties should not be enforced without as full a consideration as possible. Further, he entirely agreed with the Amendment that had been put on the Paper by the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary, dealing with the Licensing Authority. When hon. Members below the Gangway suggested that Orange magistrates should not be allowed to adjudicate upon the Act, he thought they were making a proposition which few could agree to. Suppose hon. Members below the Gangway had the government in their hands, were they to suppose they would deprive Orangemen of the Commission of the Peace? He understood hon. Members to say that there should be perfect equality between Orangemen and Nationalists. Personally, he knew very little of the Orange Society; but certainly, up to the present, he had heard nothing relative to its members that should disqualify them from the Common Law rights of Her Majesty's subjects. [An hon. MEMBER: Nobody wants to.] Very well; but why was it that the Act did not apply to parts of Ulster? It was because that there, as in other parts of Ireland, the Act had been fairly administered; and if districts in the North were not proclaimed it was simply because there were now no outrages there. As regarded the appointments to the Magistracy, or the administration of the law, he believed the Act would be put in force by the Chief Secretary fairly and equitably; and believing that the Amendment which the right hon. Gentleman had suggested made the Act more valuable than before, and, in point of fact, brought it in harmony with the old Peace Preservation Acts, he would support the Bill.

Mr. J. E. O'DOHERTY (Donegal, N.) said, there was no provision in the Act that could prevent a man, with an evil intention, from obtaining the means to do and carry it out. If the use of arms were free and open, there would be a public spirit created, and an Act of this kind would be found to be as little wanted in Ireland as in England. If an Orangeman committed an outrage, he ought to be punished, just the same as a Ribbonman—who was of the same class—would be punished. They should make no distinction between Orange and Nationalist magistrates. All they sought was, that fair play should be done on both sides. Let both sides be punished if they committed outrages. He opposed these Arms Acts for the main reason that they were simply coercion, and coercion without the least possible ground to justify it. Men who used arms would use them, because they knew they would not be punished. It was well known that the administration of the Act would be partial. All this legislation was founded upon distrust of the Irish people and only created suspicion and distrust. While the Arms Act was in full force in Derry, a meeting of Catholics was going to be held at a hall in the town, when it was seized by Orangemen. The latter proceeded to the roof, and from there fired into the faces of the police for nearly half-an-hour. During that time, a number of Orange magistrates in the hall below made no effort whatever to stop the firing. Then, again, the 'Prentice Boys of Derry had certain cannon which were all removed just before the Arms Act was passed, and, rumour said, were secreted at the house of the Duke of Abercorn. The men who in these cases used arms did so because, in the first place, they knew that they would not be punished; and, in the second place, because they believed and knew that the administration of the law would be partial. It was only when the police were present in large numbers that a riot and shot firing took place. If any measure of success had been admitted to attend the Administration of Earl Spencer, it was that part in which he exercised the ordinary law. There were rowdies on both sides; but a remedy for the present state of things would be found if the Common Law were applied firmly in Ulster, and if the police exercised the same vigour there as they did in the South. As representing the Nationalist spirit in Ulster, he desired to say that the great majority of the inhabitants of that Province, Catholics as well as Protestants, were quiet, law-abiding, industrious people, who required no special legislation one way or the other. There was, indeed, a rowdy element, equally strong on both sides; but if the ordinary law were properly administered there would be far less disturbance.

Mr. MAURICE HEALY (Cork) said, he thought this measure distinctly came within the category of exceptional legislation. At the same time, it was perfectly consistent to insist that if they were to have legislation of this kind at all it should be fairly and impartially administered against both political Parties in Ireland. Up to the present time that had not been the case, for although the Government had possessed these exceptional powers in regard to the carrying of arms, they had been practically exercised for the purpose of keeping one portion of the community disarmed and at the mercy of the other political Party. An hon. Friend of his had described to the House his experiences of a political meeting held during the recent Election campaign. A local Orangeman came out to the meeting, in the presence of a large crowd, and presented a revolver at the crowd. He also described how the evidence was deposed by three independent witnesses, and how the prisoner charged with the offence practically made no defence—he examined no witnesses, and merely contented himself with stating that the weapon was not a revolver but only a pipe case. The result of the case was, that whereas the Resident Magistrate was in favour of a conviction, there were on the Bench half-a-dozen Orangemen who dissented, and in the end the prisoner walked off scot-free. In the face of these facts, he did not think that they were asking an unreasonable thing that some revision should be made in the tribunal of administering the Act. He thought the House would see that it would be a most deplorable thing that the administration of this Act should be left in the hands of the local magistrates, in whom it was practically vested. They would then have gentlemen sitting on the Bench to administer justice, whose object would really be to defeat the ends of justice. There was another point equally important — the question of the existing licences. In renewing the Act, he apprehended that the licences granted under the former Act would not cease to have effect. Now, the Irish Members complained that the tribunal which would have power to deal with the matter would be composed of the local Orangemen of the North, who would use that power to place arms in the hands of their friends. With the Orangemen of the North the possession of weapons was almost universal, as had been on several occasions proved to the House. The Amendment which had been placed upon the Paper by the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary to deal with this matter was practically illusory, for no provision was made enabling the Government to revoke the power exercised by magistrates of that class. Beyond that, those magistrates would not want that power, for they had already placed the arms in the hands of their friends. For himself, he would both move and support Amendments calculated to amend the law on the points to which he had already adverted.

Mr. HANDEL COSSHAM (Bristol, E.) said, he had a very strong objection to this, as to all Coercion Acts, applied only to one part of the United Kingdom. Such repressive legislation was not desirable, and he was sure that a large majority in that House were sick of the constant discussions to which that class of legislation gave rise. He would, therefore, support any course of procedure which would tend to make it more difficult, thereby bringing it to a speedy end. The time of the House was wasted uselessly, and he did not think a much stronger argument could be used against it. If any justification were needed for the Government of Ireland Bill, it was to be found in the fact that this Bill was being brought forward by a Liberal Government. He sympathized with the Amendment of the hon. and learned Gentlemen below the Gangway, and would vote for it.

Sir THOMAS ESMONDE (Dublin, S.), who rose amid cries of "Divide!" said, he would not occupy the time of the House many minutes. He merely rose to state that he, like his hon. Colleagues, regarded this as a Coercion Act, and he therefore felt it to be his duty to vote against it. There could perhaps be no stronger proof advanced of the necessity of granting Home Rule to Ireland, than the fact that these constant Coercion Acts proved that the legislation of the Imperial Parliament moved too slowly to enable them to rule Ireland justly. The Irish Members also objected to the administration of the Act under the present system. He would give the House one instance which came to his knowledge. In the county of Wexford, where he lived, there had not been a single agrarian outrage committed, nevertheless the Arms Act was applied there. A number of very respectable farmers asked him to try and obtain leave for them to keep guns for the protection of the crops on their property. He waited upon some of his then friends, the local magistrates, and asked them if they could see their way to give these men leave to keep guns. They informed him that these men "were Land Leaguers," and that weapons, therefore, would not be given to them. In the North of Ireland, almost every farmer had a gun, because the magistrates were Orangemen, and they would not refuse licences to men of the same Society. He thought that, in view of the possibility of a General Election coming on, it was very desirable to limit the supply of arms given exclusively to partizans. The working of the present Act had, however, amounted to this—that Catholics would not get arms, while Protestants would. He thought there were, therefore, strong reasons for opposing the Bill.

Question put.

The House *divided*:—Ayes 180; Noes 104: Majority 76.—(Div. List, No. 108.)

Main Question put, and *agreed to*.

Bill *considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Clause 1 (Short title) *agreed to*.

Clause 2 (Continuance of 41 & 42 *Vict*. c. 5).

Mr. CHANCE (Kilkenny, S.): The object of the Amendment which I propose to move is to leave out "1888" for the purpose of substituting "1887." I do not think this Amendment will require much discussion. The object of the Bill is to continue the Peace Preservation Act of 1881; but as the Government have brought in a Bill to alter the Government of Ireland, and to give the people some share in it, one year ought to be long enough for the continuance of this repressive Act. The Act, as it stands, is a perfect sham. For the last 80 or 90 years there has existed in the North of Ireland a Party in ascendancy, who have been anti-national, and who are now distinctly disloyal, and it is through this Party that you propose to administer this Act against the Orangemen. The object of this Act has been to restrict the use of arms; but it has never succeeded in carrying out that object, and that is another reason why we should give it up as a sham. I should be glad if the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary will tell us how many searches have been made for revolvers and other arms under the 1st section of the original Act; and I should like further to know what arms, when discovered, have been forfeited; whether one single weapon in the whole town of Belfast has been seized under this Act, which has been in force now for five years, and which it is proposed to continue for the next two years? I do not believe that any arms have been seized, or ever will, and I am satisfied that this Act has only been laughed at in the North of Ireland. It would not prevent one Orangeman from going armed to a meeting, or prevent a single assassination or murder from taking place. Then, again, there is another point; this Act pretends to apply to armed assemblies, and these occur only in the North of Ireland. Why should it be extended to the whole of the country? I am certainly of opinion that the ordinary law, as it stands, is quite strong enough, and there is not the slightest pretence that there are any armed assemblies outside Ulster; and instead of being an Arms Act, it might be entitled an Act to enable the local magistrates to harass persons who are unpopular with them. For these reasons I should like to see the Act confined to one year; and I therefore propose, in line 9, to omit "eight," for the purpose of inserting "seven."

Amendment proposed, in page 1, line 9, to leave out "eight," and insert "seven."—(*Mr. Chance.*)

Question proposed, "That the word 'eight' stand part of the Clause."

Mr. T. M. HEALY (Londonderry, S.): I hope that the Chief Secretary will be able to give the Committee some information in regard not so much to the licences granted, as to the number of searches under the Act. We are told that this Act has been enforced in Ulster, and I want the right hon. Gentleman to tell us how many search warrants have been issued in that Province, what arms have been surrendered, and what number have been captured in Ulster? Before the Act is renewed, I think we ought to have a Return of the number of licences granted and revoked in Ulster, and the number of licences refused. I also trust that the right hon. Gentleman will accept the Amendment which has been moved by my hon. Friend.

The CHIEF SECRETARY for IRELAND (Mr. John Morley) (Newcastle-on-Tyne): I may say that the town of Belfast was proclaimed in 1881, and has, therefore, been practically proclaimed ever since the Act has been in operation.

Mr. T. M. HEALY: But it has never been fully carried out.

Mr. JOHN MORLEY: I cannot tell the hon. and learned Member exactly how many search warrants have been issued in any particular part of Ireland; but I may say that in the first year of this Act between 700 and 800 warrants were issued, but only about 150 prosecutions took place. Certainly in a large majority of instances the search took place without finding arms. I cannot say how many revolvers, rifles, and guns there are in Belfast. I cannot answer that question offhand, but my impression is that in the North, since 1881, there have been considerable seizures of arms and surrender of arms. In the few remarks I made on moving that the House should go into Committee I dealt with the point of the limitation of the powers of the Act. I do not think it is reasonable to expect the Government to bring in an Act of this kind, if it is worth bringing in at all, and to limit its duration for a single year. Heretofore all Acts of this kind have been in operation for five years. We should be very sorry to bring in an Act for five years, but two years is so very short a time that I do not think any legitimate complaint can be made of the date; and, on the other hand, it would be childish to propose a renewal of the Act unless we did not make provision for it to be in operation for a reasonable time. We have considered, and we still consider, and I have heard no argument to the contrary, that two years are a reasonable time; and, therefore, I cannot accept the Amendment of the hon. Member.

Colonel NOLAN (Galway, N.): The Chief Secretary has said that it has heretofore been the custom to bring in an Act of this kind for five years; but surely this is the last Act of this description that is likely to be brought forward for a good many years, and I think it would be advantageous to fix a shorter period. I have a distinct recollection of moving a similar Amendment in regard to the last Arms Act, and I remember a speech of the present Chancellor of the Exchequer (Sir William Harcourt), in which the right hon. Gentleman stated as a reason for enacting it for five years that in olden times it was the practice to pass Acts of the same kind for only one or two years, and there was a Parliamentary understanding among hon. Members that they would always be renewed when it became necessary, but at the time referred to by the right hon. Gentleman there was such a strenuous opposition to the enactment of repressive measures of this kind that he found himself obliged to extend the period from one or two years to five years. I have a distinct recollection of that speech, and I know that it was on an Arms Act and not a Coercion Act. That reason has now altogether disappeared, and the Government cannot complain that they are afraid of anything like obstruction to the passing of this Bill. They have been able to bring it in and to pass the second reading, and in view of the very much larger and more important measure for the Government of Ireland now before the House, we have not offered the Government any practical resistance or put them to any trouble. I think the Government ought to take that fact into account, and return to the old plan of renewing the Act for such period only as is absolutely necessary. Instead of taking the maximum I think they ought to take the minimum, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer having declared that a period of five years was necessary on account of the difficulty of passing a Bill, now that there is no such difficulty it would certainly be better for the Government to renew this Act for one year. If, unfortunately, we should next year find ourselves in the same position, and a friendly Government should deem it necessary to bring in a Bill again for renewing the Act for another year, although they may undoubtedly expect the same amount of opposition and division which the present Bill has received, there would be nothing like factious opposition offered to it. Seeing that we have virtually dropped our opposition and have given the Government a very small amount of trouble, I think we ought to be treated leniently. I do not see why the Government should endeavour to enforce this Bill for a longer period than is absolutely necessary, and if we get from them that larger measure which we hope for, this Bill will not be required at all. I therefore support the Amendment of my hon. Friend the Member for South Kilkenny (Mr. Chance).

Mr. JOHN O'CONNOR (Tipperary, S.): The right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary has objected to arguments being put forward similar to those which were used in discussing the second reading of the Bill. Now, I submit that there may be many reasons urged for the alteration of the clause which also affected the second reading of the Bill, and I must maintain that the arguments which were used both upon the first and second reading of the Bill can be urged now with much greater force for the alteration of this clause. One reason for the alteration of the date of expiration is that the Bill may have the effect of depriving a good many tenant farmers of their shot guns, and thus render it impossible for them to protect their crops. Therefore, the Act ought to be in operation for as short a time as possible. If it is to be in operation for two years, it would leave their crops unprotected and practically destroyed for that length of time, whereas if it is only renewed for one year, only one-half of the damage would take place. Then, again, it is not desirable that the unequal administration of Acts like this should be enforced for a longer period than is absolutely necessary. Very frequently it is a source of much inconvenience. I can give a case in point which occurred with regard to myself. Some years ago, being in the habit of travelling, I applied for a licence to carry a revolver, as I was often in possession of large sums of money; but although I represented all the facts, the magistrates of Cork refused me a licence, although I have known them give licences to bailiffs and others who were employed in instituting most obnoxious proceedings. In West Cork, Messrs. Payne and Barrett gave licences to bailiffs of notoriously bad character, who were known to have threatened innocent men passing to and fro; yet these magistrates, who then had the administration of the Act, will still retain the power of granting licences to persons of notoriously bad character, while they can deprive other persons, who really require them for their own safety and protection, of the right of carrying arms. Unhappily, great favouritism is displayed in the administration of the Act, especially in the North of Ireland, and, therefore, the arguments which were advanced on the second reading of the Bill may be applied with much greater force to an alteration of this clause. There are other points which might be advanced, but I think it would be better to reserve them until we come to discuss the other parts of the Bill. I trust that the right hon. Gentleman will see the necessity of giving way on this point, and that he will have the Bill altered so that the Act will be in operation only for 12 months instead of two years.

Mr. DILLON (Mayo, E.): I trust that my hon. Friend will press this point as to the duration of the Bill being confined to one year. The Chief Secretary has given us assurances; but I look with some misgiving on the character of the assurances given by the right hon. Gentleman. So far as the present Government are concerned, I have every confidence in them; but, at the same time, long and bitter experience makes men wary, and we know in the past how these Acts have been administered. It is within the bounds of possibility that the present Government may be succeeded by a Tory Government, who would thus have to administer the Act; and I cannot help regarding the fact with suspicion that the hon. Member for South Belfast (Mr. Johnston) and the hon. and gallant Member for North Armagh (Major Saunderson) will vote for the Bill. The Chief Secretary may say that he is not responsible for that, and that he is determined to carry out the provisions of the Bill impartially; but the hon. Members I have mentioned do not mean anything of the kind, or they would not vote for the Bill. I do not speak so much for the hon. Member for South Belfast, but certainly that remark applies to the hon. and gallant Member for North Armagh. Nobody can say that our opposition to this measure has been of an obstructive or an unreasonable character; on the contrary, we have been very moderate, considering what an Arms Act is, and I think we have afforded good ground for saying that, considering the uncertainty of the future, it is not necessary to pass a Bill for so long a period as two years. I have no doubt that the present Government will be in Office this time 12 months; but it is impossible to insure that, and what we say is that the Representatives for Ireland should have another opportunity of criticizing the way in which the Act may have been administered. Irish Members can have very little doubt as to what the character of the action of a Tory Government, largely influenced by the noble Lord the Member for South Paddington (Lord Randolph Churchill), would be in the administration of such an Act. I cannot conceal from myself an uneasy feeling at what the prospects would be if the hon. Member for South Belfast (Mr. Johnston) and his Party were in power in the North of Ireland. We want to take every precaution that the horrible policy of coercion which has been carried out so long in Ireland shall be brought to an end, and that no direct encouragement shall continue to be given to religious animosity and hatred in the North. The system of placing arms in the hands of one section and disarming the other undoubtedly has a tendency to keep up persecution and bad blood on one side and animosity on the other. What we say is this—first of all, that the system should be placed on such a footing that it may be entirely done away with. We have no fear of the Protestants of Ulster; but if the Government will not be advised by us, then the next best thing is to disarm everybody. There was one observation which fell from the Chief Secretary just now which confirmed me in the view I entertain. The right hon. Gentleman said Members might feel satisfied that if the necessity arises this Act will be put in force. Now, there are various portions of Ulster which are not proclaimed, in which the Orangemen are openly arming themselves. Is this to be allowed until they may actually take the field? I noticed a meeting of the Grand Lodge of Armagh the other day at which the different Masters of the Orange Lodges were called upon to hand in a statement as to the number of men they could place in the field. It was stated that in 11 towns in the Northern Division of Armagh there were 750 men ready to take the field if the necessity arose. Surely, in the face of a declaration of that nature, an Arms Act of this kind should be put in force. The right hon. Gentleman admits that this Arms Act would be of very little use for the prevention of outrages, and what, therefore, is the necessity which can arise for putting the Act in force? I do not see what cause there can be, unless these men go into the open field prepared to resist Her Majesty's Forces or the police, in which case the Government would only see the danger when too late to put the Act in force in any proper spirit. If they want to prevent mischief of that character, the proper time is to disarm these men when they are getting the arms and preparing for the field, always provided that the Catholics are not disarmed while licences to carry arms are issued to Protestants. In that case it would be too late, and for this reason— One of the objects they have is to produce effect upon public opinion in England, and if they are allowed to assemble in large numbers until they can be surrounded by Her Majesty's troops and disarmed, their object of impressing the people of England with the fact that they are prepared to carry on a civil war will be achieved. Therefore, when the right hon. Gentleman says that the Act will be put in force should the necessity arise, we are justified in entertaining the suspicion that in special circumstances the Act may not be used in the same way it has been used before, and I certainly do not see any good reason why the Act should be renewed for two years instead of one. If the Act is used in Ireland in a fair and impartial spirit, and there are good grounds for renewing it next year, the opposition of the Irish Members will be even of a milder character than it is now. On the other hand, if the Act is unfairly enforced, or it is possible that a Conservative Government is in Office, it may be necessary that we should give it our determined opposition, and I do not see what objection the Government can have to such a course. The right hon. Gentleman seemed to imply that pressure might be brought to bear on the authorities to carry out the Act. What is the reason why certain counties in Ulster have not been proclaimed? There may be very little agrarian outrage in Down or Antrim, but we know very well that large bodies of armed men have attended political meetings in those counties, that they have discharged revolvers in the air, and flourished their arms. I know of one case of a meeting in the county of Down, where a large body of armed men went from Belfast with the avowed intention of firing at the Nationalists. A more audacious and open violation of the law I never saw or heard of in the course of my experience. These men left Belfast with the avowed purpose of breaking up a peaceable meeting. They were 300 or 400 in number, and every man among them had a revolver in his pocket. They hunted us, led by two magistrates, and they pursued me personally with cries of "Let's have a shot at Dillon." As I say, they were led by two magistrates of the county of Down, and Mr. Clifford Lloyd, who afterwards became very obnoxious to the Nationalist Party, saved my life on that occasion. Two magistrates at the head of 200 armed men demanded the rights of way. Mr. Clifford Lloyd told them to stand back in the Queen's name, and it was not until that occurred that they gave way. Yet these are the men who are to set in judgment on actions of this kind in the county of Down. I venture to say that the people of North Down are no different to-day from what they were at the time to which I refer. I have no objection to the Act being enforced so long as it is enforced impartially; and if I can be assured that it will be applied impartially to all classes of the people who display a spirit of turbulence or desire to obtain the possession of arms for an improper purpose, I would be content to confine my opposition to a mere vote against the second reading of the Bill.

Mr. HANDEL COSSHAM (Bristol, E.): My right hon. Friend the Chief Secretary for Ireland, when he mentioned that in the first year of the Act from 700 to 800 warrants were issued, added that there had only been 150 convictions. [MR. JOHN MORLEY: Prosecutions.] It is quite evident, therefore, that the powers of the Act were only put in force for the purpose of annoyance; and, therefore, I think the shortening of the duration of the Bill becomes a matter of considerable importance. No one can pretend, after the statement made by the Chief Secretary, that the Act may not be used in such a way as to produce a most demoralizing effect upon Her Majesty's subjects. What would be thought if 750 houses were searched in England on charges of theft, and only 150 prosecutions followed? Would it not be said that the law had been put in force for an improper purpose? I confess that in listening to these debates nothing has been so disappointing to me as to notice the angry feeling which seems to be engendered by the proceedings of the Orange Party in the North of Ireland. I trust that by getting rid of the whole of this repressive legislation, we shall be able to produce a better feeling between the Protestant and Roman Catholic population in Ireland.

MR. JOHN MORLEY: I will give the Committee the whole of the figures. In 1881 the number of warrants issued was 793; in 1882, 439; but in 1883 the search warrants were reduced to 37; in 1884 to 29; in 1885 to 6; and in the course of the present year there has not been one.

MR. CONYBEARE (Cornwall, Camborne): I shall feel it my duty to support the Amendment, and I do so on a general broad principle. I think that coercion is at all times detestable, and if there is one line which I take more than another it is that all Liberal Representatives should steadily vote against coercion. So far I have voted against this Bill, and upon the same ground I shall continue to vote for the minimization of its operation as far as possible. Apart from the considerations laid before the Committee by the hon. Member for East Mayo (Mr. Dillon) and others, it seems to me almost incredible that the Government cannot see their way to acquiesce in the views and appeals which are made to them by hon. Members from Ireland. At this moment, when the Government are basing their appeal for support to their Home Rule policy on the broad principle that we should put confidence and show trust in our Irish fellow-subjects, it is only right that on a small question like this we should show our trust by confining the operation of the present Bill to one year. If we continue to display a want of trust in them, I must admit that we supply the Conservatives on the other side of the House with a very good argument against our Home Rule policy. They may very fairly retort upon us that if we show so much distrust of the Irish people in connection with an Arms Bill how can we intrust them with the far larger power of self-government proposed to be conferred upon them by the Government of Ireland Bill? There is another argument which induces me to think that one year would be sufficient for continuing the operation of this Bill, and it is that by the time that period will have elapsed I think we may take it for granted that there will be a Home Rule Parliament in Dublin, and if the Irish people then find that they require an Arms Act they will be able to pass it for themselves. I have, however, sufficient confidence in the peaceable and law-abiding principles of the people of Ireland to feel sure that there will be no necessity whatever for any such measure. I therefore intend to vote with the Irish Party and against the Government, because I am glad to take the opportunity of voting against any extension of the principle of coercion. I also entertain some doubt as to the spirit in which the Act is likely to be administered. In Ireland there are two classes of magistrates, some of whom are paid, while the rest, who form by far the largest number, are not paid. Those who are not paid have already made themselves obnoxious for the partial mode in which they have administered the Act, and we certainly cannot depend on them to administer the Act fairly and uprightly. The instances which have already been given prove conclusively to every impartial mind that justice is not to be expected from the unpaid magistracy, and under those circumstances I cannot conscientiously vote for extending beyond the barest possible limits the authority which is now given to them under the Act. I think there can be nothing more calculated to disturb our relations with Ireland, and to render nugatory that pacification which the Prime Minister is trying to bring about, than the difficulties which are likely to arise from the unfair and undue administration of a Coercion Act of this kind. I certainly fail to see the necessity of continuing the operation of the Act for more than one year; and if the Irish Members desire to have the Act extended to the whole country let it be so extended. We should then know exactly where we are; but I would never give my consent to the administration of an Act of this kind, of a character which I abominate, by persons upon whose uprightness and fairness I cannot rely for its just and faithful administration. Nor can I give my sanction to the extension of that kind of legislation for a longer period than is absolutely necessary. Upon these grounds, I would earnestly appeal to the Chief Secretary to consider if it is not possible to accede to the appeal now made to him by the Irish Members. I am certainly not going to indulge in the argument which, though used on the opposite Benches, would, coming from this side of the House, seem to be little less than an insult to hon. Gentlemen opposite—that the Irish Members have lately been so well-behaved. I think that they have always been well-behaved, so long as they have been fairly treated; but that argument having been advanced, I think we should add what small amount of influence we and our Radical Friends possess in urging upon the Chief Secretary to limit the duration of the measure to the smallest period possible.

Mr. BIGGAR (Cavan, W.): I would also venture to appeal to the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary to minimize the duration of the Bill as much as possible. I would suggest that the Bill should only remain in operation until the end of the Session next year, and then, if necessary before the close of next Session, there would be ample opportunity for bringing in a new Bill. If I remember rightly, it is the custom to bring in a Continuance Bill every year, which is made to include a number of Bills that are only passed for one year. The figures which have been given by the right hon. Gentleman prove conclusively that, as a matter of fact, the Bill has almost gone out already. Last year there were only six search warrants issued, and this year, up to the present date, there has not been one. What is the real object of forcing a Bill of this kind through Parliament if it is entirely inoperative and not required? Upon that ground alone I think the suggestion I make would be a sensible way of settling the matter. Another point was raised by my hon. Friend the Member for East Mayo (Mr. Dillon)—namely, the parade which is made by certain classes in the North of Ireland of their desire to obtain arms. We see constant statements of the importation of arms and their distribution among the Orangemen; but I do not believe a word of it. We are told that 11,000 rifles were sold recently at 8*s.* a-piece. Probably 8*s.* would be the real worth of the article, and I am afraid that this description of arms would be a great deal more dangerous to the persons who attempted to use them than to their opponents. At the same time, if the Arms Act is to be enforced at all, I think a good reason has been urged for shortening its duration—namely, that at the present moment the law is unfairly administered. We know that in the Orange districts the persons who are likely to have these arms belong to the artizan class; and, in the next place, we know that the magistrates who will have to adjudicate in any of the cases prosecuted under the Act are prepared to perjure themselves in the most unblushing manner, so far as their oath of office is concerned, in favour of any persons who may be brought before them, in whose religious hatred and political objects they strongly sympathize. It has almost been the universal experience that there has been a failure of the administration of justice on the part of the Tory landlords in the North of Ireland, and that they act even worse in regard to a criminal case than they would in a civil prosecution where a political opponent was brought before them. I think that the Government should take the administration of the Act into their own hands, and should insist, in the strictest manner, that if the law is put in force at all, it should be administered impartially. It is notorious that in matters connected with political or religious feeling the persons who are prosecuted are never brought up before those who would firmly administer the law. In my opinion, the Resident Magistrates ought to have the entire power in their own hands, for the simple reason that they are paid officers, and are more or less amenable to the Government of the day. I am satisfied that the Chief Secretary, even of a Tory

Government, would not be so willing to act in such a partial manner as these unreasonable, unpaid magistrates. A fair illustration was given to-day of the spirit which animates these unpaid magistrates in the case of Mr. Brook, in regard to whose conduct a Question was put. There are hon. Members of this House who have been condemned to the plank-bed for using language of a much milder and less outrageous character than this man Brook. It must be remembered that this Justice of the Peace is charged with the administration of the law, and I was certainly surprised at the attempt which was made by the Chief Secretary to minimize the offence of Mr. Brook and to exaggerate the amount of apology he had made. He has also, I am sorry to say, been screened by the Lord Chancellor. If the Government would do their duty, Mr. Brook and a few more of the same class would be at once struck off the Commission of the Peace, and the people of the North of Ireland would then have some idea that it is really intended to administer the law in a spirit of impartiality. If the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary will adopt the suggestion I have thrown out, the old custom could be resorted to, at the close of next Session, of including this Act in a Continuance Bill, and the Irish Members would then have an opportunity of offering an opinion whether or not it ought to be renewed for another year. They will be deprived of that opportunity if the Act is passed now for two years. Whatever Government may be in power next year, there ought to be an opportunity afforded to the Irish Members of discussing whether the law has been fairly and honestly administered.

Mr. JOHN MORLEY: I should like to point out that there is some misapprehension on the part of my hon. Friend below the Gangway on this side of the House (Mr. Conybeare) as to the persons by whom this Act is to be administered. My hon. Friend said that it is at present administered by the unpaid magistracy. That is not the case. The granting of licences is not intrusted to the unpaid magistrates at all; but it is universally reserved to some high officer of the Constabulary Force, or to the Resident Magistrate. The unpaid magistrates have no power either to grant or refuse or revoke a licence to carry arms. Sub-section 4 of Clause 4 of the Act does give a certain amount of power to the ordinary Justices of the Peace; but that sub-section I propose, with the assent of the Committee, not to continue. As to the date of the duration of the Act, two years is, in my opinion, a very reasonable time. At the same time, as has been pointed out by the hon. Member for West Cavan (Mr. Biggar), I admit that the fact of the Act expiring on the 1st of June has been found from experience, and is proved by what is taking place at this moment, to be a rather inconvenient period; and, therefore, upon reflection, I am prepared to assent to this arrangement—that the Act should be continued, not for two years, but until the 31st of December, 1887. That is the proposal I am prepared to make.

Mr. MOLLOY (King's Co., Birr): It is quite true, as the right hon. Gentleman has just stated, that these licences are granted by the Resident Magistrates; but I wish to point out that it is the ordinary magistrates who have to try persons for breaking the law, and who, it is notorious, will not convict in the case of an Orangeman charged with an offence under the Act. What is the use of placing in the hands of the Resident Magistrates the power of saying to anybody in the county—"You shall not carry arms," when if such person breaks the law he is brought up for trial, not before the magistrate who has the power to give or deny authority to carry arms, but before an unpaid magistrate, who will refuse to convict him? If you require the trial for carrying arms to take place before the Resident Magistrate also, no doubt justice would be done. What is the case now? In Ulster you have Resident Magistrates to whom all applications for carrying arms must be made. If a licence is refused, the man carries arms all the same. If he is prosecuted for breaking the law, he is brought up for trial before those whom he knows from experience, and whom both the present Chief Secretary and the late Chief Secretary have more than once admitted, will not convict. Under these circumstances, with an Orange conspiracy going on throughout the whole of Ulster, your Act becomes a mere dead letter, while in the law-abiding parts of the country it is carried out to the full spirit. I altogether fail to understand why the Act should be renewed for two years. The Amendment is to continue it in operation for one year only, and I think that period is amply sufficient. The whole cry about an Orange rebellion is mere bunkum, and I cannot understand how any man of common sense can attach the slightest importance to it. Probably the Government may have been influenced to some extent by what these Orange Gentlemen may have declared, both in and out of this House; but if they will fairly investigate the matter, they cannot fail to see how ridiculous the whole thing is. All these cries are got up for the purpose of producing a false feeling of alarm. The other day we were told by an hon. Member of this House—a Grand Master, or some other kind of Master, of an Orange Lodge — that Lord Wolseley and the noble and gallant Lord the Member for East Marylebone (Lord Charles Beresford) had both declared that if the Government of Ireland Bill passed, they would resign their commissions and take the field at the head of an Orange Army. Both of these noble and gallant Lords have publicly given the lie to that statement; but, nevertheless, the effect which such kind of statements is intended to produce continues to be propagated. The Orangemen still stick to the threat, although the lie direct has been given to it by Lord Wolseley and the noble and gallant Lord the Member for East Marylebone. Only last week a further statement appeared in *The Belfast News Letter*. It contained a piece of information, which, of course, nobody believed, that, in addition to an Orange Army which is to march upon Dublin, a second Army was to garrison the strong places in Ulster, and there was to be a third Army employed as an Army of Observation. This statement was, of course, copied into the English newspapers. I hardly know where the Army of Observation is to be employed—probably on the banks of the Shannon, which are overflowed for nine months in the year, One of the leaders of this great Army is a learned friend of mine, a barrister like myself, who sits with me at table in the same mess in the Middle Temple Hall; he is an officer neither of Militia nor Volunteers, and he has never even acquired the rank of an efficient in the Reserves. Take another distinguished leader—the hon. and gallant Major—who is a Member of this House (Major Saunderson). He is, I believe, in the Militia, and was for a short time in the Army; but neither in the one Service nor the other did he ever hear a shot fired in earnest. These are the Armies and these the leaders who are to march upon Dublin, are to garrison the strong places in Ulster, standing up to their knees in the mud of the Shannon, are to act as an Army of Observation, and to give battle to Her Majesty's Forces. I trust they will be able to realize how in Ireland we laugh at this kind of stuff—mere bunkum and twaddle—which the Orangemen attempt to cram down the throats of the British public year after year, but which has had the effect of bringing us under the influence of Coercion Acts. I recollect the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for Dublin University (Mr. Plunket)—a barrister like myself—declaring at the time of the passing of the Irish Church Act that he was prepared to seal his opposition to the measure in his blood. Nonsense like this has been crammed down our throats year after year, and the consequence has been Coercion Bills. If hon. Members will only look at the matter from a common-sense point of view, they must see that an Arms Act is of no use in Ulster so long as it is left in the power of the Orange magistrates to carry it out. If it were impartially administered in Ulster, not 14 days would elapse before a fine was imposed upon the three leaders of the mighty Orange Armies of Ulster by whom we are threatened. Personally, I should not care if there were 20 Arms Acts in the country; on the contrary, I think that those who do not know how to use arms properly ought to be deprived of them; but I think it a national insult to impose exceptional legislation of this character upon the people of Ireland; and it is all the more painful because it is forced upon us in consequence of the action of the three leaders of these bunkum Armies. The whole of this feeling will not live for three weeks after the passing of the Government of Ireland Bill. In the case of the Act for the Disestablishment of the Irish Church it lasted only three weeks. These periodical outbursts of insanity in Ulster are very much like the attacks of intermittent fever; it is their stock-in-trade, and their only stock-in-trade. If I had any certainty that you were going to carry out this Act properly in Ulster, or in the whole of Ireland, I should have no very strong objection to it; but what I do think is, that in putting on this extra year the Government are making it a greater insult to us. I would, therefore, ask the Chief Secretary if it is not possible to limit it to one year, or even to a shorter period, and not keep it longer, as a kind of favour to these insane Gentlemen of the Province of Ulster?

Sir JOSEPH M'KENNA (Monaghan, S.): I suppose that the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary intended to meet us half-way by proposing that the Act should only remain in force until the end of 1887. But that is scarcely half-way. The matter will have to be dealt with towards the end of 1887—before the close of the year—and, therefore, I think we should gain as much by allowing the Act to last to the end of the Session as to the end of the year. Suppose the consideration of the possible renewal of the Act occupied the last day of next Session, and that we sat until the end of September. I wish the right hon. Gentleman to give his special attention to this point, because none of us in this quarter of the House wish that this discussion should be at all protracted. If he will say he would be satisfied that the Act should only remain in operation until the end of the Session of 1887, or until, say, the 1st of September, I think my hon. Friend (Mr. Chance) would be prepared to accept the compromise—anything short of that would be of no practical good. With regard to the operation of the Act, no doubt the point as to the punishment for breaches of the law is far more important than the question of licensing, therefore I desire to press on the right hon. Gentleman the importance of stopping the discussion upon this question by limiting the operation of the Act, if not for quite one year, to the end of the Session of 1887, or to a month beyond. I do not wish to detain the Committee, or to urge arguments which have been urged with force by every speaker on these Benches; but I can assure the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary that I have not only no sympathy with the carrying of arms by Orangemen, or by any other class of the people, but that I would rather there was an Arms Act, if it were worked so as to prevent any people carrying arms for the purpose of committing outrage. I trust the right hon. Gentleman will see his way to bring this discussion to a close by consenting to limit the operation of the Act to the end of next Session.

Mr. BRADLAUGH (Northampton): I do not propose to trouble the Committee for more than a moment or two; indeed, there are only two points to which I wish to address myself. I understand the hon. Member for South Kilkenny (Mr. Chance) to suggest that the Act should only remain in operation until the end of the next Session of Parliament; and I understood the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary to practically adopt the suggestion. The end of the Session being an uncertain time, and it being impossible to put such words into an Act, I understood the right hon. Gentleman to say that he would take it for the 31st of December, 1887, so that, if it had to be renewed, it would, as a matter of course, have to be renewed some time before the Session expired. And the hon. Member for South Monaghan (Sir Joseph M'Kenna) suggests that the Act should only remain in force till the end of the Session, or a month after. I think it is hardly necessary to persist in a discussion simply on a question of a day or two. I trust the hon. Gentleman (Mr. Chance) will withdraw his Amendment, and accept the suggestion of the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary. I think there is substantial objection, although I do not quite see how the matter can be remedied at the moment, to the administration of this Act by others than Resident Magistrates. The right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary, by an Amendment which he has suggested, takes away from the mere Justices of the Peace the power they had of arming their own friends despite the Resident Magistrates. The right hon. Gentleman's Amendment, however, only deprives the Justices of the Peace of the right to give certificates of fitness to possess arms. If it were possible—I do not know whether it is possible in a Continuing Act—by some simple words to confine also to Resident Magistrates the power of adjudicating upon offences under this Act, the spirit of the modifications which have already been initiated by the Government would be carried out to the end. If it be possible to make this alteration, I venture to appeal to the Chief Secretary to bring it about.

Mr. CHANCE (Kilkenny, S.): The modification suggested by the hon. Member for Northampton (Mr. Bradlaugh) will be proposed by one of my Colleagues on a section which will come up for discussion subsequently. I think the compromise which the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary has offered to us is a very fair one; and, therefore, with the permission of the Committee, I will withdraw my Amendment, and move to insert the words "thirty-first day of December one thousand eight hundred and eighty-seven."

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Amendment proposed,

In page 1, lines 8 and 9, to leave out the words "first day of June one thousand eight hundred and eighty-eight," and insert the words "thirty-first day of December one thousand eight hundred and eighty-seven."—(*Mr. Chance.*)

Amendment *agreed to.*

Mr. MAURICE HEALY (Cork): Mr. Courtney, the Amendment I have to propose refers to the issuing of licences, and its effect will be, practically, to cancel every existing licence, and to render necessary the issuing, under this Act, of new licences. In my opinion, the Amendment is a necessary corollary to the Amendment which the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary has himself put upon the Paper, and I will briefly state the reasons why. The Committee is aware there has been frequent reference to the fact that the existing Act which this Bill is to renew contains a provision that the Licensing Authority is bound to issue a licence to any occupier of agricultural land, if two local magistrates certify he is a fit and proper person to have a licence given to him. This provision is to be found in Sub-section 4 of the original Act, and the point is that the Licensing Authority had no option whatever left in its hands when once a certificate was asked. Now, Sir, we complain that, under this sub-section, licences were issued wholesale to persons who ought not to have had them. We complain that, all over the North of Ireland, local Orange magistrates made use of this provision to place arms in the hands of their friends and partizans. We complain, Sir, that the effect of that was the scenes which were witnessed at a great many of the political meetings which have been held during the past two months throughout the whole of the North of Ireland. Large bodies of armed men came to those meetings. The men did not merely carry the weapons, but they used them for the purpose of giving emphasis to the political opinions which they met to demonstrate. I say, further, that practically the Government have admitted the justice of our complaints by the fact that the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary has given Notice of an Amendment taking the power out of the hands of the local Justices, and leaving the issuing of the licences solely in the hands of the responsible Licensing Authority. What I wish to impress on the Committee and on the right hon. Gentleman is that the concession he suggests will be perfectly illusory unless it is made operative by such an Amendment as I now propose, because our case is that, under the existing law, every person in the North of Ireland whom the Orange magistrates thought it right to give arms to has already got arms. The right hon. Gentleman's concession will be perfectly illusory if the arms are left in the hands of the people who so improperly obtained them. In order to give practical effect to the right hon. Gentleman's Amendment, and to undo the evil work which has, admittedly, been done under Sub-section 4 of the original Act, whereby the Orange magistrates armed all their friends and partizans, it is absolutely necessary that some re-inquiry should take place into those cases in which licences already exist. It may be said, in reply to me, that the Lord Lieutenant has already the power to revoke any licences improperly issued; but I maintain that a power of that kind is a practically useless power, because for its exercise it is necessary that a distinct Proclamation shall be issued in every individual case, which Proclamation is to be published in *The Dublin Gazette*, or otherwise promulgated as Proclamations usually are. It would be most invidious to issue these Proclamations. Direct attention would be drawn to each individual in respect of whom the licence was revoked, and obstacles would be placed in the path of the inquiry, which I say is absolutely necessary in cases in which magistrates have already issued licences under the existing Act. I respectfully press upon the Government the necessity of accepting this Amendment. There can be no question that the existing law has been grossly abused by the issue, wholesale, of revolvers to the Orangemen of the North, and to the other partizans of the Tory Party. The men of whom I speak are fully armed, armed to the last man, and they display the fact most ostentatiously on every possible occasion; they do so by coming armed to their political meetings, and by using their arms to making the holding of political meetings disagreeable to their political opponents.

Amendment proposed, in page 1, line 11, to leave out the words "and licence." —(*Mr. M. Healy.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Clause."

THE CHIEF SECRETARY FOR IRELAND (Mr. JOHN MORLEY) (Newcastle-on-Tyne): I presume that the object of the hon. Member in moving this Amendment is to secure a revocation of all existing licences, to be followed, as far as is thought necessary, by the issue of other licences. That is a very great innovation on the spirit and scope of the Bill. Upon the question of revocation I may say that the Lord Lieutenant has already power, under the 2nd section of the Act, of setting forth by Proclamation the conditions and regulations under which the carrying of arms is authorized; and he does, in his Proclamations, take power of revocation to himself. Therefore, there is without this Amendment power, if the Lord Lieutenant thinks fit, to revoke all licences now in existence. The hon. Gentleman wishes, as I understand him, that power to be transferred from the Lord Lieutenant to the Licensing Authority.

MR. MAURICE HEALY: My Amendment would have this effect—that the expiry of the existing Act on the 1st of June and the passing of this Act would cancel all existing licences.

MR. JOHN MORLEY: That is a very drastic and far-reaching Amendment, involving as it does, of necessity, a complete re-issue of licences. I understood from the speech of the hon. Member that the object of himself and Friends is to secure for the Licensing Authority the power of revocation. I cannot for a moment accept such an Amendment; it will lead to a break up of all existing arrangements, and necessitate a complete reconsideration of those arrangements. It must not be supposed that it is intended the Act shall apply to one particular part of Ireland only. The object of the Act is to prevent the aggravation of political feeling, which usually runs high in Ireland, and which, for some time, is likely to run even higher than hitherto by the practice of carrying arms. That being the case, and the view and object for which the Act is framed, it is impossible that we can consent to let go by one single Amendment the whole existing set of arrangements. I must offer a resolute resistance to the Amendment.

MR. HOLMES (Dublin University): It seems to me that the Amendment now before the House is one of a very extraordinary character. The Act now in existence is one which goes on the general understanding that the people of Ireland are entitled to bear arms; but that, under certain circumstances, restrictions may be imposed on them under Proclamation issued by the Lord Lieutenant in Council. The present measure is a renewal Bill, and it provides that when the Act is passed the various Proclamations now in force, placing restrictions on various parts of the country, shall continue in force, so as to prevent the necessity of issuing new Proclamations. And as a natural and perfectly logical consequence, when you continue the Proclamations in this way, you should also continue the exceptions that have been granted in the shape of licences for the carrying of arms. I can understand hon. Gentlemen pleading against coercion contending that there ought to be new Proclamations and orders under a new Act; but I cannot understand why, if they are to allow the Proclamations in existence to continue, they should say that it shall be necessary for each person who, up to the present time, has shown himself a proper person to obtain a licence to go through the form and ceremony of obtaining another. It seems to me a most extraordinary thing that this proposal should come from a quarter of the House which generally protests so vehemently against encroachments upon the liberty of the subject in Ireland. We must remember that in the cases where persons in Ireland hold licences under the old Act the power of the Lord Lieutenant to revoke those licences will still continue; so that if a man who 12 months ago was entitled to carry arms has subsequently by his conduct deprived himself of that right, there will be no difficulty in revoking the licence. I trust the Committee will concur with the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary in the reasonable view he has expressed, and that he will retain the clause, which seems to be based on reason, as it stands.

Mr. MAURICE HEALY (Cork): I do not think the right hon. and learned Gentleman who has just sat down can have heard the reasons by which I ventured to support the Amendment. The right hon. and learned Gentleman says it would be unreasonable that persons already having licences should be put to the trouble of coming up once more, and submitting to a new inquiry as to the propriety of licences being given to them. But I will give a reason for that course, and, I think, a very good reason. The right hon. and learned Gentleman may not think that a reason exists; but I can assure him that there is perfectly good ground and justification for the course I wish to see taken. We allege that, under the existing law, licences have been improperly given through the medium of the local Justices, who have had the power of issuing the certificates on which the Resident Magistrates have had no option left to them but to give the licences. We may be right, or we may be wrong, in taking that view. If we are right that licences were improperly issued, and we are sustained in that view, and the Government propose not to renew the clause, but to let it drop, declaring that it has been abused, there is ample justification for the line we are pursuing. If we are wrong there can be very little hardship in our proposal. Seeing that this Act is a renewal Act, there should be renewed inquiry into the desirability of granting licences in particular cases. The only objection the right hon. Gentleman has raised to our proposal is the Departmental objection that it would involve a great deal of trouble—that the Resident Magistrates would be put to the trouble of a fresh inquiry in each case, which would involve great difficulty and labour. That is so, no doubt; but the question is, is there a reasonable ground, or is there not, for the course that we have taken. Is not the power given to the local magistrates under the existing Act abused? If it is, I assert that there is no possible way of preventing its continuance except by the course I suggest—namely, by providing that the licences granted under the existing law shall not continue under this Act; but that, on the passing of this Act, a fresh inquiry shall take place.

Mr. O'HEA (Donegal, W.): I believe the Amendment of the hon. Member is a proper one, and one that ought not to be rejected by this House. With regard to farmers and people of that class who require to have a gun or firearm of some sort, as a necessity, on their holdings, of course nothing can be said. The Amendment of my hon. Friend does not apply to them—it does not in any way relate to those whose positions make it necessary for them to have firearms. Of course, the farmers want to shoot rooks for the protection of their crops, and it is necessary that they should have firearms. But this clause does not aim at depriving farmers of firearms that are simply required for the shooting of birds. It is intended to prevent the arming of the people of Ireland. Under the old system the Licensing Authority had no option but to grant licences where two magistrates gave a certificate, and those licences might be for rifles such as were advertised for sale in Ireland a few weeks ago, or for revolvers. Whatever the licence might have been for, if two magistrates certified a person as fit, however unfit he might have been in reality, he would be looked upon as a proper person to be armed. I do not see what injustice can be inflicted in any body by having their licences revoked in the manner proposed. I myself hold a licence to carry firearms, and should be perfectly willing to put it in the fire and take my chance of either obtaining a renewal of it, or yielding up whatever firearms I may possess. I think every well-intentioned person would do the same thing. Under this Amendment licences will be revoked; but it will be possible for the persons losing them to obtain them again by giving such guarantees of their future behaviour as will satisfy the Licensing Authority that they will make no injudicious, rash, or foolhardy use of the firearms they may possess. No one can be inconvenienced by the course we propose. If the Amendment of my hon. Friend is accepted, when a Proclamation is issued every subject of Her Majesty in the specified district will have to give up all the firearms he possesses. The privilege of carrying arms is not, after all, such an enviable one. You cause no inconvenience to us when you say—"You shall not carry arms;" and we ought to be able to say the same of the people of the North of Ireland. Whether we wish to carry firearms or not, there is no Member of the House on this side below the Gangway, and there are none of my constituents who will find themselves in the smallest degree inconvenienced, or consider that an injustice is put on them, if it becomes a necessity to have a new licence given, and to have all existing licences cancelled.

MR. JOHN O'CONNOR (Tipperary, S.): I attach great importance to this Amendment, as I believe it bears on a large portion of the case. It will bear upon all the individuals who are to be the component parts of the three armies we heard about a while ago—the army of observation, the army of occupation, and the army of invasion. The Amendment has for its object the revocation of all licences already granted, and before they can be renewed the circumstances under which they are applied for and the objects of those who ask for them will have to be inquired into. The men whose licences would be inquired into would be those who have been recently taught lessons of a Constitutional character. They have been lectured at home; they have been lectured abroad; and they have had some admirable lessons delivered to them by the noble Lord who sits on the Front Bench above the Gangway (Lord Randolph Churchill). The right of insurrection and rebellion has been defined to them by the noble Lord; and this, together with speeches from other Members who sit above the Gangway, quotations from which we have listened to, will convey lessons to the people, who will all put their individual construction upon these lessons. The noble Lord, in a speech he delivered not long ago, quoted something in reference to Robespierre, who had a Constitution of his own based upon the right of insurrection. But what was the result of it? Every Frenchman at that time thought he had a right to construct it in his own fashion, and they had conspiracy after conspiracy, beside which the pronouncement of the three tailors of Tooley Street could not stand for a moment. The noble Lord has given to the Orangemen of the North of Ireland an interpretation as to their right to a Constitution based upon rebellion; but there are other interpretations, and the men who have the right to carry arms will interpret these Constitutional maxims by private interpretation. The Amendment is devised with the object of limiting the possession of arms so far as these dangerous men are concerned—who, according to the statement we heard a short time ago, have actually enlisted to the number of 10,000, 20,000, or 30,000 men. I think the House will do well to limit the issue of licences so far as these persons are concerned, who have enrolled themselves in the army of occupation. I met a young man, a friend of mine, in Cork the other day—agent for some very important properties—and we fell to discussing the present situation. I asked him what he and his friends were going to do, and he replied—"Why, take the field! But," said he, "I do not think we shall interfere with you, because you are a good sort of fellow." Thereupon I said—"I am very sorry for you, for the situation will be reversed. I have been going to take the field for 20 years, but have not succeeded yet. If you took the field we should go and stand on the ditch; and as I should not like to have the satisfaction of seeing our troops—our Imperial troops for which we are going to pay a certain sum each year—shoot you down, I am going to exercise my privilege as a Member of Parliament to prevent this occurrence. I shall exercise my rights and privileges in order to prevent your taking the field, because you are a very good fellow, and I do not want to see you shot down." If you accept this Amendment it will put the power in the hands of the magistrates. If in the North of Ireland you have proper magistrates it will give them power to inquire into these licences, and, above all, to revoke the licences of the men whom you would suppose to be the recruits of hon. Gentlemen below the Gangway. I urge the Committee to consider these as good and sound reasons for accepting the Amendment of my hon.

Friend the Member for Cork (Mr. M. Healy).

Mr. CHANCE (Kilkenny, S.): It is a rather remarkable fact that we have had very few statistics produced in relation to the working of the Arms Act. We have now got into Committee, and still none are produced. I certainly must say I appreciate the wisdom of the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. John Morley) in not producing them, because they would have proved very troublesome indeed. Accurate statistics in reference to the operation of the existing Arms Act would have shown conclusively that licences for revolvers and rifles have been issued wholesale in the North of Ireland, especially in Fermanagh and Derry, and the Government would have been in the position of coming to Parliament for a Bill enabling them to put down armed assemblies; and yet one of the principal clauses in that very Bill would promise not to interfere with any of the arms now possessed by the Orangemen of Ireland, against whom it is understood the renewal of the Act is chiefly directed. I cannot see that any great difficulty would arise from the Amendment of my hon. Friend, and for this reason—that the licences which have been issued in the North of Ireland are mainly licences for revolvers and rifles; and I should think that the Licensing Authorities, if they were Resident Magistrates, as I hope they will be, would deal with the application for such licences in a very summary manner indeed. I would not have the slightest objection to give to every Orangeman in the North of Ireland a fowling piece if he wanted it. A fowling piece is not wanted for purposes of war, inasmuch as it hardly carries 50 yards. But I have a great objection to allowing the Orangemen of the North to buy Sniders and revolvers, which cannot be of any use for legitimate or lawful purposes; and I think the Government are acting in a very curious manner in bringing in this Bill, which is said to be directed against armed assemblies, but which contains a clause which absolutely ties their hands. It has been pointed out to the Committee that the Lord Lieutenant has the power of revoking licences. I know he has, and the power has been exercised dozens of times in the case of individuals. I do not think its exercise in the case of a county or division would be dreamt of. There is another point to which the Committee has hardly given proper attention, and it is this—that the old Peace Preservation Act has not expired yet, and that the Orangemen of the North, having had a number of counties conveniently proclaimed for them, have had, for the last five or six months, in their hands the power, on the certificate of any two Orange magistrates, to insist upon having licences for revolvers, or rifles, or cannons for the matter of that. I venture to say that, even at the present moment, the Orange magistrates are very busily engaged in granting certificates to every anti-Nationalist in the proclaimed districts of the North, in order that these gentlemen may be provided with two-year licences. What sort of men are these by whom licences have been granted? There is a Return now in the House of Commons which was granted at the instance of my hon. Friend the Member for Sligo (Mr. Sexton), from which it will be found that about 70 per cent of the magistrates are landlords and land agents, and that the rest are officials who have been more or less intimately connected with the misgovernment of Ireland for the last 80 years. In addition to that, they are, to a man, non-Catholic, and yet it is solemnly proposed to renew an Act practically containing a provision that the Orangemen are not to be touched; if the Act is to operate at all it is to operate against unarmed Catholics. I hope some Members on the Radical Benches will support us in our protest against this clause, a protest which it is most necessary to make even upon the showing of the Government. We must press the Amendment to a division, and if we are beaten in the division we shall have much pleasure in proposing the omission of the sub-section.

Mr. WILLIAM REDMOND (Fermanagh, N.): I have already spoken on the subject now under discussion; but since I spoke speeches have been made from different quarters of the House, to which I have listened most attentively. Having done so, I cannot help feeling how utterly ridiculous it is that the idea should be entertained, as it apparently is, that this Arms Bill is vitally necessary for the purpose of preventing civil war in Ulster. If the Government have got that idea in their heads in bringing in this Arms Bill, they might just as well drop it and go on with something sensible. The idea of civil war breaking out in Ulster is perfectly absurd. I represent a constituency in which fully one-half of the population are Orangemen. For 300 years back Orangemen have had the ascendancy in this part of Ireland; but I can say conscientiously, judging from my experience during the late Election, that there is no likelihood whatever of any open hostility by Orangemen to the march of the National cause.

THE CHAIRMAN: I must call the attention of the hon. Member to the fact that this is an Amendment to omit the words "and licence."

MR. WILLIAM REDMOND: I am going to come to that, Mr. Courtney. I am going to show that the Bill is altogether unnecessary, and that if we are to have it at all the Amendment proposed by my hon. Friend (Mr. M. Healy) is a very desirable one. The Amendment is intended to secure that the present licences shall be reconsidered; because it is quite true that a great many licences that have been granted and are now in existence could be advantageously reconsidered. But, after all, the question which the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary and the Committee should take into consideration is this—if the Bill is brought in for the purpose of stopping the arming of certain people in Ulster, it must do something more than it does at present. It is notorious that the Orangemen have arms, and that the great bulk of them have arms without any licence whatever. If you want this Bill for the purpose of disarming the Orangemen you must make some provision for the searching of the men's residences, in the same way as the Government did not scruple to allow the residences of Nationalists to be searched in the past. I think the Amendment is a very desirable one; but I do not think that it can possibly be too clearly or distinctly impressed upon the Committee that there is not the slightest chance of anything in the shape of civil war in Ireland.

MR. BARRY (Wexford, S.): I quite agree with the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary that the proposal of my hon. Friend (Mr. M. Healy) is of a far-reaching character, amounting, as it practically does, to a revocation of all existing licences upon the expiration of the present Act. I am further of opinion that, unless the very strongest reasons can be brought forward in support of the Amendment, it should not be entertained. I maintain that we have submitted a most overwhelming case in favour of the Amendment. It has been shown that, under the existing Act, licences have been granted in the North of Ireland to any Orangeman who applied, and that the arms have been improperly used. We have it on the testimony of a former Chief Secretary that, after an ordinary public meeting, sacks full of revolvers were collected. We have instances in the North of Ireland of extensive firing, and we know that in some cases the effects were very serious. But there is a stronger reason than any of these why the Government should accept this Amendment, and that is that they have practically admitted that the Act was badly administered. If the Act was administered impartially, and if no licences were issued to doubtful characters, there is no reason, no justification for the proposal of the Government to drop Sub-section 4. In supporting the Amendment of the hon. Member for Cork (Mr. M. Healy) I wish to say that, so far as the Provinces of Leinster, Munster, and Connaught are concerned, there would have been no proposal to renew the Arms Act at all. The proposal is made on account of the peculiar conditions existing to-day in Ulster. But does not the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. John Morley) know that, unless this Amendment of my hon. Friend, or some Amendment very similar in character, is adopted, the Bill will be practically a dead letter? It is all very well to say that the Lord Lieutenant possesses the power to revoke licences; but the Lord Lieutenant only exercises that power on the representation of the magistrates. Is it at all likely that the Orange magistrates who granted the licences, and granted them for a special purpose, will make any representation to the Lord Lieutenant? I do not regard it at all as any safeguard to the Catholic population of the North of Ireland to say that the Lord Lieutenant possesses the power to revoke licences; and I hope that, after a full consideration of the case, the right hon. Gentleman will concede this Amendment. The only reason offered against it has been this—that it would involve the officials in a great deal of trouble, and involve a considerable waste of time. Are the people who deserve to have licences not to have them, and those who do not deserve them to have them, because the officials will be involved in a great deal of work? Surely that is no reason at all why a grave public danger—and it is a grave public danger—should be allowed. I hope that if the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary insists in maintaining his opposition we shall have some stronger and more reasonable argument than that he has advanced as to the work which would be entailed on the officials by the carrying of the Amendment.

**Mr. E. RIDER COOK** (West Ham, N.): I do not rise, Mr. Courtney, to take part in the discussion upon the Amendment before the Committee, but to call attention to the abominable atmosphere in which we are sitting. It seems to me that the air of this House is not only disagreeable, but that we are really sitting here at the risk of our lives. Unless something can be done, and that immediately, to remedy the evil, we ought, out of respect for ourselves and respect for our wives and children, to report Progress, and adjourn the House until such time as we can have an atmosphere in which it is proper for us to sit. I beg to move that you report Progress and ask leave to sit again.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again."—(*Mr. E. Rider Cook.*)

**The CHIEF SECRETARY for IRELAND** (Mr. John Morley) (Newcastle-on-Tyne): I myself have not experienced any ill effects from the state of the atmosphere. I hope the Committee will continue its labours in spite of what strikes me as a somewhat imaginary grievance.

**Mr. COOTE** (Huntingdon, S.): We are not all privileged to sit upon the Front Ministerial Bench. Though it may be true that right hon. Gentlemen do not find any occasion to complain of the state of the atmosphere, we who sit below the Gangway do experience very serious inconvenience. I hope something will be done speedily to improve the atmosphere of the House.

**The VICE PRESIDENT of the COUNCIL** (Sir Lyon Playfair) (Leeds, S.): As I was a Member of the Committee appointed last year to inquire into the nature of these smells, I must say that the smells have become very much worse this year than they were last. But I do not see the advantage of reporting Progress, or of adjourning the House for a single night. I do not think there is much chance of an improvement being made till a sum not less than £10,000 has been spent on the drainage system and other points connected with the sanitation of the House. What is required is a thorough overhauling of the whole system of sewering; and, therefore, the mere reporting Progress for a single night will be of no use at all; if we adjourned till the work of improvement was completed we should have to adjourn for some months.

**Sir WALTER B. BARTTELOT** (Sussex, North-West): I listened with attention to the right hon. Gentleman who has just spoken because he is an authority on these matters. I have personally made very great inquiry into the matter. I have consulted the people who clean out the House, and they tell me that in the morning the smell is abominable. Something ought to be done at once. The Gentlemen who sit on the Front Ministerial Bench ought to take the subject into consideration and see that immediate steps are taken. It is not right that we should have to come down here night after night and sit in an atmosphere like this. The atmosphere of the House is worse now than it has ever been since I first entered Parliament. It is absolutely necessary something should be done, and done at once. The right hon. Gentleman the Vice President of the Council (Sir Lyon Playfair) said the work of improvement will cost £10,000. It may cost £10,000 or £20,000. Surely the Commons of England ought to have a proper place in which to meet. It matters not whether the work costs £10,000 or £20,000—it must be done. The hon. Gentleman the Member for West Ham (Mr. Rider Cook) has done good service in calling attention to this matter, and I trust it will receive that consideration which its importance deserves.

**Dr. FOSTER** (Chester): I rise to confirm the remarks made by the Mover of the Motion to report Progress, and also to say I quite agree with the right hon. Gentleman the Vice President of the Council (Sir Lyon Playfair) that to report Progress for a single night would have no effect upon the exceedingly deleterious atmosphere we are condemned to breathe. I entered the Aye Lobby a short time ago, and discovered a smell which was positively dangerous to health. I found the smell in the Central Lobby, and I was obliged, in order to get rid of it, to take refuge in the Smoke Room. I hope the Government will give their serious attention to this matter, whether it costs £10,000 or £20,000. As the hon. and gallant Gentleman (Sir Walter B. Barttelot) has said, it is their urgent duty to take steps to get rid of this dangerous atmosphere in the House. It is impossible for men to be healthy when they are condemned to breathe these noxious vapours. Many Members have headaches continually in consequence of the prevalence of this unpleasant atmosphere; and, therefore, it is not to be expected that they can come with clear ideas to the discharge of their functions. I hope the Government will give their earnest attention to the question, and that if the Motion to report Progress is not pressed to a division it will, nevertheless, bear fruit.

Sir HENRY ROSCOE (Manchester, S.): Perhaps, as Chairman of the Select Committee to which this question has been referred, I may be permitted to make one or two remarks. We have thoroughly investigated the whole drainage system of the House and precincts. We find there is a great deal to be done in order to place the whole of the drainage of the House in a proper sanitary condition. The work, however, cannot be done at once. Perhaps it is within the knowledge of the Committee that we have already taken steps effectually to ventilate the large sewer which runs from one end of the building to the other; and so far, I think, we have succeeded in removing one very considerable source of danger and discomfort. There are a great many other points which require attending to, and I can only say the Select Committee are fully aware of the very great importance of this matter. Only this very day we have completed our Report, which we hope to lay on the Table of the House on Monday at the latest. With regard to the smells complained of—and I believe fairly complained of, though unfortunately I have been away and unable to smell them—I have to say we are endeavouring to do what we possibly can, and I trust that the measures we propose will effectually stop the nuisance. What has been the extent of it to-day I have not had the advantage of judging. I propose to go round now, but in the absence of the hon. Member for Walworth (Mr. Isaacs) I do not propose to go down the sewer this evening. I do not think, however, that the smell is sufficiently strong to prevent the Business of the House being proceeded with.

Mr. MOLLOY (King's Co., Birr): As we are now considering the important subject of the sanitary condition of the House, I take the opportunity of drawing attention to one matter which never seems to have been noticed. There are about the House a great many sewers; but I think the hon. Gentleman the Member for Manchester (Sir Henry Roscoe) will find that one of the sources of offence and injury to health is something which is above the sewers—namely, the matting on the floor of the House. When there is a large number of Gentlemen tramping in and out, and you happen to get a glimpse of the floor in the right light, you find that there is——

The CHAIRMAN: The hon. Member must confine his observations to the Motion to report Progress.

Mr. MOLLOY: I am giving one reason for reporting Progress. I was about to say that in certain lights a cloud of dust may be seen rising from the matting. If anyone will take the trouble to examine the arrangements of the House, they will find that underneath the matting there is absolutely a trap for catching all the dirt and soil which attaches to our shoes after leaving the streets. If the hon. Gentleman (Sir Henry Roscoe) will also turn his attention to the condition of the matting in the House, I am sure he will do well.

Mr. JOHN WILSON (Edinburgh, Central): I think that after what has been said the wisest thing to do is to make the discussion upon the Bill as brief as possible. I would appeal to hon. Gentlemen to be brief in their remarks, and to let us adjourn without much further delay.

Mr. E. RIDER COOK (West Ham, N.): I do not, of course, wish to embarrass the arrangements of the Government in any way. I am ignorant of their arrangements; but I felt it only right to call the attention of the Committee to the atmosphere in which we are sitting. Having done so, I shall, with the permission of the Committee, withdraw my Motion, and leave the responsibility of dealing with the matter in the hands of the Government.

Motion, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Question again proposed, "That the words 'and licence' stand part of the Clause."

**Mr. H. J. GILL** (Limerick): The right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary has said that the principal object of this Bill is to prevent large bodies of men bringing weapons to meetings and elections, and the like. We who sit upon these Benches would be very glad to know from the right hon. Gentleman what provisions there are in the present Bill to prevent these weapons being brought to meetings, and markets, and fairs? This is only a continuance of the existing Act; and, as far as we have been able to gather, weapons have been brought to these places, and we believe that the reason of the weapons being so brought is that numbers of persons who have no right to have licences have them. In what way in the new Bill, which is a continuance of the present Act, will that very dangerous state of things be remedied. I am sure that if the right hon. Gentleman would explain that to us briefly——

**The CHAIRMAN**: The hon. Member is not speaking to the Amendment before the Committee, which is that the words "and licence" be omitted from the clause.

**Mr. H. J. GILL**: I beg your pardon, Mr. Courtney. I was about to show that the Amendment should be passed, because its principal object is to prevent people from having the arms to bring to public gatherings. As others have said, we are not in the slightest degree afraid of civil war. We are only desirous of preserving the peace of the country; and I think if the right hon. Gentleman would explain to us in what way the present Bill will prevent the carrying of arms to meetings and other places my hon. Friend will scarcely press his Amendment to a division. I think that would satisfy, to a very great extent, the fears we have. We believe that weapons have been given to a great number of persons who have no right whatever to have them; we believe the weapons are still in their hands, and that the same danger will accrue in the future as in the past by their being carried. We would like to know what means there are in this Bill to make any change in this matter, and why, if weapons were carried in the past, they cannot be carried in the future?

**Mr. JOHN MORLEY**: I would point out to the hon. Member that much would depend on the spirit in which the Act is administered. The question must, therefore, be left to those who have to administer it. I have no doubt that that spirit will be a fair one, although I cannot, of course, expect the hon. Member to take my word or assurance on that point.

**Mr. CHANCE** (Kilkenny, S.): I think that we might arrive at a compromise on this subject by excluding fowling pieces, because these are used by farmers for necessary purposes on their farms. I do not know whether it would meet the view of the right hon. Gentleman if we were to allow the words "and licence" to stand, allowing people who have licences for fowling pieces to retain them, and refusing licences to those only who carry six-chamber revolvers. As the Act stands at present, any two magistrates will have the power to compel a licence to be granted to farmers for arms. They can have a licence to carry arms, and we find that the term "arms" includes cannons, guns, pistols, and so forth. I am sure that the power under the section will be exercised in an unfair and Party spirit by some of the people concerned. If the right hon. Gentleman will adopt this suggestion, I have no doubt that my hon. Friend will withdraw the present Amendment.

**Mr. JOHN MORLEY**: With reference to the suggestion of the hon. Member for South Kilkenny (Mr. Chance) that cannon and so forth might be had or carried under the licence, of course, if we knew of any person in the North of Ireland or elsewhere having a battery of artillery the Lord Lieutenant would revoke his licence the very next day. The Amendment of the hon. Member would cause no small amount of trouble, and give rise to a great deal of bad feeling, because these licences have already been granted, and it is a much more serious thing to revoke a licence than it is to refuse to issue one, because the revocation affixes a stigma on the character of the person holding it. I must, therefore, decline to accept either the Amendment, or the compromise which hon. Gentlemen have proposed.

MR. MAURICE HEALY (Cork): With regard to my Amendment and the remarks of the right hon. Gentleman, I say that his argument that it is a stronger thing to revoke than to grant a licence shows the value of the right hon. Gentleman's previous reference to the Lord Lieutenant's general power of revocation as a sufficient prevention of abuse. We want to see the right hon. Gentleman make some concession in the direction of the Amendment by limiting the facilities for carrying revolvers. At any rate, we say that there should be some revision of existing licences. If the right hon. Gentleman can see his way to give an undertaking of this kind I shall be happy to withdraw my Amendment.

MR. JOHN MORLEY: The Government have felt the necessity of taking power generally to revoke licences by Proclamation. We have felt also the necessity of considering to what extent the possession of arms prevails in different districts in Ireland; and if we find that there is a dangerous excess of persons in the possession of arms, a general revocation will issue of all licences in the district where the excess exists.

MR. CHANCE (Kilkenny, S.): I am clearly of opinion that there is no power of general revocation; and it is for that reason, and to meet the difficulty which is in the mind of the right hon. Gentleman, that I propose a compromise which would confine the Amendment of my hon. Friend to warlike weapons.

MR. MAURICE HEALY (Cork): In asking leave to withdraw this Amendment, I beg to say that I shall move an Amendment giving the Government the power which the right hon. Gentleman has indicated.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Amendment proposed, in page 1, line 11, after the word "licence," to insert the words "for fowling pieces and ammunition."

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

THE CHIEF SECRETARY FOR IRELAND (Mr. JOHN MORLEY) (Newcastle-on-Tyne): I have already given my reasons against the acceptance of this Amendment, and I cannot re-open the question.

MR. CHANCE (Kilkenny, S.): Does the right hon. Gentleman intend on Report, if necessary, to take power for the general revocation of licences in any part of Ireland?

MR. JOHN MORLEY: I am advised that we have the power to revoke licences generally by the 2nd section of the Act as it now stands.

Amendment *negatived.*

THE CHIEF SECRETARY FOR IRELAND (Mr. JOHN MORLEY) (Newcastle-on-Tyne): I have to move that Sub-section 4 of Section 4 of the Act be not continued, and I shall not use more than two or three words in supporting the Amendment I propose. Hon. Gentlemen below the Gangway have stated fairly enough their objection to this section, and I may remark, from an administrative point of view, there are objections equally strong; it is, therefore, in order to strengthen the Act that I propose this Amendment.

Amendment proposed,

In page 1, line 14, after the words "one thousand eight hundred and eighty-eight," to add the words "save that Sub-section (4) of Section 4 of the said Act shall not be continued."—(*Mr. John Morley.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there added."

MR. CHANCE (Kilkenny, S.): I propose to insert, after "Section four" in the Amendment of the right hon. Gentleman the words "and Section five." The Court that tries cases of offence against the Act is composed of one Resident Magistrate and as many *ex officio* members as can possibly be obtained. Now, the result has been that the unpaid magistrates have often acquitted men whom the Resident Magistrate considered ought to have been convicted. We have had a number of examples of that brought forward in this House; and, Sir, we propose by a new clause to confine the power of trying these cases to a Court composed of two Resident Magistrates, thereby depriving these Orange partizans throughout the North of Ireland of the power to acquit guilty and convict innocent men which they have hitherto very largely exercised.

Amendment proposed to the said proposed Amendment to insert, after the words "of Section four," the words "and Section five."—(*Mr. Chance.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

**Mr. JOHN MORLEY**: I would point out to the hon. Member that the effect of striking out Section 5 of the Act would be also to remove the penalties provided by the Act.

**Mr. CHANCE** (Kilkenny, S.): We have already had an Amendment upon the Table of the House to take the place of Section 5 of the Act, by which the penalty is reduced to a month's imprisonment, or a fine of £20, and it is provided that the Court is to consist of one Resident Magistrate at least.

**Mr. JOHN MORLEY**: The Act says that the Court shall consist of two or more Justices of the Peace sitting in Petty Sessions, of whom one shall be a Resident Magistrate, or of one Resident Magistrate sitting alone in Petty Sessions. I cannot assent to the withdrwal of the 5th section of the Act—first, on the general ground that it would be reopening the Act; and, secondly, because I do not believe that during the time the Act has been in operation there have been any complaints made as to the magnitude of the penalties provided for.

**Mr. DILLON** (Mayo, E.): I am not in a position to say, of my own knowledge, that there have been frequent cases of abuse under this clause; but I know that, in one case, a man having some trifling weapons in his possession was committed, and it was notorious at the time that he was put in prison for three months simply because the Inspector wanted to take revenge for an agrarian outrage. That was under the Arms Act; it occurred before the Crimes Act was passed; and what I desire is that some safeguard may be established against the recurrence of similar practices. The right hon. Gentleman says that there have been no complaints. It seems to me that when there is no real intention to carry on war against the Government a month's imprisonment would be quite sufficient; and I am bound to say that one of our objections to the clause, and one reason why we move to leave it out, rests on the penalty contained therein, which we desire to shorten. And I think, also, it is very important, in connection with the working of the Act in Ulster, that the Court which tries these offences should consist of two Resident Magistrates without any local magistrates associated with them. I do not wish, in the slightest degree, to exhibit any vindictive spirit against the Orangemen in the North of Ireland, although they will not agree to bury the hatchet, and forget what has happened in the past. There is no case on record in which an Ulster Orangeman, charged with having arms in his possession illegally, has been punished. Orangemen so charged are usually brought up before the Court, warned, and dismissed; but every Nationalist brought up for that offence in the South of Ireland has been convicted. The Orangemen in the North can obtain licences to carry arms if they have friends on the Bench; but the case is different in the South of Ireland. If the right hon. Gentleman feels confident, and can show that under the Act as it stands an Ulster Orangeman caught with arms will not be dealt with in the same manner as heretofore, then I think the Amendment of my hon. Friend unnecessary.

**Mr. JOHN O'CONNOR** (Tipperary, S.): I rise to support the Amendment of my hon. Friend the Member for South Kilkenny, and in doing so wish to observe that, in my opinion, three months is too great a penalty for an offence under the Act, because, in addition, it carries with it that one month of the term shall be spent on the plank bed. I do not suppose hon. Members on the opposite side of the House have had any experience of plank beds; but some of those on these Benches have had that experience. The plank bed is supplied with a pillow of unpicked oakum, which, from personal experience, I can assure the Committee is very hard; my experience of it, however, was short in comparison with that of the hon. Member for West Cork (Mr. Gilhooly). M'Carthy, of Galway, was sentenced under this Act, and he was on the plank bed for three months for having in his possession the cock of a rusty pistol. Such was the interpretation put on the Act by the magistrates. The Resident Magistrates in the South of Ireland who deal with the Nationalists under this Act have inflicted the severest penalties upon them. I was myself refused a licence some time ago by the Resident Magistrates; and it is the Resident Magistrates, who punish us unduly in the South of Ireland, who will administer this Act. I say that we desire to take the power of punishment out of their hands to some extent; we want to reduce it to the minimum which shall not carry with it the addition of the plank bed; and for these reasons I trust the Committee will pass the Amendment of my hon. Friend, and thereby reduce the term of imprisonment from three months to one month, which would, to some extent, meet the case.

Mr. T. M. HEALY (Londonderry, S.): I think we ought to leave this power alone in the hands of the Resident Magistrates. I have not the smallest confidence in the local magistrates; and it cannot be denied that it is desirable that they should not discharge these functions in districts where the proportion of Protestants against Catholics is 14 to 1. One reason in favour of the Resident Magistrates having this power is that they receive salaries which in case of need we can always attack in this House; whereas I should be out of Order in doing so in the case of local magistrates, because their salaries are not voted by this House. Therefore, I think the Resident Magistrates should alone have power of conviction under the Act. With regard to the term of three months' imprisonment, I think it is too long; and, no doubt, anyone who has spent that time in prison will agree with me. I appeal to the hon. Member for South Belfast (Mr. Johnston), who, having refused to give bail for good behaviour, was sentenced to some months' imprisonment. I think the hon. Gentleman will agree with me that one month's imprisonment is quite long enough. As for imprisoning a man for three months for the possession of arms, compelling him to lie on a plank bed, starving him, and locking him up in his cell for 22 hours out of the 24, I say it is, perhaps, the most severe punishment that could be devised for the offence. For my own part, I think that 24 hours of such treatment would be sufficient; and I do trust that the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland will allow the penalty to be reduced from three months to one month, and to assent to our proposal that it should not be inflicted by local magistrates, because, as has been pointed out, wherever they want to secure a conviction of a Nationalist they flock into the Court and outvote the Resident Magistrate.

Mr. PYNE (Waterford, W.): I rise to support the Amendment of my hon. Friend; and I think I can show a case of the coercion which is brought to bear upon Resident Magistrates by the local magistracy. I know a case of a man who was fond of snipe shooting, and who desired to get a licence, for which he could afford to pay. Well, Sir, the Resident Magistrate of that particular district wrote him a letter saying—

> "If you should apply on the licensing day you will be refused. Apply a fortnight after that day and you will get a licence."

That, I think, is a distinct case of the coercion of a Resident Magistrate; and I say if you are going to take away a man's character and declare that he is not fit to carry arms, you should try him before a Superior Court by 12 of his countrymen.

Question put.

The Committee *divided*:—Ayes 121; Noes 165: Majority 44.—(Div. List, No. 109.)

Amendment (*Mr. John Morley*) *agreed to*.

Mr. MAURICE HEALY (Cork): I beg to move the following Proviso to Clause 2:—

> "Provided, That from and after the passing of this Act the Court of Summary Jurisdiction mentioned in the fifth section of the said Act shall (elsewhere than in the police district of Dublin Metropolis) be constituted of two or more Resident Magistrates sitting alone in Petty Sessions."

I do not propose to occupy the attention of the Committee on this Amendment; but the Committee will recollect that the Court, as constituted by the existing Act, has on some occasions grossly abused its powers. The Court, as constituted under the Act, must consist of, at least, one Resident Magistrate, it is true; but our point is that one Resident Magistrate is practically useless, because, as a rule, a whip is sent round to the local magistrates whenever any of their friends get into trouble, and they put in an appearance and outvote the Resident Magistrate. That is our grievance; and the Amendment, therefore, provides that the Court shall consist of two Resident Magistrates—and two Resident Magistrates alone—in order to deprive the local magistrates of the power of acting in the manner I have described. It may be said that it is an unprecedented thing to take away the power of local magistrates, and to place jurisdiction of this kind in the hands of Resident Magistrates alone; but I would point out that the principle is in force already in the Crimes Act, which has been in operation for the last three years. Powers of a larger and more stringent kind than those involved in this Bill were put into the hands of Resident Magistrates solely by the Crimes Act; and, if my recollection serves me, the reason given for adopting that course was this. That having regard to the class of offences constituted under the Crimes Act—namely, offences of an agrarian character—local magistrates, who for the most part are largely interested in the agrarian question, could not deal with such cases with unprejudiced minds. Well, that is exactly our case in regard to this matter, which I am now putting before the Committee. We charge against them—and we can quote many instances in support of the charge—that these local magistrates put in an appearance and take their seats upon the Bench solely for the purpose of outvoting the Resident Magistrates and getting their political friends out of trouble; and we say that the same state of things will exist under this Bill unless Her Majesty's Government see their way to accept this Amendment.

Amendment proposed,

In page 1, after Sub-section 2, to insert the following sub-section:—"Provided, That from and after the passing of this Act the Court of Summary Jurisdiction mentioned in the fifth section of the said Act shall (elsewhere than in the police district of Dublin Metropolis) be constituted of two or more Resident Magistrates sitting alone in Petty Sessions."—(*Mr. M. Healy.*)

Question proposed, "That the sub-section be there inserted."

THE CHIEF SECRETARY FOR IRELAND (Mr. JOHN MORLEY) (Newcastle-on-Tyne): After considering very carefully the point raised in the Amendment, and in view of the arguments brought forward from more than one portion of the House, I think it is possible for me to accept the Amendment. There are, however, some hon. Members who complain most bitterly of the decisions in places where Resident Magistrates preside; and, therefore, I am not at all sure that the substitution of Resident Magistrates for Justices will do away will all the hardships complained of. I think also that the statements of the opposition of the local magistrates must be a little exaggerated; but, on the whole, I am not prepared to contend for the present constitution of the Courts, and therefore I shall acquiesce in the Amendment.

MR. DILLON (Mayo, E.): I think, Sir, that the statement which we have just listened to from the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary was a very fair one; and my only object, therefore, in rising is to call his attention to another and a very strong argument in favour of this Amendment. I wish to remind the right hon. Gentleman that the Resident Magistrates will be salaried officials whose conduct we can review in this House.

Amendment *agreed to.*

Clause, as amended, *agreed to.*

MR. T. M. HEALY (Londonderry, S): After the discussion which we have had upon the subject, I shall not move the first of the new clauses which stand in my name on the Paper; but I will move the second, which is that—

"There shall be published monthly in *The Dublin Gazette* a Return of the counties proclaimed with the number of licences refused, the number granted, and the character of the weapons licensed, distinguishing each county separately. The Return for the first month after the passing of this Act shall show the number of existing licences in each county, and the character of the weapons licensed."

THE CHIEF SECRETARY FOR IRELAND (Mr. JOHN MORLEY) (Newcastle-on-Tyne): This Amendment asks us to do two things. It puts upon us the obligation of publishing in *The Dublin Gazette* a monthly Return of the new licences granted, and the number of refusals in each county. Well, that seems a fair thing, and I think it would be a reasonable thing also to put in a list of revocations. I do not see that there can be much objection to printing such a list; but I do not think it necessary that a clause to that effect would be inserted in the Bill. The second thing he asks us to do is to publish a Return of all the licences hitherto issued, and in existence at the present time. Now, such a Return as that must necessarily be inaccurate, because it is impossible to say how many of those to whom licences have been granted during the last five years are still alive, or to know whether they have not left the country. As far as I can see, therefore, all we can do is to give the number of licences which have been issued hitherto.

Mr. T. M. HEALY (Londonderry, S.): I think it would be better if we inserted the clause in the Bill, because then we should have the thing secured. I would remind the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary that his Predecessor in Office, the right hon. Gentleman the Member for the Border Burghs (Mr. Trevelyan), gave a distinct pledge in this House, than which nothing could be more sacred, that a monthly Return should be published of evictions with the Return of outrages; but it was not until the hon. Member for Stafford (Mr. M'Laren) drew attention to the matter that the pledge was continuously kept. In addition to what I have moved, I should like, if I can do so, on the Report stage, to move additional words to provide that there shall also be a Return of convictions.

Mr. HOLMES (Dublin University): If the Returns are to be granted, I certainly think it desirable that the clause should be inserted in the Bill. Of course, I cannot understand the difficulties as well as the right hon. Gentleman; but it does seem to me that there will be a very considerable amount of difficulty in publishing the names of persons to whom licences have already been granted. I think it is reasonable that those which have been revoked should be given, and I think there should be no objection to giving the number of convictions; but I think the hon. and learned Member should confine himself to that, and take away that part of his Amendment which, in its administration, would lead to very considerable difficulties. Beyond that, it is desirable that Returns of this sort should be as accurate and complete as possible, and it is better that this clause should be confined to those Returns which can be made complete.

Mr. JOHN MORLEY: As far as I am concerned, it is quite immaterial to me whether the clause is inserted in the Bill or not. I quite agree, however, with what has been said by the right hon. and learned Gentleman opposite (Mr. Holmes) that, in view of the impossibility of making the Return mentioned in the second paragraph of the Amendment anything like accurate, it might very well be dropped. There will be no difficulty in the Government assenting to the additional Return which the hon. and learned Member has mentioned on Report.

Mr. T. M. HEALY (Londonderry, S.) was understood to ask that the clause should be left in its present form until the Report stage.

Mr. PYNE (Waterford, W.): Surely the Government must keep their accounts very badly if they cannot say who have been granted these licences, and who have not. If they could not tell who are the people to whom licences have been granted during the last five years, what is the use of the Act at all?

Clause *agreed to.*

Mr. CHANCE (Kilkenny, S.): I rise to move the insertion of a new clause—

> "The possession by any person of any arm, or any portion or portions of an arm as defined by the Peace Preservation (Ireland) Act, 1881, shall, if such arm or portion or portions of such arm be practically unfit for actual use, be punishable under that Act by no greater penalty than the forfeiture thereof."

It would seem an inhuman absurdity that a man should get three months' imprisonment with hard labour—one month on a plank bed and three months' starvation—for the possession of a portion of a gunlock, and yet such punishments have been inflicted. One would hardly think it possible that in a civilized country such a law as that could exist; but so it is, and for that reason I now bring forward this Amendment. An old and rusty portion of a gun-lock, an old rusty gun barrel, or an old blunderbuss, would not be a very formidable weapon in an Ulster war; and I do not think, therefore, that a man should receive any greater punishment than forfeiture. I should be happy to accept any verbal Amendment to the clause; but I think the principle must commend itself to everyone with a grain of common sense—that the possession of arms unfit for use be punished by forfeiture only.

New Clause—

> "The possession by any person of any arm or any portion or portions of an arm, as defined by the Peace Preservation (Ireland) Act 1881,

shall, if such arm, or portion or portions of such arm be practically unfit for actual use, be punishable under that Act by no greater penalty than the forfeiture thereof,"—(*Mr. Chance*,)

—*brought up*, and read the first time.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Clause be read a second time."

THE CHIEF SECRETARY FOR IRELAND (Mr. JOHN MORLEY) (Newcastle-on-Tyne): I am afraid I cannot accept this clause, which is brought forward without Notice, and altogether unexpectedly. It is highly inconvenient to re-open questions of principle which were decided when the original Bill was under discussion. This is merely a Continuance Bill, and it would be inexpedient to discuss upon it new questions of principle.

MR. CONYBEARE (Cornwall, Camborne): I am very much impressed with the case presented by the hon. Member opposite. The right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary tells us that the magistrates who have charge of these matters will not be guilty of these absurdities in the future. But even Resident Magistrates are only men, and experience show that they are not infallible. If the hon. Gentleman's case is proved, that exaggerated and cruel sentences have been inflicted by those who are not Resident Magistrates, surely the case made earlier in the evening against leaving the administration of the Act in the hands of these gentlemen has also been proved. It is, no doubt, true that the Resident Magistrates will be more under the control of the Lord Lieutenant than the ordinary magistrates, because, being paid servants, they will be in a position to be turned off if they do not conduct themselves properly; but the cases which have been referred to show that it is necessary for us, by every means in our power, to restrict the power which these gentlemen possess of inflicting exaggerated penalties. The answer of the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary that it is awkward and inconvenient at this stage to re-open questions of principle which were decided under the original Act cannot be said to prevail against the question of equity. If it is wrong to exact exaggerated penalties for excessively light crimes or offences, I do not think the Committee, in considering the point, should allow itself to be influenced by the consideration of the inconvenience of going into the matter at this stage.

MR. O'HANLON (Cavan, E.): I rise to support the Amendment, because I think it unreasonable to leave it in the power of a magistrate to send a man to prison for three months for having in his possession a small part of a rusty gun or other firearm. The right hon. Gentleman says it would be inconvenient to alter the Bill; but I contend it would be far more inconvenient for a person to have to suffer three months' imprisonment, when, as a matter of fact, he does not deserve imprisonment for a single day. The right hon. Gentleman, I hope, will agree with us that the Resident Magistrates are not to take the law into their own hands in regard to this measure. They will be able to see their way to dealing easily and leniently with their frends the Orangemen of Ulster, whilst the full weight of their power will be experienced by our friends. I think, therefore, the Committee should assist us to protect these poor unfortunate people, who may be apprehended by the police, taken before the Court, and sentenced to three months' imprisonment and a plank bed for having somewhere on their premises a broken gun barrel or a rusty lock. I think this is a very reasonable and useful Amendment to this measure, and I trust it will be acceptable to every Member of the Committee.

MR. BOYD-KINNEAR (Fife, E.): I wish to say one word in deprecation of the principle laid down by the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary that in renewing the Bill we are not to enter into any question as to the propriety of the clauses it contains. It is our bounden duty to consider whether these clauses are just and equitable. We have our experience of the working of the Act to guide us, and we should be prepared to alter its provisions if experience proves that they require alteration. It seems to me that the Amendment now proposed is a just and reasonable one; and with regard to the point which has been made by the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary that we are safe in relying upon the discretion of the Resident Magistrates, I beg to say that I have been in Ireland and have observed the conduct of some of the Resident Magistrates, and must confess that it is conduct which does not give me the slightest confidence as to their universal discretion. These may be, I fully admit, exceptions; but I think we are quite right in this Bill in taking precautions against exceptional Resident Magistrates, who may not be possessed of that discretion and good feeling which the Chief Secretary attributes to them generally.

Mr. HOLMES (Dublin University): I think the observations of the hon. Gentleman who represents one of the divisions of Cork illustrates how some of those who administer justice in Ireland are regarded by some people in that country. His remarks were based on the assumption that, in the administration of this Act during the past five years, the most unreasonable penalties have been inflicted by the magistrates. Well, in the course of this debate there has been no evidence given of anything of the kind. I hear it stated by an hon. Member that, on one occasion, a person who had in his possession a portion of a gun was subjected to a severe penalty. In the first place, I would point out that we know nothing about the facts and circumstances of that case, and it is rather a hard thing to judge on an *ex parte* statement in this matter without knowing the evidence or circumstances connected with it. In the second place, I would call the right hon. Gentleman's attention to the fact that this is the only case of any kind that has been referred to.

Mr. CONYBEARE (Cornwall, Camborne): It is not the only case I should rely on.

Mr. HOLMES: It is the only case that has been referred to in the course of this debate. I had considerable experience in the administration of the Act which preceded this during three years, and in the whole of that time it was my duty to look into almost all the cases against persons for infringing the Act. I would say that, in most cases, no penalty at all was administered; but that, in certain instances, the circumstances were of such a character as to necessitate a penalty, and even such a penalty as three months' imprisonment. As to the Amendment before the Committee, I would remind the Committee that it has been decided already that for offences against the Act there can be a penalty of up to three months' imprisonment inflicted; and now the suggestion is made that if only a portion of a weapon is found in a person's custody it should be considered to be useless, and no penalty should be inflicted beyond its forfeiture. Well, under certain circumstances, the possession of a portion of a weapon might be as serious an offence as the possession of an entire weapon. We can easily understand that one person might take possession of a gun-barrel, and another person residing next door to him take possession of the stock. It would be an absurd thing, I must say, to hold that if a man has an entire gun in his possession he shall be liable to three months' imprisonment; but that if he has only a portion of it, his neighbour having the remaining portion, and being able to turn it into an entire weapon at any moment, he shall only be liable to the forfeiture of so much of the weapon as he possesses. I agree that if there is a rusty old stock or a portion of a barrel, which could never be made use of, in his house, it would be unreasonable to inflict a penalty; but the Act provides that, in certain circumstances, the Bench are not bound to impose any penalty at all. If, in this matter, we leave the administration of the Act at the discretion of the tribunal, as we do in other matters, we shall be safe, for if the magistrates inflicted a penalty, without just cause and reason, on a person for being in possession of an old and useless portion of a gun, they would be called to account by the Government, and the penalty would be remitted by the clemency of the Lord Lieutenant.

Mr. O'HEA (Donegal. W.): The proposal of the hon. Gentleman (Mr. Chance) has both reason and common sense very strongly to recommend it. The case he referred to has been treated by the right hon. and learned Gentleman who has just sat down in a manner similar to that in which questions of the same kind have been treated in this House on former occasions. The idea of asking about the facts and circumstances, and of saying—"We have not heard the circumstances and surroundings." The fact stands out in all its deformity that a man has been sentenced to three months' imprisonment for no greater an offence than having part of a firearm in his possession. I do not see what "facts and circumstances" can be required to emphasize the action of the magistrates—the action speaks for itself. The right hon. and learned Gentleman also referred to the action of the Resident Magistrates, and the probability of their not acting absurdly. But I would point out that the Amendment contemplates taking away from the magistrates the power of acting absurdly, or of inflicting a heavier penalty than the circumstances of the case might warrant. I think the mere forfeiture of a firearm, or a portion of a firearm, that could not possibly be of use, and could be no element of danger one way or the other, would be quite commensurate with the offence of possessing that firearm or portion of a firearm. I trust the Committee will see the wisdom of adopting this Amendment, which, as I say, is recommended by sound common sense.

COLONEL NOLAN (Galway, N.): I do not think the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for the University of Dublin (Mr. Holmes) is quite correct in saying that the clause is absurd, for the reason that there is no fear of the magistrates being guilty of the line of action it seeks to prevent. What could be more absurd than the two cases cited by the late Mr. A. M. Sullivan on a former occasion. There is the celebrated case of the monkey in Dublin performing with a toy gun. The monkey was arrested—I do not know whether it got three months' imprisonment. The other case was that of the gentleman who, when performing in the play, had to draw his sword in delivering the well-known lines—"My name is Norval, on the Grampian Hills," &c. A guardian of the peace standing by remarked—"Your name may be Norval, on the Grampian Hills; but you have no right to carry arms," and at once marched him off to gaol. I can give another case—that of a predecessor of the right hon. and learned Gentleman Judge Johnson, at one time Solicitor General for Ireland. Whilst on a railway journey this gentleman's Court sword got mislaid; it was taken possession of by the police, and the Judge's brother officials in the Castle in Dublin thought it an excellent thing to throw as many difficulties as possible in the way of his getting it back. It was days, I believe even weeks, before he could recover his Court sword. I think, therefore, that no absurdity is too great to be committed under this Act. It must be remembered that under the Act the possession of any part of a firearm renders a man liable to three months' imprisonment. We know that men very often find portions of old firearms in old corners of the house, old locks and stocks, of the existence of which they have forgotten. I do not know that they ever find a "rusty stock," as the right hon. and learned Gentleman put it. [MR. HOLMES: Rusty lock, I said.] I never knew of a rusty stock being found, but a rusty lock might be. As has been pointed out, it may be absurd to expect such cases as have been referred to happen; but when they do happen they cease to be an absurdity to the men who get three months' imprisonment. The matter is a very serious one. I have no doubt that no Resident Magistrates would inflict penalties of three months' imprisonment in cases of this kind because of the feeling existing at present; but we have bad Resident Magistrates as well as good ones, and, as has been pointed out, it is a dangerous principle to say that we are not to alter these Acts because it will involve a little trouble. The Act may not be good. I would say to the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary that the Prime Minister has been in the House since this discussion commenced, and that there has been every opportunity for him to obtain the right hon. Gentleman's sanction to an alteration or modification of the clause so as to meet our very reasonable representations. I would suggest that the hon. Member should in his clause describe the arms to which it applies as "incapable of being used," or adopt some phrase of that kind. If he does so I do not see what ground the Government will have for objecting to his proposal.

MR. CHANCE (Kilkenny, S.): I do not want to make more than a passing allusion to what has fallen from the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for the University of Dublin (Mr. Holmes). He put the hypothetical case of two men living as neighbours, and each having in his possession part of a gun, which could be put together and made into a perfect weapon with ease and rapidity. I would point out to him that a case of that kind would be fully covered by this section, for it says that the penalties of the Act shall not apply to any person—

> "If such arm, or portion or portions of such arm, be practically unfit for actual use."

The clause would only cover the case where some farmer has in his possession a wretched blunderbuss, 150 years old, or a rusty old lock of a gun or pistol which could not possibly be reckoned fit for use. To such cases the observations of the right hon. and learned Gentleman do not apply. I admit that the right hon. Gentleman in charge of the Bill has some cause to complain that this clause has been rushed on him at the last moment. There is a difference in principle between his clause and mine, and I trust that, having now had time to examine my proposition, he will accept it, or agree to put in something on Report to meet the difficulty. I would remind him that in the case to which reference has been made, where a man was sentenced to three months' imprisonment for having an old gun-lock in his possession, the person convicting was a Resident Magistrate. I have been reminded of another case, where a man was convicted and got over one month's imprisonment for having in his possession only a single percussion cap. No doubt, it is in the power of the magistrates to refrain from inflicting punishment if they do not think it necessary; but that is no reason why they should have it in their power to inflict unjust punishments. I hope some other Member of the Government will consider this subject, and give us some more satisfactory answer than the right hon. Gentleman.

Mr. JOHN O'CONNOR (Tipperary, S.): I desire to say a few words by way of appeal to the right hon. Gentleman, to induce him, if possible, to modify the Act in the direction proposed by my hon. Friend. If the right hon. Gentleman only knew the Resident Magistrates who have the administration of this Act in the South of Ireland, he would have hesitated before nailing his colours to the mast as he has done in regard to this clause. Time after time in this House, both in this Parliament and the last, the Irish Members have had to ask Questions of Ministers as to the administration of these Acts by Resident Magistrates. The right hon. Gentleman has got off now with ease by reason of the kindly feeling he has prompted by his policy of conciliation. I wish he could imbue these Resident Magistrates with his spirit. If he could it would be all right; but the men of whom complaints have been so frequently made are still at their posts. Captain Plunkett is still in Cork, day after day boasting that he will put down these rebels and Nationalists—a man who has used every opportunity of dying his hands in the blood of the people. ["Oh, oh!"] Yes, I know it. I have met him foot to foot, and have been present at the meetings he has suppressed at an hour's notice; I have heard him order his men to fix their bayonets. This man will be taken up and put in an administrative position because his special occupation is now gone. His detectives used to follow him in the City of Cork like the tail of a boy's kite as he marched up and down the streets with his friends, male and female. He has nothing to do except, in the language of the poet, "Spy his shadow in the sun." I will not use the other line with regard to him lest it might be considered personal; but I know from his tyrannical disposition that he will only be too delighted to give every Nationalist in Cork three months' imprisonment if he can, and that, having done it, he would go to his Club and boast—as the hon. Member for Mid Cork knows—of the deed. If the right hon. Gentleman knew into whose hands he was placing this Act, and the terrible powers it confers on the Resident Magistrates, he would meet us some portion of the way. And when we ask him to diminish the sentence it will be in the power of Resident Magistrates to inflict on the unfortunate individuals who may come before them, he will hesitate, I trust, before he nails his colours to the mast, and will say that he must yield to the pressure from this side of the House and accept the Amendment, admitting, in the goodness of his own heart, that one month's imprisonment is quite sufficient to meet the cases that will come before the magistrates. The operation of this Act will be altogether different in the South of Ireland to what it will be in the North, where very properly the Executive have sent Resident Magistrates of kindly disposition to counteract the fierce motives of the Great Unpaid. But in the South we have the very worst magistrates that it was possible under the last *régime* to pick up—the Clifford Lloyds, the Blakes, the Plunketts, and the rest of them. These are the people who will have the administration of the Act. I ask the right hon. Gentleman to reconsider his decision, and to meet us some portion of the way by accepting the Amendment of my hon. Friend.

MR. PLUNKET (Dublin University): All through this evening hon. Members below the Gangway have been attacking, first the unpaid magistrates, and secondly, the paid Resident Magistrates. So long as they confined their attacks to the class generally, and so long as their object was to take away from them duties which were no doubt very irksome for them to perform, as I did not wish to assist in wasting the time of the Committee, I, for one, said nothing. Well, the powers contained in the Bill have now been restricted to Resident Magistrates, as hon. Members below the Gangway desired; but, not content with that, they now make an attack on the Resident Magistrates, and not only do they do that, but single out a Resident Magistrate by name without the smallest foundation, with no notice whatever. They think it fair and just to make these attacks. Captain Plunkett has been referred to. I do not speak of him because he happens to bear my own name. He is no relation of mine; but I happen to know him, and this I can say of him, that there is not a more honourable—["Oh, oh!" *and laughter.*] Yes; and I will refer hon. Members who are now attacking him to Earl Spencer, whom they now quote as one of their great authorities. I would ask them to take his judgment of Captain Plunkett. I do not wish to protract this discussion further; but I wish to say that hon. Gentlemen who sit below the Gangway have now got a tribunal of their own choosing. The Stipendiary Magistrates are to have the administration of this law. I must say that it appears to me that the objection they take to this particular clause of the Arms Act is an entirely frivolous one. [MR. CONYBEARE: No, no!] "No, no!" says an hon. Member below the Gangway opposite—an hon. Gentleman who probably never set his foot in Ireland in his life. [MR. CONYBEARE: I have seen a good deal of Ireland.] I suppose upon the map; but, however that may be, what I say is that the discussion we are now engaged in shows the inconvenience of trying, as the Chief Secretary has said, to rip up this Act and go to the bottom of its policy in an Amendment to a mere Continuance Bill, because the whole basis of this Act is confidence in the tribunal which is to administer it. If you distrust the magistrate in a small matter, how absurd it is to trust him in a much more important matter. Perhaps I have spoken strongly; but I thought that to make this kind of attack upon individuals who are not present was not fair. As a matter of common sense, is it not absurd to spend our time in discussing the desirability of taking away from the magistrates what, after all, must be a matter of discretion and judgment whatever tribunal you give the administration of this Act to? Should we not leave them to deal with the matter as they think fit?

MR. T. M. HEALY (Londonderry, S.): I do not think the Government will thank the right hon. and learned Gentleman who has just sat down for the help he has given them. We have no disposition on this side of the House for a long debate. I am of opinion that the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary has met us in this matter in a fair and reasonable spirit—my hon. Friends will acknowledge that, I am sure. When the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for Dublin University gets up to defend the Resident Magistrates in this House on the ground that we fixed this tribunal, he seems to forget that it was a choice of two evils, and one we adopted on the distinct ground that the magistrates in the North of Ireland, being Orangemen, would be called upon to adjudicate in cases where the law was infringed by Orangemen, and that, consequently, injustice would continue in the future as it existed in the past. We therefore selected Resident Magistrates, because they are paid salaries, and we can impugn their conduct and attack their salaries in the House. When the right hon. and learned Gentleman (Mr. Plunket) talks of the unpopularity of Earl Spencer in Ireland, let me remind him of this—the right hon. and learned Gentleman is a shining light of the Kildare Street Club. He is a leading member of that Institution, where all the rotten landlords most do congregate; but there is another member of the Kildare Street Club who is not quite so popular there as the right hon. and learned Gentleman. The right hon. and learned Gentleman did not tell the Committee of the unpopularity of Lord Ashbourne at the Kildare Street Club, when the landlords believed that he had sold the pass in the Tory Administration.

The CHAIRMAN: The hon. and learned Member is travelling somewhat from the question before the Committee.

Mr. T. M. HEALY: Of course, Sir, I accept your ruling. I think, however, that my illustration would have had significance if I had been allowed to complete it; but it is evidently not congenial to hon. Members sitting above the Gangway. I think, however, as I have said before, that we have carried this debate far enough. It appears to me that it will be enough if the Government will give instructions to the Resident Magistrates to have regard to the character of the weapon found. When we agreed that the power of enforcing this Act should be vested in the Resident Magistrates, it was merely because we had only the choice of two evils; and the right hon. Gentleman is mistaken if he believes that we have any respect for Resident Magistrates. We regard them as nothing but a corrupt gang of salary-grabbers. We have the utmost contempt for them. They are generally broken-down landlords or promoted policemen, for whom we have no feelings of respect at all. But I say this, that it will be enough if the Government instruct them in the manner in which the Act should be administered, for they will be only too happy to obey them in the most servile manner. We all know that they are mere creatures of the Castle, and that if the Government pull the strings in the Castle these marionettes will be dancing in every county in Ireland.

Mr. JOHN MORLEY: In reply to the hon. and learned Member, I wish to point out, as to the suggestion that the Government should give instructions to the Resident Magistrates how they are to administer this portion of the Act, that is obviously impossible. It is also impossible, however, to suppose that in the case contemplated by the hon. and learned Member the Resident Magistrate would be guilty of inflicting an extravagant sentence for an offence which is not an offence at all. In the next place, I would suggest this to hon. Members. If a case does arise in which one of the Resident Magistrates inflicts a penalty of this kind, it is clear and certain that a Memorial would be sent up to the Lord Lieutenant at once, and 24 hours would not be allowed to elapse before His Excellency exercised his prerogative. Hon. Members will admit that I have done my best to meet all reasonable objections to this Bill; but I cannot go any further than I have gone in this matter.

Clause *negatived.*

The CHAIRMAN: The principle of the Amendment which has been sent up in the name of the noble Lord the Member for North Tyrone (Lord Ernest Hamilton) has been anticipated by an Amendment already dealt with.

On Motion of Mr. John Morley, the following Amendment made:—Title, after "continue," insert "and amend."

Question put, "That the Chairman do report this Bill, as amended, to the House."

Mr. MAURICE HEALY (Cork): Does the right hon. Gentleman intend to reprint this Bill as amended?

The CHIEF SECRETARY for IRELAND (Mr. John Morley): No, Sir; I wish to take the Report to-morrow, and therefore the Bill cannot, as I understand, be reprinted in time.

Mr. T. M. HEALY (Londonderry, S.): I presume it is in Order for me to move that the Bill be reprinted; but I think it will be better to do so when the Speaker is in the Chair.

Bill *reported.*

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill, as amended, be considered To-morrow."—(*Mr. John Morley.*)

Mr. T. M. HEALY (Londonderry, S.): I think that is too early a day on which to take the Report. We shall certainly want time to consider some of these Amendments, and to decide whether we will propose further Amendments. It is clear now that the Bill cannot be passed before the 1st of June; and, therefore, I think that the Report should be postponed until Monday, and the Bill reprinted. Another day or two cannot matter. I move that the Bill be considered on Monday next.

Amendment proposed, to leave out "To-morrow," and insert "upon Monday next."—(*Mr. T. M. Healy.*)

The Marquess of SALISBURY said, he thought it would be more convenient to re-commit the Bill.

The Earl of LIMERICK said, that the new clauses introduced, for the first time, the Land Commission to fix the price of land taken compulsorily under the Labourers Acts. Considering the importance of the point, he submitted that the Bill ought to be re-committed.

Amendment *moved*, to leave out from the word ("that") to the end of the Motion and insert ("the Bill be re-committed to a Committee of the Whole House.")—(*The Earl of Limerick.*)

On question, Whether to agree to the said amendment, *resolved* in the *negative:* Then the original motion (by leave of the House) *withdrawn: Moved*, that the Report of the amendments be received on Friday next: The said motion *agreed to.*

## CONTAGIOUS DISEASES (ANIMALS) BILL.—(No. 122.)

(*The Lord President.*)

### SECOND READING.

Order of the Day for the Second Reading read.

The LORD PRESIDENT of the COUNCIL (Earl Spencer), in moving that the Bill be now read a second time, said, that the subject was not by any means new to their Lordships, nor was there any new principle in the measure he had to propose. Its principle, which was to give powers to the Privy Council to make regulations with regard to cattle diseases, had been accepted, he might say, by the Leaders of both Parties in both Houses of Parliament, and the Bill would only enlarge and make more perfect the scope of the several measures on the subject which had been passed. The principal measure to which it referred was the Act of 1878; and he was happy to say that, on the whole, that measure had worked very satisfactorily. Doubtless, at different times, there had been objections to it, on the score that it would limit the importation of live animals into this country, and would thus affect the food supply of the large centres of the population. That, however, had not been the case. If the figures in regard to importation were looked at, it would be found that, although they fluctuated, importation had progressed in a natural and steady way since the Act had been in operation. In 1865, when the importation of cattle was not affected by the cattle plague, the number of cattle imported into this country was 283,271; it was 372,731 last year. The cattle plague, no doubt, affected the number of cattle imported to a considerable extent. The total number of live animals—cattle, sheep, and pigs—imported fell from 1,330,350 in 1865, to 508,802 in 1868. After that, the importation of cattle increased, until it rose from 252,201 in 1878 to 472,839 in 1883. The total importation of live animals in 1883 was 1,624,882; in 1884 it was 1,393,913, and in 1885 it was 1,141,534. Since 1883 there had been a diminution in the importation of cattle from 472,839 in that year to 372,731 in 1885; but there had besides been a large importation of dead meat, and he thought he might fairly say that the measure, which was intended to prevent the importation of disease into this country, had not had a bad effect on the amount of animal food introduced, a matter which was so important to the consumers in large towns. The Act of 1878 had been carried out in a very stringent way, and since then no cattle plague had been imported. If, unfortunately, that terrible disease were to be introduced, the regulations were so good that they might be confidently said that the disease would not spread beyond the limits of the wharf. With regard to pleuro-pneumonia, there had been since 1877 a very marked decline in that dangerous and very insidious disease, which had caused such great loss to our farmers at different periods. In 1877 there were 2,007 outbreaks of the disease, and 5,168 animals were attacked; whereas, in 1885, the number of outbreaks was only 404, and of animals attacked 1,511. That showed that the Act up to this time had worked tolerably satisfactorily; but there was no doubt that pleuro-pneumonia still existed to a dangerous extent in certain great towns such as Dublin, London, and other centres of population, and it was one of the objects of the present Bill to take further steps for checking the spread of the disease. The Act of 1878 required the Local Authorities to slaughter at once all animals affected with pleuro-pneumonia; but it was optional with them whether they would slaughter animals which had been in contact with the disease. Now, such was the insidious character of pleuro-pneumonia, and the period of incubation was so long, that they had found by experience that the disease might break out again in places where the diseased animals had been slaughtered and the premises declared free. The consequence was, that the remaining animals might be removed to any part of the country, probably carrying with them the seeds of a fresh outbreak. This Bill, therefore, proposed to give power to the Privy Council to order the Local Authority to slaughter and pay compensation for animals that had been in contact with the disease, and also, if they thought fit, to authorize the slaughter of a suspected animal with the view of ascertaining, in doubtful cases, whether the disease existed or not. He would give an example of how successful the principles of the Bill had been in other countries. Holland, a few years ago, was a hot-bed of pleuro-pneumonia, and the matter was taken up with great vigour by the Government of that country. In 1871, when the slaughter of diseased animals was first ordered, there were no less than 6,079 cases of disease; while, in 1877, the number had fallen to 951; and, in 1885, there were no living animals affected by the disease, and only 28 cases were discovered on *post-mortem* examination. Foot-and-mouth disease first broke out in 1880, and up to 1884 that disease was very rife in all parts of Great Britain, and to some extent in Ireland. In 1883, the number of animals attacked in Great Britain was 461,145; and the effect of the Act was that in 1884-5 there were only 418 cases; while, in January last, there was not a single authenticated case in the Kingdom. He thought that those figures showed a very satisfactory result of the operation of the Act, and ought to be some consolation to the farmers who had suffered so much depression during the past few years. It was the first time there had been no case of this disease for 50 years. Though there had been no authenticated cases of foot-and-mouth disease, there had been several cases of reported foot-and-mouth disease; but, on the Inspector being sent down, they were found to be really not cases of that disease. When there were very few cases of disease in the country, the Privy Council were able to send down Inspectors to infected districts. But when the disease was very rife, that could not be done, and it was necessary that the Privy Council should be able to compel the Local Authority to obtain skilled advice before declaring their district free. Power to do so was sought for in the Bill, as many cases were known in which the Local Authority had declared a district free too soon. It was also desired to legalize a power which it was at present rather doubtful whether the Privy Council had power to adopt, although it had certainly been adopted under the general powers of that Body. He referred to the power of declaring what were called infected circles; and in order to make sure of the powers in that respect, the Bill proposed to confer on the Privy Council the power of putting the system of infected circles into operation whenever it might be thought necessary. There was another matter of considerable importance, and that was that the Local Authorities in counties—the Quarter Sessions—had power to delegate some of their powers, and in some counties these Local Authorities had delegated nearly all their powers to Committees. There were powers, however, which it was thought ought to be kept in the hands of the Central County Authority, and therefore it was proposed in the Bill to give the Privy Council power to govern the delegation of powers from the County Authorities to Sub-Committees. Another important point was, that the Privy Council had now authority to vary the definition of diseases coming under the Act, but they had no power to vary the definition of animals coming under the Act. It was thought very important in view of the amount of rabies at present in the country that that power should be given, and therefore it was sought by the Bill to confer that power on the Privy Council, in order to bring within their jurisdiction cases of dogs infected with rabies. It was also sought by the Bill to transfer from the Privy Council to the Local Government Board certain powers as to the regulation of dairies. There was nothing more important than that matter, and the Government believed that the powers now existing with reference to it would be much better exercised by the Local Government Board. He had a Return before him, which showed that the Local Authorities had not put that part of the Act of 1878 very much into force, and it was thought that the officers of the Local Government Board would be better able to see that the provisions of the Act were carried into effect. He thought it was not necessary to detain their Lordships any longer, and he hoped and felt that there would be very little opposition to the measure. He thought it would make the Act of 1878 more effectual; and if this country could emulate the example set by a country like Holland, it would confer a great benefit on the farmers of the country, as well as on all the consumers of meat in the large towns. He would move the second reading of the Bill.

*Moved*, "That the Bill be now read 2ª."—(*The Lord President.*)

THE DUKE OF RICHMOND AND GORDON said, he quite concurred in regarding this as a purely non-contentious measure. It would, therefore, receive no opposition from him as regarded its future progress; on the contrary, he would gladly do all in his power to assist the noble Earl in passing this very useful Bill, which, he believed, would bring about a valuable and useful change in the law. It was gratifying to know that previous legislation on the subject to which the Bill referred had resulted so satisfactorily, and that the dark prophecies which were made as to the working of the Act of 1878, and as to the probable failure of our supply of food, had not been fulfilled. It was also equally satisfactory that eight years' experience of the provisions of that Act suggested so few amendments as would be found to be embodied in the present Bill. Since the measure of 1878 there had not been a single case of cattle plague in this country. The slaughter of animals that had been in contact with beasts suffering from pleuro-pneumonia could not but have a salutary effect. He looked upon those clauses of the Bill which dealt with the subjects of the pollution of milk and the inspection of dairies as highly important. He trusted that there would be no conflict of Authorities in connection with the enforcement of those provisions. In conclusion, he would suggest to the noble Earl that Clauses 8 and 10 were rather clumsily constructed. The intention of the promoters of the measure in those clauses might be expressed in a simpler manner.

THE MARQUESS OF HUNTLY said, he considered the Bill a most valuable one, and would suggest that it should be left to the discretion of the Local Authorities to say for what period an area should be regarded as "an infected circle."

THE EARL OF RAVENSWORTH said, he did not think the Local Government Board could work the regulations with regard to dairies without a considerable increase in the number of Inspectors and of expense. He was of opinion that the Local Government Board should, as much as possible, exercise the powers which the Bill would confer upon it through the Local Executive Authorities. Such a course, he argued, would conduce to the readier acceptance of the regulations issued by the Board in respect of dairies. Without the cordial support of the Local Authorities it would be most difficult to carry out the provisions of the measure; and it was most desirable that they should be assisted as far as possible by the Central Authority in London; but any clashing of Government Departments was highly to be deprecated in these matters.

THE MARQUESS OF TWEEDDALE contended that the carrying out of the provisions of the Bill by local Sub-Committees was essential to effectively checking the spread of contagious diseases. He thought those Sub-Committees were the backbone of the measure.

Motion *agreed to;* Bill read 2ª accordingly, and *committed* to a Committee of the Whole House on *Tuesday* next.

## INFANTS BILL.—(No 125.)

(*The Lord Chancellor.*)

### REPORT.

Amendments *reported* (according to order).

THE LORD CHANCELLOR (Lord HERSCHELL) said, he was of opinion that it would be desirable to provide that applications by father or mother for custody or access should be made *ex parte*, so as to avoid the annoyance of repeated summonses. He would, therefore, on the third reading, move an Amendment giving power to frame rules; and, in the framing of those rules, he should endeavour to have this object attained.

Bill to be read 3ª on *Monday* next.

## THE PROPOSED COLONIAL INFORMATION DEPARTMENT.

QUESTION. OBSERVATIONS.

THE EARL OF **HARROWBY** asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies, Whether he can now state what arrangements have been made at the Colonial Office for a separate Department having charge of all matters connected with Colonization; and, whether he is now able to place on the Table, according to the intention he announced before Easter, the various documents which had been addressed to the Colonial Office on the subject of emigration, including that entitled "A system of State-directed Colonization," which was presented to him by the National Association for Promoting State-directed Colonization? The noble Earl had on previous occasions showed great sympathy with this subject—an interest commensurate with the feeling in the country—and it was to be hoped that he might now be in a position to state that this Colonization Department was about to be formed. This subject was one of pressing interest at the present time, on account of the great depression which prevailed.

THE **SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES** (Earl GRANVILLE), in reply, said, he had last week laid the Papers referred to by the noble Earl upon the Table, and they would be distributed before the next meeting of the House. In them would be found the necessary information with regard to the new Department they proposed to establish. With regard to it, he could assure the noble Earl that the Colonial Office was absolutely prepared. The only cause of delay was the difficulty of finding proper office accommodation, and he hoped that would not continue, for it was expected that that difficulty would shortly be surmounted.

## BUTTER SUBSTITUTES REGULATION BILL [H.L.],

A Bill to regulate the importation, manufacture, and sale of Butter Substitutes—Was *presented* by The Lord Vernon; read $1^a$. (No. 128.)

House adjourned at a quarter before Six o'clock, to Monday next, a quarter before Eleven o'clock.

# HOUSE OF COMMONS,

*Friday, 28th May,* 1886.

MINUTES.]—PUBLIC BILLS—*Ordered — First Reading*—Conveyancing (Scotland) Act (1874) Amendment (No. 2) * [242].

*Second Reading*—Government of Ireland [181] [*Seventh Night*], *debate further adjourned;* West Indian Incumbered Estates [233]; British North America [234]; Jurors' Detention * [202].

*Committee—Report*—Losses by Riot (Compensation) [209]; Parliamentary Elections (Returning Officers) Act (1875) Amendment [211-241].

*Committee—Report—Third Reading*—Post Office Sites (*re-comm.*) * [148-229], and *passed.*

*Considered as amended—Third Reading*—Arms (Ireland) [240], and *passed.*

PROVISIONAL ORDER BILL — *Second Reading*—Gas (No. 2) * [214].

*Report*—Gas and Water * [206]; Water * [207].

## *QUESTIONS.*

## METROPOLITAN ASYLUMS BOARD—ANNUAL INSPECTION OF ASYLUMS.

MR. **SCLATER-BOOTH** (Hants, Basingstoke) asked the President of the Local Government Board, If he is aware that the annual inspections by the Metropolitan Asylums Board of the four non-infectious establishments under their control are followed by entertainments on a lavish scale to the managers and their friends at the expense of the metropolitan ratepayers; whether it is the fact that, at a recent meeting of the Board, Sir Edmund Currie, the Vice Chairman, estimated the cost of each of these four annual entertainments at £100, and stated that the inspection, which was the pretext for their being given, was for all practical purposes worthless; and, whether, under these circumstances, the Local Government Board will for the future disallow the cost of these festivities?

THE **PRESIDENT** (Mr. STANSFELD) (Halifax): It has been the practice for the Managers of the Metropolitan Asylum District to have annual inspections of the Leavesden, Caterham, and Darenth Asylums, and the ship *Exmouth.* The Chairmen and other influential members of the Boards of Guardians in the Metropolis, and representatives of the Press are invited to attend on these occasions, and refreshments are provided.

The cost of the four annual inspections in 1885 amounted to £245. This is a considerable reduction upon the amount expended in some previous years, and the Board trust that the expenditure will be still further reduced. It is to be borne in mind that these annual inspections are the occasions when the Asylums are officially visited by the Managers who are not on the Committees for the management of those Asylums.

## DOMINION OF CANADA—EXTRADITION ACT, 1877.

Mr. HOWARD VINCENT (Sheffield, Central) asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, If the Imperial Government is aware that the American Continent forms the principal refuge for fugitives from British justice; if it is a fact that the Parliament of Canada long since passed a Law to check the influx of American fugitives into the Dominion, to take effect as soon as the relations between the two peoples of the Anglo-Saxon race could be placed on a footing more consonant with the friendship existing between them and with modern civilisation; and, if steps are being taken to conclude a new Treaty of Extradition to replace the one of 1842, extending to only six crimes, between Her Majesty the Queen of Great Britain and Ireland and the United States of America; and, in such case, what prospect there is of its early completion?

The UNDER SECRETARY of STATE (Mr. Bryce) (Aberdeen, S.): The Government of Her Majesty the Queen are not in possession of any exact statistics as to the various refuges of fugitives from British justice. No law of the nature described in the second paragraph of the hon. Member's Question is known to have been passed by the Parliament of Canada, for I cannot suppose that his expression refers to the general Extradition Act passed by Canada in 1877, which follows very closely the Imperial Act of 1870, and which provides for carrying into effect existing or future Extradition Treaties between Her Majesty and Foreign Powers. Negotiations for the conclusion of more satisfactory arrangements in regard to extradition between Her Majesty's Dominions and the United States, are at this moment in progress, and it is hoped may shortly be completed.

## POOR LAW (IRELAND)—BELFAST BOARD OF GUARDIANS.

Mr. CRILLY (Mayo, N.) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If the attention of the Local Government Board has been called to the Belfast newspaper reports of the proceedings of the Belfast Board of Guardians at their meeting of the 16th March 1886, in which Mr. Mitchell, one of the members, made a report against John Y. Brown's conduct, as contractor for the hardware to the union for the year ending 25th March 1886; is it true that Brown supplied goods inferior to sample (previous to his arrangement in bankruptcy) and as a part of his contract; is it a fact that sometimes bogus invoices were delivered to the workhouse master, as well as invoices on which no prices were set forth; is it true, as the master stated, that Brown delivered goods frequently without orders from any person in authority, and that he (the master) received them into stock, and passed the accounts to the guardians for payment, and which payments Brown duly received until the irregularities were detected, and the frauds exposed by Mr. Mitchell, has the extent of the impositions been as yet ascertained; and, if so, have the contractor or his sureties been made accountable to the ratepayers; is it true that Mr. Hamilton, the Poor Law Inspector, delivered a panegyric on the management of the Belfast Workhouse in his last half-yearly report to the guardians, and made no reference to this apparent collusion between Brown and the master; and, will the Local Government Board institute any inquiry into his case?

The CHIEF SECRETARY (Mr. John Morley (Newcastle-on-Tyne): Mr. Speaker, this matter, I understand, has been under investigation by a Committee of the Guardians, and the result has been that the only substantial fault to be found is that certain goods supplied by Brown outside his contract, but on proper authority, were shown to have been overcharged for. The amount of the overcharge is £2. Mr. Brown explained that the reason was that the usual trade discount was not allowed. The account was not paid, and it was ordered that this amount be deducted from it. The Master denies having made any such statement as is attributed to him. It is quite true that the Inspector spoke favourably of the general management of the workhouse.

### POST OFFICE—POST CARDS.

MR. HENNIKER HEATON (Canterbury) asked the Secretary to the Treasury, Why the halfpenny Post Cards cost more than a halfpenny each, while the penny Post Cards are sold at one penny each?

THE SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY (Mr. HENRY H. FOWLER) (Wolverhampton, E.): In answer to the hon. Member's Question, I have to state that as regards Inland Post Cards, the extra amount charged is only sufficient to recoup the State for the cost of material, custody, and distribution. The price of the Foreign Cards is fixed at 1*d.* (10 centimes) by the Postal Union Convention.

### LICENSING LAWS, 1883-4-5—RETURNS.

MR. HENNIKER HEATON (Canterbury) asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, What are the difficulties which prevent his laying upon the Table of the House, the Returns asked for showing the number of convictions for breaches of the Licensing Laws during the years 1883, 1884, and 1885; the number of licences granted for houses, the registered owners of which are brewers, distillers, or holders of wholesale licences for the sale of wines, spirits, or beer, and other information of a similar character of which notice has been given him?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. CHILDERS) (Edinburgh, S.): In reply to the hon. Member, I have to say that the reason why I should not feel justified in agreeing to this Return is that owing to the great variety of detailed information which would have to be collected from every part of the country, the result obtained would not, in my opinion, justify the necessary expenditure of time and money. The hon. Member is, I believe, aware that a part of the information he desires is to be found in the published volumes of judicial statistics.

### GOVERNMENT OF IRELAND BILL—CIVIL SERVANTS.

MR. STANLEY LEIGHTON (Shropshire, Oswestry) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, What is the sum total of the salaries and wages in the Civil Service proposed to be placed under the control of the Irish Executive by the Government of Ireland Bill; whether the following list correctly represents the offices and services which will be transferred from the Imperial to Irish control:—Board of Works, Chief Secretary's Office, Charitable Donations, Local Government Board, Grants in aid of Schoolmasters and Doctors, Public Works, Registrar General's Office, Record Office, Valuation and Boundary Survey, Law Charges, Supreme Court of Judicature, Court of Bankruptcy, Registry of Deeds, Registry of Judgments, Land Commissioners, County Court Offices, Reformatory Dundrum, Dublin Metropolitan Police, Constabulary, Constabulary Pensions, and Prisons; and, what is the total number of separate appointments for which provision is made in the Irish Civil Service Estimates?

THE CHIEF SECRETARY (Mr. JOHN MORLEY) (Newcastle-on-Tyne): It is extremely difficult to answer as satisfactorily as I should like the inquiry of the hon. Member. In the first place, the Bill does not specify what branches of the Civil Service are to be transferred to the Irish Executive. In the second place, the continuance of branches will depend on the view taken by the Irish Executive of its own requirements. Then, again, it is not easy to define a Civil servant. However, I am disposed to think that the information which the hon. Member wishes to obtain would, as regards the permanent service as it stands now, subject to any special reservations in the Bill and exclusive, of course, of Customs and Excise, be generally interesting, and I shall be prepared to give the Return if it is confined to cases in which (1) the whole salary is now voted by Parliament; (2) the official's whole time is at the disposal of the public; and (3) the appointment carries pension or gratuity on discharge. These are the three limitations which, I think, constitute the definition of a Civil servant within the sense of the Question. The appointments might conveniently be classed in such a Return under three heads—(*a*) Heads of Departments, superior appointments, and clerical staff; (*b*) messengers and servants; and (*c*) any others.

Mr. STANLEY LEIGHTON: Does the right hon. Gentleman refuse to give those local officers, subsidized by the Central Government, over which the Executive of Ireland would have power to withdraw the salary and dismiss the officer?

Mr. JOHN MORLEY: No, Sir. In my proposed Return I would not include cases of that description.

Mr. STANLEY LEIGHTON: Shall I move for the Return?

Mr. JOHN MORLEY: Yes; I think that would be the most convenient course.

Mr. STANLEY LEIGHTON: Is the right hon. Gentleman aware that there are 3,000 of these local officers which will be under the authority of the Irish Executive?

Mr. JOHN MORLEY: I was not aware. I will make a little further inquiry, and see if it is possible to include them in the Return, though I am doubtful about it.

### MERCHANT SHIPPING ACTS—GRAIN BAGS—RUSSIAN REGULATIONS.

Mr. KING (Hull, Central) asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether the attention of the Secretary of State was called in December last to the fact that the Russian Government had made regulations imposing a duty on jute bags used by British steamers in packing grain at Odessa and other Russian ports for English ports; whether every British vessel having bags on board for such purpose, as provided under our Merchant Shipping Laws, is compelled, before using them at Russian ports, to discharge them, to pay cartage on them to and from the Custom House, and to pay the Russian duty as on imported goods, involving delay and the payment of duty over and over again on the same bags; and, whether any correspondence has taken place with the Russian Government on the subject of this impost, and with what result?

The UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. Bryce) (Aberdeen, S.): The attention of the Secretary of State was called in July last to the regulations complained of, which, however, are stated by the Russian Government not to be new. Their result is in the main correctly stated in the second paragraph of the Question. Representations have been made to the Russian Governmen on the subject, and it is still the subjec of active correspondence between He Majesty's Ambassador at St. Petersbur and the Russian Government.

Mr. SAUNDERS (Hull, E.) aske whether the hon. Gentleman could produce the correspondence to which h referred for the advantage of the merchants interested?

Mr. BRYCE said, that the Correspondence was not yet completed, bu when completed he thought it might b produced. It should be carefully looke up to see whether that could be done.

### LOCAL GOVERNMENT—RATING OF LUNATIC ASYLUMS, &c.

Mr. KIMBER (Wandsworth) aske the President of the Local Government Board, Whether, in any schem of Local Self Government which ma be in contemplation for England b Her Majesty's Ministers, it is propose that the rating of lunatic asylum and also of land and buildings belonging to or occupied by the Crown should be made upon an equally ful valuation with private property in th same locality or rating district?

The PRESIDENT (Mr. Stansfeld (Halifax): I am not prepared to mak any statement as to the scheme of Loca Government contemplated by Her Majesty's Government; but I may say tha I do not think it would be expedient t attempt to deal with questions as to th rating of particular classes of propert in a Bill having for its primary objec the constitution of Loyal Authoritie and the determination of the area within which they shall have jurisdiction.

Mr. KIMBER asked whether th right hon. Gentleman had any intentio of bringing in a rating Bill?

Mr. STANSFELD said, he did no expect to bring in such a Bill this Session.

### SEA FISHERIES (IRELAND)—TRAWLING ON THE COAST OF DONEGAL.

Mr. BERNARD KELLY (Donegal S.) asked the Chief Secretary to th Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether i is a fact that, on the 10th May, a memorial was forwarded by the fishermen of St. John's Point and Inver districts, county Donegal, to the Inspectors o Irish Fisheries, praying for an inquiry into the trawling in Donegal, Inver, and Killybeys Bays; and, whether any steps have been taken with the view of rectifying the grievances complained of by the memorialists; and, if not, whether the Government will urge upon the proper authorities the desirability of prompt action in the matter?

THE CHIEF SECRETARY (Mr. JOHN MORLEY) (Newcastle-on-Tyne): The inquiry in which the hon. Member is interested will form one of a series on the same subject which the Inspectors of Fisheries intend to hold as soon as ever their engagements will permit of their doing so.

## POST OFFICE—MAILS TO THE OUTER ISLES (SCOTLAND).

MR. MACFARLANE (Argyll) asked the Secretary to the Treasury, If the reason why the steamer carrying the mails to the outer isles does not call at Tobermory was because the Government was informed that the pier dues would amount to £100 or £150 per annum; and, whether it is the fact that the Post Office official who visited the district was informed that the pier dues would not exceed £50?

THE SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY (Mr. HENRY H. FOWLER) (Wolverhampton): The expediency of requiring the mail steamer to call at Tobermory did not depend exclusively upon the amount of pier dues payable. Other considerations influenced the Postmaster General in refusing the application. No officer of the Post Office was informed that the pier dues would not exceed £50 a-year.

MR. MACFARLANE asked if the hon. Gentleman could state what the dues would amount to if the steamers called there?

MR. HENRY H. FOWLER: No, I could not.

## FISHING PRIVILEGES (SCOTLAND)—RETURN.

MR. MACFARLANE (Argyll) asked the Secretary to the Treasury, When the Return relating to fishing privileges in Scotland, granted on the 6th of February, will be laid upon the Table?

THE SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY (Mr. HENRY H. FOWLER) (Wolhampton, E.): I hope to lay the Return in question on the Table on Monday evening.

## ARMY—ARTILLERY BARRACKS AT SCARBOROUGH.

SIR GEORGE SITWELL (Scarborough) asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether it is the intention of the Government to build Artillery Barracks at Scarborough; and, if so, at what date the work is likely to be commenced?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN) (Stirling, &c.): According to present arrangements, it is in about three months' time intended to commence the erection of barracks at Scarborough for the depôt of the Northern Division of Royal Artillery.

## BULGARIA—ALLEGED CONSPIRACY.

SIR ROBERT PEEL (Blackburn) asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether any information has reached Her Majesty's Government on the subject of a conspiracy, alleged to have been fomented by Russian agents, and confirmed by Circular Note of the Bulgarian Minister of Foreign Affairs to the Prefects of the Province of Philippopolis, for the assassination of Prince Alexander of Bulgaria and of his Prime Minister; whether Her Majesty's Government has received any information tending to confirm the following statement, which has obtained currency from a usually well authenticated source, dated Sofia, May 22:—

> "There is now little doubt that the plot against the Prince formed only part of a general conspiracy to create disturbances and produce anarchy throughout the Country, and thus furnish a pretext for a Russian occupation, which the Czar's Representative at Philippopolis has been openly promising his adherents in the near future;"

and, whether any representations have been addressed by Her Majesty's Government to the Government of Russia deprecating a course of action so calculated to disturb the peace of Europe?

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. BRYCE) (Aberdeen, S.): Her Majesty's Government have received information that a plot was discovered at Bourgas to waylay Prince Alexander and take him alive, if possible, on board ship, to kill the Prime Minister and Prefect of Bourgas, and to provoke a revolution. Her Majesty's Government know nothing as to any action of Russian agents in the matter, and possess no facts that would tend to justify any representation to the Government of Russia.

### THE PARKS (METROPOLIS)—GREENWICH PARK—HOURS OF OPENING.

Mr. EVELYN (Deptford) asked the honourable Member for North West Staffordshire, Whether it is the fact that that Greenwich Park is not open to the public before seven a.m., to the great inconvenience of neighbouring residents, and especially of working men; and, whether, since other Royal Parks are open at five a.m., there would be any objection to placing Greenwich Park under similar regulations to those of the other Royal Parks?

Mr. LEVESON GOWER (A Lord of the Treasury) (Stafford, N.W.): This question has been considered on several occasions. Hyde Park alone is open all the year round at 5 a.m., and this can be done because the Park is under the charge of the Metropolitan Police. In the case of Greenwich Park, the opening of the gates at 5 a.m. would entail an addition to the force of Park constables employed at an estimated increase of expense of at least £150 a-year. If sufficient evidence were laid before the First Commissioner that the number of persons to be benefited by the earlier opening of the Park would justify the increased expenditure, he would be prepared to submit the matter to the Treasury in connection with the Estimates of next year; but it must be borne in mind that the question of Greenwich Park can scarcely be decided by itself, and that similar applications in regard to other Parks would, if entertained, involve a very material increase in the expenditure.

### THE COLONIAL AND INDIAN EXHIBITION—DUTIES ON GOLD AND SILVER PLATE.

Mr. KIMBER (Wandsworth) asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Whether the Duties of 17*s.* per ounce and 1*s.* 6*d.* per ounce respectively, have been paid on the Foreign gold and silver plate exhibited in the Colonial Exhibition; and, whether exhibitors have paid the £5 15*s.* charge for a Licence to deal in gold and silver plate?

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER (Sir William Harcourt) (Derby): No duty has been paid upon any gold and silver plate since its deposit in the Exhibition. Up to the present time only one licence has been taken out, which is for a quarter of a year.

### PIERS AND HARBOURS (IRELAND)—ARKLOW HARBOUR WORKS.

Mr. W. J. CORBET (Wicklow, E.) asked the Secretary to the Treasury, If he will lay the further Papers, a list of which has been submitted to him, in reference to Arklow Harbour, upon the Table?

The SECRETARY to the TREASURY (Mr. Henry H. Fowler) (Wolverhampton, E.): The Papers for which the hon. Member has asked will be included in those about to be presented to the House on the subject of Arklow Harbour, with one exception—namely, a Report from the Commissioners of Public Works to the Treasury.

### POST OFFICE—ABSTRACTION OF NEWSPAPERS.

Mr. HENNIKER HEATON (Canterbury) asked the Secretary to the Treasury, Is the Postmaster General aware that during the past ten years frequent complaints have been made of the abstraction of large numbers of newspapers, sent by people in this Country to their relatives abroad, particularly in India and Australia; whether he has heard that these newspapers are taken out and read by people on board ship; and, whether the postal authorities have ever made special efforts to discover the culprits, and with what results?

The SECRETARY to the TREASURY (Mr. Henry H. Fowler) (Wolverhampton, E.): Such complaints have on two occasions been made to the Post Office, but on investigation they have proved to be unfounded. If the hon. Member will furnish the Postmaster General with the particulars of any case of the kind which has come to his knowledge, it shall be fully investigated.

### GOVERNMENT OF INDIA—THE JOINT COMMITTEE.

Sir GEORGE CAMPBELL (Kirkcaldy, &c.) asked the First Lord of the Treasury, If the Government had made up their minds what was to be done about the Government of India Committee, the Motion for which had been on the Paper for months?

THE FIRST LORD (Mr. W. E. GLADSTONE) (Edinburgh, Mid Lothian): On the termination of the debate, which is to be resumed to-night, we shall be in a position then to say what shall be done.

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## GOVERNMENT OF IRELAND BILL—POLICY OF THE GOVERNMENT.

### MINISTERIAL STATEMENT.

SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH (Bristol, W.): Sir, last night the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister referred me to the ordinary channels of information for a full report of the statement made by him at a certain meeting held yesterday, and he also said in this House that he had stated that—

> "No application would be made to the House to take further steps in the prosecution of the Government of Ireland Bill within the compass of the ordinary Session of Parliament."

That was a rather mysterious answer, and on referring to the report this morning of the right hon. Gentleman's speech I find that the right hon. Gentleman himself explained that it was susceptible of two interpretations. One would be to keep the Bill alive for the purpose of proceeding in the autumn with the principal clauses in it; and the other would be to allow the Session to be wound up, and to summon Parliament again on an early day for a fresh Session, and in that fresh Session to reintroduce the Bill with the necessary Amendments. The right hon. Gentleman is reported to have gone on to say that he was "inclined to think that the latter would be the better course." My Question is, which of these two courses do Her Majesty's Government propose to adopt?

THE FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY (Mr. W. E. GLADSTONE) (Edinburgh, Mid Lothian): Sir, the right hon. Gentleman has quoted from a report—which I have no doubt is either perfectly or substantially correct—of the words used by me yesterday, and he has also quoted with perfect accuracy the answer made by me to him yesterday in this House. I did point out yesterday at the Foreign Office that there were two methods by which effect might be given to what we might consider to be our duty in the prosecution of this great subject, consistently with the promise I made as a positive announcement, that we should not, after the second reading, ask the House to take any further steps for the prosecution of the remaining stages of the Bill within the limits of an ordinary Session. One of these methods was reserving the consideration of the Bill in Committee in an Autumn Sitting; and the other method was to allow the Bill to lapse during the present Session and to advise Her Majesty to summon Parliament at a very early period for the purpose of the immediate reintroduction of the Bill. I also stated, and I think I had the authority of my Colleagues for doing so, that we were inclined to prefer the latter method. I do think that the right hon. Gentleman (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach) will feel that I ought not to be called upon at this moment to make a statement which might involve the Prorogation of Parliament and its reassembling in reply to a mere question in Parliament a more positive announcement than that I have now made. Reference must be made elsewhere before I proceed to give that authoritative information to the House; but there is nothing at all improper in asking for that information, and on an early day I may be in a position to give it.

SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH: The answer of the right hon. Gentleman is so unsatisfactory that I feel bound to ask the leave of the House to move the adjournment of the House for the purpose of discussing a definite matter of urgent public importance—namely, the statements of Her Majesty's Government as to the future proceedings on the Government of Ireland Bill.

The pleasure of the House not having been signified—

MR. SPEAKER: The right hon. Gentleman proposes to move the adjournment of the House for the purpose of discussing "a definite matter of urgent public importance—namely, the statements of Her Majesty's Government as to the future proceedings on the Government of Ireland Bill." I have to ask whether the right hon. Gentleman is supported by 40 Members?

And not less than 40 Members having accordingly risen in their places:—

SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH: I may venture to remind the House that throughout the whole consideration of this important question of the future

Government of Ireland there is one thing which the right hon. Gentleman opposite (Mr. W. E. Gladstone) has put prominently in the foreground as the main justification of his proposals, and that is the extreme urgency of grappling with the question of the restoration of social order in Ireland. In his speech on the second reading of this Bill, the right hon. Gentleman stated that the change which he proposed in the Government of Ireland was "proposed by him in order to meet the first necessity of civilized society." The right hon. Gentleman said—

> "Social order is not broken up in Ireland—it is undermined—it is sapped, and by general and universal confession it imperatively requires to be dealt with."

That is the state of things, the urgency of which surely nothing can exceed, to remedy which the right hon. Gentleman has introduced the Government of Ireland Bill and the Land Purchase (Ireland) Bill. Now, Her Majesty's Government took their time—I do not say that they took too much time—in preparing the schemes which they have submitted to the House. The right hon. Gentleman framed a definite plan; he asked the House to come to close quarters with this great question. [Mr. GLADSTONE: Hear, hear!] We criticized what we thought the fugitive vitality of this measure. To us it seemed to partake of something of the nature of a dissolving view. But these criticisms were met almost with ridicule by the right hon. Gentleman opposite. He told the country that it had before it a Cabinet "determined in its purpose" and with an "intelligible plan," with the advantage as to aim and principle of "speaking with one voice." He and his Colleagues criticized—indeed, that was the main staple of their speeches on these Bills—the position of those hon. Members who sit on these Benches, of the noble Marquess opposite (the Marquess of Hartington), and of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham (Mr. J. Chamberlain). We were told that no one of us had any plan for dealing with the future of Ireland. But, Sir, Her Majesty's Government made it their boast that they had a plan, and that that plan held the field. Does it hold the field now? If so, why is it that it is either to be withdrawn altogether, or to be postponed till such an indefinite period that certainly the urgency of the restoration of social order cannot now be present to the minds of Her Majesty's Government? We are not to be asked, Sir, if I rightly interpret the answer which the right hon. Gentleman has made to me this evening, to vote on the second reading of a definite plan, but to give an indefinite vote on some principle of autonomy for Ireland which no one can explain or put into shape. When Mr. Butt proposed his schemes for Home Rule in Ireland, what was our invariable reply to them? "Give us a definite plan, and then we will tell you what we think about it." How did the right hon. Gentleman characterize Mr. Butt's proposals in 1874? He said—

> "It is a dangerous and tricky system for Parliament to adopt—to encounter national dissatisfaction, with the assurance which may mean anything or nothing—which may perhaps conconciliate the feelings of the people of Ireland for a moment and attract a passing breath of popularity, but which, when the day of trial comes, may be found entirely to fail. It is a method of proceeding which, whatever Party may be in power, or whatever measures may be adopted, I trust this House will never condescend to adopt."—(3 *Hansard*, [218] 131.)

That is the very method of proceeding to which he asks the House now to condescend. Why is this Bill to be practically withdrawn? Is it to be withdrawn, or only to be postponed? Has the right hon. Gentleman found it so impracticable that nobody will vote for it, and therefore he is compelled to deprive the vote on the second reading of any meaning? [*Cries of* "No!"] Then, why is it to be withdrawn or postponed? Why is the plan of the Government for dealing with this great question of urgency, this important question of social order in Ireland, to be put off for five months till October? What is that but to paralyze the forces of law and order in Ireland, to prolong the uncertainty as to the future, which, from whatever point of view you regard it, must be a great national evil—a peril to the whole social and economic fabric in that country? Why is the Bill to be remodelled? How is it to be remodelled? What have we got before us? I have heard of Governments which have proposed abstract Resolutions instead of Bills, and have been strongly censured by the right hon. Gentleman for so doing. But I never yet heard of a Government which brought forward a Bill containing a definite scheme for a great Constitutional change—which boasted that that scheme held the field, and then proposed to withdraw it after getting the consent of the House to it as a mere abstract, indefinite Resolution. That is what I venture to call trifling with Parliament—it is trifling with one of the gravest Constitutional questions with which Parliament can be called on to deal; and, above all, it is trifling with the first duty of the Government—which is to maintain and restore social order in Ireland. Why is it done? Suppose the second reading of this Bill to be carried, what will it be? Why, it will be a "Continuance in Office Bill." This course is to be followed in order that Her Majesty's Government may sit on that Bench without the power of carrying out the policy they have proclaimed. That is a course which should be repudiated by this House, as, I believe, when it is understood, it will be repudiated by the country. That the House may be able to mark its sense of the policy which Her Majesty's Government have adopted, and to extract something like a real definition from the right hon. Gentleman as to what that policy is, I beg to move that the House do now adjourn.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That this House do now adjourn."—(*Sir Michael Hicks-Beach.*)

MR. W. E. GLADSTONE: I am struck, Sir, in the first instance, by the warmth with which the right hon. Gentleman (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach) has found it necessary to address the House; but as I do not believe that the introduction of warmth into these debates in the slightest degree improves the prospect or diminishes the difficulty of dealing with very great questions of State policy, he will excuse me if I studiously avoid all imitation of him in that respect. I must admit there is nothing more easy, and to certain persons nothing is more attractive, than to point a speech by the imputation of offensive motives. The right hon. Gentleman, not satisfied with introducing this discussion, thinks fit to pronounce—and probably hon. Gentlemen behind him are ready to cheer when I refer to his announcement—that obviously the motives of the Government in the decision they are supposed to have arrived at is to insure their own continuance in Office. They prefer that to all the considerations connected with the great issue before them, and their minds, in fact, are of such a mean and degrading order that they can alone be acted upon, not by motives of honour and duty, but simply by those of selfishness and personal interest. Sir, I do not condescend to discuss that imputation. In my opinion, the dart aimed at our shield, being such a dart as that, is "*Telum imbelle sine ictu.*" If we had not lived our lives in the face of the public, and if the public, or, at all events, as we think, the predominating portion of the nation that gives us its confidence, should for one moment suppose us to be capable of being influenced by such considerations, the mere denial of them would not prevail. I do not think I am bound to say—I hope it is not pride—but it is the experience of the generous confidence of my fellow-countrymen, which makes me know that such a denial and such repudiation of such an imputation is totally unnecessary. I leave the right hon. Gentleman to the enjoyment in his own mind of his accusations. Then, Sir, the right hon. Gentleman says that I have treated this question from the first as one of the utmost urgency, and as a question of social order. It is true, Sir, we have so regarded it, and upon that ground we have urged and shall continue to urge it. But I must observe that social order has been acted upon by the course which the Government have already taken, by the pledges that they have given, and by the prospects of the solemn declaration which they intend to ask the House to make. Social order in Ireland is in about the same state as it was last autumn, when that was contemplated with such complacency by the Members of the late Government. [Sir MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH dissented.] The right hon. Gentleman shakes his head; but if he will let me conclude my sentence I will say with such complacency that when they met Parliament they did not find themselves able to make any announcement on the subject to Parliament in the Speech from the Throne. Such was the condition of Ireland with regard to social order, and such is the condition of Ireland with regard to social order now. No acute crisis with regard to social order in Ireland has been reached, as it was about to be reached, and infallibly, in my opinion, would have been reached, when the right hon. Gentleman and his Colleagues made their famous declaration of January 26. Were the people of Ireland to entertain a doubt as to the earnestness of the Government in the prosecution of this great and important task—were the people of Ireland to be disappointed in the expectations they entertain of the great and solemn declaration by Parliament in favour of their self-government as to Irish matters—then, indeed, we should arrive at a position of difficulty. But I rely upon the people of Ireland to know and to believe that so long as we are acting in good faith for the speediest possible prosecution of this subject, they will themselves rally round the constituted authorities of the country, and enable us still to plead their cause with those appeals to the generosity and prudence of Englishmen and Scotchmen which we have thus far been able to urge. With regard to how far we are to ask this House to press forward, from week to week, or even from month to month, a subject of this kind, it is necessary that the Executive Government should upon their responsibility exercise their own discretion, subject to the correction of the House. As the right hon. Gentleman has read what I stated yesterday, I may refer him to a portion he has not mentioned. We cannot arrive at the second reading of this Bill—probably, though, I have no right or authority to name a day for the division—I assume we cannot arrive at a division before June 1. We have to consider what demand we could fairly make upon the House with regard to the prosecution of its ulterior stages; and we have also to consider this important fact—that in perfectly good faith a large number of Members of this House, who are determined friends of the principles of the Bill, have said that they require more time for the consideration of its provisions. [*Ironical cheers and laughter.*] I speak in their hearing and without contradiction. I believe I am only giving utterance to a sentiment which is rather widely spread upon this side of the House; certainly it is a sentiment the utterance of which has reached me through a multitude of channels; and as the right hon. Gentleman has reminded me with perfect justice of the urgency which I have ascribed to this question, I must remind him of the novelty which he and his Friends have ascribed to it, and of the unpreparedness of Parliament which they and even Gentlemen on this side of the House have constantly alleged for its consideration. But apart from that demand for time, I am bound to look at the nature and character of this Bill, which, although it is not a very bulky Bill, yet contains, in my opinion, a mass of matter, almost every line involving some new proposition—[*Ironical cheers from the Opposition*]—exactly so—which justifies, and even requires, very prolonged consideration on the part of this House. I may remind this House of what took place five years ago upon a Bill which, I think, difficult as it was and complicated as it was, did not require more consideration at the hands of this House than the present Bill. I mean the Irish Land Bill of 1881. Now, Sir, if my memory serves me right, the House spent more than 50 days of deliberation upon that Bill, and more than 30 days in Committee upon that Bill. I ask what would be our prospects, and how should we be treating the House, and how should we be treating the subject, even were we to endeavour to force forward this Bill at a time of the year when, with reasonable and proper discussion and deliberation, it could not be passed through its ordinary stages within the period which physical as well as social necessities impose upon this House as the annual limit of its arduous labours? Why, Sir, in a case of this kind it may be, and I believe distinctly that in this case it is, the best policy, with a view to expedition and despatch, with a view to attaining with the greatest speed the goal which we hope to reach—it is the best policy, I believe, not to make an untimely and unseasonable demand of that kind. Sir, we have had warnings upon that subject. This Bill has not only to be passed through the House of Commons, but it has to be dealt with in "another place." [Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: Hear, hear!] Yes, the noble Lord cheers me, and I daresay he is tolerably well aware of the point to which I am about to refer. We know perfectly well that every point that can be taken will be taken against this Bill, and, among others, that of its unseasonable prosecution. What happened to the Ballot Bill? The Ballot Bill was sent to the

House of Lords—a measure which we of the House of Commons should have supposed the House of Lords might have disposed of—and it did finally dispose of it—in a very few days; yet still, because we sent that Bill to the House of Lords within the first week or 10 days of August—I do not remember the exact day—advantage was taken of that fact to dismiss the Bill for a year. Sir, we do not wish to expose ourselves to risks of that kind. We do not wish to have collateral issues raised upon this Bill. We have raised one of the greatest issues ever submitted to Parliament and the country, and our desire is to keep that issue clear. We feel convinced that as long as we can keep it clear before the nation, and prevent it from being mixed up with other collateral issues, with plausible considerations derived from our mode of managing Business, derived from our unfortunate choice of times for submitting it to the one House or the other—as long as we can avoid this, we have before us a conflict in which we are prepared to go through to the end, and in which we are perfectly confident of the final issue. But, Sir, we will not adopt our rules of tactics from the suggestions of the Opposition. We will give reasonable consideration, as far as we can, to the demands of friends of the Bill. We are, in the conclusion we have arrived at, doing our best, judging for the best, according to our faculties and according to our means, as to the mode by which we should soonest reach the final consummation of this great question. Now, Sir, I might have said to the right hon. Gentleman that this was altogether a premature discussion. I should have thought the time to discuss our proceedings upon the second reading of the Bill was when the Bill had been read a second time; but I do not think fit to take any objection of that kind, because I know I should be open to the reproach, or at least the reproach would certainly be made, that I was endeavouring to evade the issue. But I tell the right hon. Gentleman that we are exercising our best judgment as to the most efficient and effectual means of prosecuting this great subject, and that in the exercise of that judgment we shall choose for ourselves our means and our times of action, and we shall not adopt advice with regard to them from those whom we know to be opposed to the principle of our measure, and whom we know to be too ready—as we have had a proof to-night—of taking every collateral and secondary objection to the Bill. Another point has been raised by the right hon. Gentleman. He says we are going to give an indefinite vote. He says there is a promise—I do not know that he used the word—but he says this Bill is going to be remodelled. He did not read that in the report of my speech this morning. I think that happy word, as applied to the structure of the Bill, is a pure invention of the right hon. Gentleman. I am not aware that there is a shadow or a shred of authority for any such statement.

Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: Reconstructed was the word used.

Mr. W. E. GLADSTONE: The noble Lord says "reconstructed" was the word. It is quite true that the word "reconstructed" was used. [*Opposition cheers and laughter.*] What confidence these Gentlemen who use those means of opposition must have in the rectitude of their own cause and in the far-seeing character of their own statesmanship! The word "reconstructed" was used. Does the noble Lord dare to say it was used with respect to the Bill? [Lord Randolph Churchill: Yes.] Never! never! It was used with respect to one particular clause of the Bill. This grand attack, founded upon the fact that our Bill was to be remodelled, fails. What a woeful collapse! It is not the Bill that is to be remodelled, it appears, after all. I give the right hon. Gentleman some credit for it, because he had not the patience to read through the report he saw in the papers. He was wearied to death in reading the speech made by me. But the noble Lord spoke boldly, as if he had read it, and now it comes out that he read it wrong. He quotes it wrong, and then, having alleged the remodelling of the Bill, he is obliged to fall back upon the reconstruction of a clause. It was on one clause alone. I am not quite sure, but I think I remember another clause, and possibly other passages of the Bill. I am not quite sure that there are not some other passages of the Bill which would fall under my description with regard to reconstruction. But the whole of those, as I stated yesterday in the most distinct terms, are exclusively upon one point of the Bill. I certainly did not exclude Gentlemen from the advantage of any Amendment, compatible with the scope and purpose of the Bill, which we might be able to avail ourselves of if the advantage of time were secured. But the point to which alone reconstruction was to apply was so much of the Bill as touches the future relation of the Representatives of Ireland, whether Peers or Commoners, to the Imperial Parliament. I believe that was made perfectly and absolutely clear. I am a little surprised that the acute intellects on the opposite side of the House should have found themselves puzzled with this portion of the alphabet of the subject. Then the right hon. Gentleman quotes words against me that apply to an abstract Resolution, and he says we are to ask the House to vote for something which is of the nature of an abstract Resolution—something or other about autonomy in Ireland which nobody can understand and nobody can define. At any rate, we have been able to define the subject of this autonomy in Ireland sufficiently to arouse the very determined and, perhaps, a little embittered hostility of hon. Gentlemen on the opposite side of the House. I do not understand why they should complain so much of the absence of definition. Unhappily, many of those on this side of the House have likewise found our description of the Bill sufficiently definite to array them in a most deliberate and determined opposition—a most important section of the Liberal Party, which I am afraid we have no hope of mollifying or converting. But, Sir, our definitions, as I have often said, may have varied in terms, though I believe they have never varied in substance. If I had been aware of the right hon. Gentleman's intention, I would, for greater accuracy, have brought down the note I made of the very words which I used yesterday in regard to the principal purpose and scope of this Bill, which principal purpose and scope I stated yesterday, and I state again, that no consideration will induce us to vary or depart from by one hair's-breadth. The purpose is to obtain from Parliament, if we are able, the establishment of a Legislative Body in Ireland for the effectual management and control of Irish, as distinct from Imperial, affairs. Sir, the right hon. Gentleman says we are going to ask for an abstract Resolution. Now, Sir, we are going to ask for the very thing that has always been put by me in contrast to an abstract Resolution—that is to say, for a Vote having reference to a Bill before Parliament. It is perfectly true that on the second reading of a Bill you do not affirm all the provisions, or even the most important provisions, of the Bill. A very lax doctrine has, as I showed yesterday, prevailed on the other side of the House with regard to that subject. Lord Beaconsfield, with respect to a measure of the utmost importance, said, in assenting to the second reading of the measure—it was the Land Act of 1870—that he affirmed nothing; but that there ought to be a change in the Land Laws. That is a very lax doctrine indeed, and is something like reducing the second reading of a Bill to the passing of an abstract Resolution. But, Sir, we have not stood upon that. We have said that the second reading of the Bill is a solemn pledge from Parliament to the people of the three countries, and most of all the people of Ireland, to the effect that a certain thing of vital consequence ought to be done, and that Parliament intends to do it, and to do it at the earliest moment which the circumstances in which it stands will permit. What is the charge of the right hon. Gentleman? I have not endeavoured to reduce the meaning of a vote on the second reading below that which, according to all sound and established Parliamentary doctrines, it is known to bear. On the contrary, I have stated as strongly as possible that we conceive that nothing can be more distinct and definite, either as to substance or as to time, than the promise and engagement which this House and those voting for the second reading will give by that vote—first of all, that they think that a Parliament for the management of Irish affairs—or as a Legislative Body as we have called it—ought to be established; and, secondly, that it is their duty and their intention, at the first available moment, to set about establishing it. Now, Sir, that is the position of the Government; and if the right hon. Gentleman tells me that we ought to sit through July and August—we met early in January—September and October for that purpose, I do not believe that such a demand can be fairly made upon a Legislative Body. There are limits;

happily, these limits are prescribed. There never has been a Legislative Chamber in the world which worked so hard as the House of Commons. But we must observe some limits in the demands which we make upon it, and to endeavour to make a partial progress, and then to be compelled to come to an exhausted House and to say that, after all, we find we cannot reach the third reading of the Bill, or, worse still, to send it to "another place" with the advantage to its opponents of the pretext of time—no, Sir; that is a mode of generalship upon which we do not intend to act. If we have judged wrongly in this matter the House will correct us. I do not believe we have judged wrongly; I do not believe the House thinks we have judged wrongly; and I believe this—if we had judged wrongly, if we had made some great error of tactic in the management and prosecution of this Bill, if we had been chargeable with some grievous fault, the right hon. Gentleman would not have found it at all necessary to interpose to-day with a Motion for Adjournment, but would probably have sat with folded arms, delighted to see how we walked into some one of the many snares set for us. Sir, the right hon. Gentleman says, in order to mark his sense of our proceedings, that he will move the adjournment of the House. Well, he has moved it. I am very glad he has, and, in order to mark our sense of the proceedings, we will negative the adjournment. These proceedings are entirely within precedent, and we ask the House to approve what, according to all sound Parliamentary doctrine, is its known and usual method of action; and if we can form any judgment under the most solemn responsibility as to the best method of going forward to attain the great end before us, we believe that we have chosen that method, and that our having chosen it is in truth the reason why the right hon. Gentleman has found it necessary to assail us.

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL (Paddington, S.): The right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Gladstone) has, I think, altogether misapprehended, and, for aught I know, not unintentionally misapprehended, the purpose of the inquiry of my right hon. Friend (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach), and the purpose of the Motion which he has made this evening. What my right hon. Friend wished to inquire about was not the motives of the Government or the policy of the Government with regard to this particular Bill in the past. What he inquired about, and had a right to inquire about—and even the Prime Minister will admit that he occupies a responsible position—was the nature of the procedure which the Government proposed to adopt with regard to the future proceedings on the Bill. That, every hon. Member will admit, is a legitimate subject for inquiry. The First Lord of the Treasury stated that there was nothing unprecedented in the action of the Government, and that it was well within precedent. I defy the Prime Minister, with all his Parliamentary knowledge and experience, to show to the House a single precedent for the course which he apparently intends to adopt. Can the right hon. Gentleman point to any measure of first-class importance—any measure of overwhelming importance such as this—being introduced by a Government, and then an offer being made to the House—"If you will vote for the second reading of this Bill we will withdraw the Bill, and you shall never hear of the Bill again." It is quite true this is accompanied by another indication—that Parliament may be called together in the autumn or winter. "Winter" is the word in the Prime Minister's speech. [Mr. GLADSTONE: No, no!] I read his speech with great care, and the words were—"I do not think the winter should come upon us——"

MR. INCE (Islington, E.): Will the noble Lord read on?

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: The hon. and learned Member below the Gangway is a little premature. I was going to readon, but was interrupted by the inopportune applauses. "I do not think the winter should come upon us and find us enjoying ourselves in the country." What does that mean but a Winter Session? Obviously it means this—that the autumn may come upon us and find us enjoying ourselves. But to come back to what I was saying, which was this—that the statement of the Prime Minister has been coupled with the indication that Parliament may be called together in the winter to consider a Bill which may be the same as this, or may not be the same as this Bill. [Mr. GLADSTONE: I did not say that.] It may be, or may not be, the same Bill; but about it the Prime Minister has used these words—

> "The proposal," alluding to some changes which he had been indicating, "the proposal will entail some further change in the construction of the clause, and the practical effect will be that it will certainly be necessary to reconstruct these clauses of the Bill."

Thus, there were several clauses, particularly the 24th, and, in a secondary degree, the 39th. Very well; how did the Attorney General treat the proposal the other day for the reconstruction of the 24th clause? He treated it as a matter affecting the whole Bill; and more than that, the right hon. Gentleman knows that if the proposed reconstruction of the 24th clause did not affect the construction of the whole Bill, he would not have got one single one of those who agree with the right hon. Member for West Birmingham (Mr. J. Chamberlain) to support him on the second reading. The right hon. Gentleman is speaking with two voices altogether in this matter; and the House must really, in common fairness, allow the Party on this side to protest against a procedure of that kind. He has indicated to the Irish Members that the Bill will be practically the same; but he holds out the hope of the withdrawal and re-introduction of the Bill in the winter. [*Cries of* "No!" *and* "Autumn!"] We are getting some information. The two voices are a voice to the Irish Members that the Bill is not to be reconstructed, and a voice to hon. Members below the Gangway that the Bill is to be reconstructed. Without doubt, the tactics of the right hon. Gentleman are of this nature, and it is for this reason that we complain that they are tactics directed to this purpose—namely, to confuse the House of Commons, to lead the House of Commons on step by step, though, at the same time, not showing to the House of Commons whither it is being led. At any rate, that is a perfectly legitimate construction. Now, mark; my right hon. Friend (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach) asks of the Prime Minister—"Which of the two alternatives does the Government propose to adopt—the adjournment of the Bill to the autumn, or the Prorogation of Parliament early in July, and the introduction of a new Bill in the autumn?" That is a perfectly legitimate subject of inquiry. It is a vital point—obviously vital with the second reading. If the Bill is to be adjourned and proceeded with in the autumn as we leave it now, obviously hon. Members who wish to reconstruct it will have their facilities for so doing enormously limited. Their chances will be exceedingly poor; in fact, to those who have any experience, whatever the advantages the Government possess in Committee after the second reading, it will be apparent that their chances will be practically *nil.* I can quite understand that many of those who sympathize with this Bill would vote for the second reading if that course were to be adopted, but might seriously question the propriety of assenting to the second reading now if the other course is to be adopted. The other course is the Prorogation of Parliament, and the introduction of a totally new Bill in the autumn. [Mr. GLADSTONE: No.] Well, totally new in so far as the stages of the Bill are concerned. In the latter case, there is all the difference in the world, and everybody would start perfectly free. It would be open to hon. Members to take no part in any further debate on this subject, to take no part in any division, and to come back to the House of Commons perfectly free to take whatever part they liked with regard to the new Bill in the autumn. But that course is not open to hon. Members if the proceeding of an Adjournment of the Session is to be followed. Now, was there anything unreasonable in my right hon. Friend putting that question to the Government before we are asked to take one of the most solemn decisions which the House of Commons can possibly take? Does the right hon. Gentleman say that the Leader of the Opposition has not a right to know—before he advises those who place confidence in him what course they are to take—what are the future intentions of the Government with regard to this great measure? How can hon. Gentlemen opposite complain of our making such an inquiry? How can they complain when, in order to protest against the refusal of information, my right hon. Friend moves the Adjournment of the House? Sir, the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister made one or two remarks of a general character on which really I must be allowed for a moment to comment. He talked about the impossibility of proceeding with this Bill after a second reading this Session.

Why? If the right hon. Gentleman will present to the House of Commons a fair issue, if he will stick to his guns, from one day to another, if he will proceed with his legislation in the traditional Parliamentary manner, he will find no obstruction from this side of the House —nothing but fair Parliamentary opposition. But when all the traditional Parliamentary procedure is abandoned, when we are being jockeyed, when the House of Commons is not allowed to come to a clear issue, then it is that we may, in the defence of the ordinary rights of a minority, be forced to have recourse to all the proceedings which a minority can command. But the right hon. Gentleman says that he has no time. Why has he no time? To whom is it principally due that this debate has been so protracted? Who refused to take it *de die in diem*—absolutely refused? Who interposed every obstacle which Parliamentary experience and ingenuity could suggest? Why, Sir, if it had not been for the obstacles interposed by the Prime Minister himself, we might have divided on this Bill a week ago. And what is the remedy? "The question," says the Prime Minister,

> "is very urgent. I still hold to that doctrine of extreme urgency; but we have no time to deal with it this summer, and we will, therefore, put off further dealing with it till the end of the year."

[Mr. GLADSTONE: No, no!] Really, the Prime Minister seems very captious about dates. Well, they will put off dealing with the Bill, then, until some period or other in the future marked out for us by those "limitations which are imposed by the revolutions of the heavenly bodies." Certainly nothing could be more indefinite than that phrase. The Prime Minister complained of want of time, and he says—

> "We will not send it up to the House of Lords in August, because the House of Lords will seek refuge in the excuse that they cannot consider the measure in the time at their disposal."

Sir, I dare say the Prime Minister is far better acquainted with Peers than I am. He has made a great many, and therefore he would have more right to pronounce upon the probable views of the House of Lords than I have; but I think it is perfectly certain that, whatever course the House of Lords may take with regard to this Bill, it will not be based upon any such frivolous excuse as that; and if the Prime Minister likes to proceed with this Bill, and send it up to the House of Lords in the month of August, I am perfectly convinced that he need not have the smallest fear whatever that the question of time will be in any degree raised. I have not a doubt about it that the consideration by the House of Lords of this Bill will be serious, solemn, immediate, and final. But the Prime Minister said it is altogether premature to discuss the proceedings of the Government on the second reading. [*Cheers from below the Gangway.*] That is cheered by hon. Members below the Gangway. The Prime Minister said that we ought to have discussed them after the second reading. That would have been altogether too late. This consideration the Prime Minister does not seem to have thought of. But who has set us the example of discussing the proceedings of the Government on the second reading? Why, the First Lord of the Treasury himself. What did he do? He summoned a meeting of his supporters at the Foreign Office. Mark, that was not a private meeting, but a meeting of an essentially public character. [*Cries of* "No, no!"] I call a meeting—a meeting of a public character when you have an official reporter present, who supplies an authentic report of what passed to the public Press; and if that is not a public meeting, really I do not know what is a public meeting. And at this public meeting the Prime Minister announced to a certain number of his supporters a definite line of policy with much deliberation and detail; but he absolutely refuses to give that information in an official manner to the House of Commons. Now, again, I ask the First Lord of the Treasury, can he point to any analogous proceeding by a Prime Minister with regard to a first-class measure in the whole course of his long experience? I venture to say he cannot. I do think I should not have complained if Parliament had been immediately put in possession of the same information that his supporters were put in possession of; what I do complain of, and what I think is altogether insulting to the House of Commons, is this—that certain information with regard to the future conduct of this measure is given to a certain group of the House of Commons, and is refused to the whole body of the House of Commons. At the present moment, though the Prime Minister knows that numbers of votes may depend upon whether he makes a definite statement or not, he absolutely refuses, under the most frivolous and ridiculous pretext, to tell the House whether he intends to adjourn the Bill to the autumn, or whether he intends to prorogue Parliament very soon and introduce a new Bill in the winter. And that is what we complain of, and have a right to complain of. That is what we wish to draw the attention of the country to. You say you want to go to the country. If you want to go to the country to get the opinion of the country on this measure you need not take more than five or six weeks about it. Nothing would be easier. You can proceed to divide on the second reading, and if you are not satisfied with the result of the division dissolve Parliament. The Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Mr. Bryce), in the speech which has been so much praised, began by saying how anxious the Government was to fly to the opinion of the country, and this was received with the loudest possible cheers below the Gangway on both sides. Why do not the Government go to the country? Because all these proceedings are designed in order to keep the question away from the country, and in order to prevent the country giving an opinion upon it. ["No, no!"] Some hon. Members opposite are supposed to be shaky in their independence about this Bill. Why? What has been the great bribe offered by the Prime Minister—a bribe as great as any offered at the time of the Act of Union?—"If you vote for the second reading of a Bill which you do not approve of in your hearts, and which you disbelieve in, I promise you that, at any rate, for another eight, nine, or 12 months you shall not be sent back to your constituencies." This is the noble policy of the right hon. Gentleman, and these are the noble motives by which he appeals on behalf of the Government to the Parliament of Great Britain and Ireland—"Vote for anything you like; you are committed to nothing."

MR. W. E. GLADSTONE: Oh, no.

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: What? Then they are committed.

MR. W. E. GLADSTONE: Certainly.

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: The Prime Minister surprises me. I did not think it possible to be surprised by the Prime Minister. Does the Prime Minister contend, from a Parliamentary point of view, that hon. Members, by voting for the second reading of the Bill, can be committed to the Bill if that Bill dies and is withdrawn?

MR. W. E. GLADSTONE: The principle of the Bill.

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: Never. Never was such a view held in Parliament before. I venture to say never, and that is why the Prime Minister holds out to hon. Members the bribe that if they will only vote for the principle of the Bill, which they disapprove of and which is going to be withdrawn, and possibly never heard of again, he will consent to give them a little longer lease of Parliamentary life. These are the manœuvres, Sir, which are being adopted by the Government to settle one of the gravest questions ever brought before Parliament—manœuvres which, of course, we must expect from an "old Parliamentary hand," but manœuvres which I certainly should not have expected from one who was brought up in such a school of statesmanship as the First Lord of the Treasury; manœuvres which, I feel certain, Lord Grey never would have contemplated, which Lord Althorp never would have contemplated, which Sir Robert Peel never would have contemplated, and which, I believe, he himself, some years ago, would not have contemplated. The House has been very kind to allow me to make these remarks in defence of the course which has been taken by my right hon. Friend. I have heard many Motions for the Adjournment of the House moved, but none more defensible, none so defensible, as the present one. I say that the House cannot go to a division on the second reading of this Bill; it cannot properly, decently, or safely continue this debate, unless the Government will deal fully, fairly, and frankly with the House, and will say what course they will pursue after the second reading has been either agreed to or rejected. I hope that my right hon. Friend will not only take the sense of the House on this question; but I am sure, if it rested with me, and me alone, I would move Adjournment after Adjournment until I had forced the Government by the sheer pressure of the minority, and by the public opinion excited out-of-doors, to desist from this policy of hocussing the House of Commons.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT) (Derby): The noble Lord (Lord Randolph Churchill) has given us a great deal of advice, and has addressed to us a good many taunts; but I can assure him that in the conduct of this measure we shall neither be guided by his advice nor influenced by his taunts. It seems to me that the extraordinary disappointment, irritation, and impatience betrayed by hon. Gentlemen opposite is a confirmation of the wisdom of the policy that the Government are pursuing. Now, I think before this grand parade it would have been well if right hon. Gentlemen opposite had made up their minds as to what was the meaning of the Motion they have submitted to the House. The noble Lord stated that the meaning of the Motion made by the right hon. Gentleman was not an inquiry into the motives of the Government. Well, that, I think, is strictly accurate, because the right hon. Gentleman made at the conclusion of his speech, not an inquiry as to the motives of the Government, but a statement on his part as to what those motives were to be. I have nothing to add to what my right hon. Friend (Mr. Gladstone) has said as to the motives imputed to us by the right hon. Gentleman (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach). The noble Lord, however, with his accustomed accuracy, has said that the Prime Minister affirmed that if the second reading of this Bill be granted we should never hear of the Bill again. [Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: Withdrawn.] Well, then, the noble Lord is extremely inquisitive as to the subject of the time when we shall hear of it again. The noble Lord is a man of great eloquence and of distinguished talent; but I think there is one line in which he will never shine, and that is the line of a critic, because for a critic, at least, it is essential—although some seem to dispense with it—to appear to have read the documents which he pretends to criticize. I think that the House saw the futility of the quotation which the noble Lord made with reference to a Winter Session; but if he had read the speech of my right hon. Friend he would have seen that it pointed to two courses. He asserted that one plan would be to do what was done in 1882, when we met in the Autumn, and that the other course would be to summon Parliament again at an early day for a fresh Session. The noble Lord said—"The summoning of Parliament at an early day may mean in the winter." On the contrary, everybody understood my right hon. Friend's intention. If the noble Lord does not understand, I have no hesitation in saying that an early day for a fresh Session meant not a meeting in the winter, but a day in the early autumn. Well, then, the noble Lord said that the object of these proceedings on the part of the Government is that the House may be led without knowing where it is to be led to. But I do not think that the House is so absolutely unintelligent as the noble Lord seems to think. At all events, the Government have never concealed the goal to which they desire the House to be led. My right hon. Friend has stated over and over again that the goal to which the Government desires the House to be led—whether it be in the summer or early autumn—is a Legislative Body in Ireland for the conduct of Irish affairs. How, then, can it be said that the course of the Government conceals from the House the direction in which it is to be led? The noble Lord said that the Government attempted to "jockey" the House. I think that the noble Lord and the right hon. Gentleman opposite who was late Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster (Mr. Henry Chaplin) must have mistaken the day; they must have thought it the day on which the House took a holiday, and must have borrowed the language of the racecourse. [Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: I said "hocussing."] Well, then, hocussing was the word. I believe they are both words derived from the language and phraseology of certain Bohemian tribes who are often seen, I believe, on those Downs, and it is language more appropriate to those scenes than to the debates of the House of Commons. The noble Lord is a great authority in the House of Commons; but he is also undertaking to speak for the House of Lords. He has told us in the most distinct way what is the course which the other House of Legislature will take, and not only that, but also the grounds upon which they will arrive at that decision, and that in whatever month the Bill goes to the House of Lords the House of Lords would give the final decision. I venture to think that the final decision of this question will never rest with the House of Lords at all. Then the noble Lord says that the object of this Motion is simply inquiry. We heard very little inquiry from the right hon. Gentleman. It is quite true that he referred to a point which the noble Lord seems to think was the whole object of the Motion—namely, to know whether the intention of the Government is to proceed by Adjournment or Prorogation, and as to the advice they shall tender to Her Majesty on the subject? On that subject there was no ambiguity in the language of my right hon. Friend the Prime Minister either yesterday or to-day; but, really, it is a very astonishing thing that there should be two Gentlemen who are Privy Councillors, who have held Office under the Crown, who should imagine that it is possible for a Minister of the Crown to announce a decision on the subject either of Dissolution or of Prorogation without direct and distinct authority from the Crown. Really, I am astonished that it should be necessary to give the right hon. Gentlemen elementary lessons on the principles of the Constitution of this country. My right hon. Friend has said everything that it is possible or proper for him to say on such a subject as this, and no Motion for Adjournment ought to induce any Minister to say more on that subject than he has said. The noble Lord was very severe on the Party meeting at the Foreign Office. He says that Party meetings are never held of that character with reference to Bills which have been promised in Parliament, or which are in progress in Parliament.

Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: What I said was that information of so remarkable a character as appears to have been communicated at the Party meeting ought also to have been communicated immediately afterwards to the House of Commons if the meeting were of a public character.

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER: I do not know what the noble Lord means by meetings of a public character. [*Cries of* "Oh, oh!"] Really, I think that a little decency might be observed, and that one might be allowed to conclude one's sentence. A meeting may be public in two senses. It may mean a meeting where everybody is admitted. That was not the character of the meeting at the Foreign Office at all. No, Sir; nobody was invited to that meeting who was irreconcilably hostile to the establishment of a Legislative Body in Ireland. That was the principle on which that meeting was founded. All friends to that principle and Members of the Party on this side of the House were invited to that meeting. The transactions of that meeting were allowed to be made public; and, according to my recollection, that is an extremely common thing in meetings of that character with reference to Bills in progress in Parliament, and with reference to the most important Bills. I can remember that in 1867 more than one meeting of that character was held by Mr. Disraeli and his Party with very important results on the conduct of the Bill then pending. [Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: Private meetings.] They were no more private meetings than this was. The speeches at those meetings were reported, and the results were made public. That, at least, is my recollection of the matter. The noble Lord has again challenged our course with reference to this Bill. One would think he had never heard of the authors of the Ten Minutes' Bill, or of the authors of Resolutions which were withdrawn, and of new Bills introduced and withdrawn, when he said that no such modifications of such an important character had ever been made before. The noble Lord says that it is contrary to all Parliamentary doctrine to say that in voting for a Bill which disappears, but re-appears again in a future Session, you are committed to anything. The noble Lord lays that down as if it were a proposition not capable of being disputed; but I think his proposition must be considerably modified before it can be accepted. Let me give the noble Lord an example. We had of recent years Bills before us for household suffrage in the counties over and over again in former Parliaments. Does the noble Lord mean to say that a Member of this House who voted for the second reading of such Bills, to give the suffrage to the county householder on the same footing as it was given to the town householder, were not committed to the principle of household suffrage in the counties, even although the Bill for which he voted disappeared? I think he will find few people to agree with him. I apprehend that the vote for the second reading was the affirmation of a principle which would endure to a future Session. What is the meaning, then, of this Motion? The right hon. Gentleman (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach) has said that he has brought forward this Motion for Adjournment—I think these were his words —"to mark the sense of the House of the conduct of the Government." [SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH: Hear, hear!] Very well, we accept his Motion in that sense; that is, he has made this Motion for Adjournment to mark the sense of the House of the conduct of the Government. We invite the right hon. Gentleman to take an issue upon it.

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: (Lancashire, Rossendale): Sir, I do not think that the Government or the House can be very much astonished or have any reason to complain that this Motion has been made by the right hon. Gentleman opposite (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach). It is not necessary, I think, to discuss whether the Motion has been made with the view of enabling the House to "mark its sense of the conduct pursued by the Government;" but, at all events, it is a recognized and certainly not an inconvenient practice that an opportunity of this kind should be taken for the purpose of endeavouring to elicit and obtain some information from the Government as to the course they intend to take upon a matter of very great public importance. Now, Sir, no one can doubt that announcements of very great public importance, which may probably affect the conduct of hon. Members upon this measure and the fate of the Bill, were made in an unofficial form to hon. Members of this House yesterday; and it is very desirable that some information—or, if possible, further information—should be communicated to the whole House before it proceeds to the reconsideration of the Bill. We are already placed in a position of very considerable inconvenience and embarrassment. We have been debating the second reading of this Bill for more than a fortnight under one set of circumstances and under peculiar conditions, and we are now going to resume the debate on the Bill, and to be asked to give a decision on the Bill under circumstances very different indeed, and a very large number of those who have already addressed the House have addressed it under circumstances altogether different from those now before them. I think the right hon. Gentleman asked a question which was a reasonable question, and which I should have expected my right hon. Friend (Mr. Gladstone) would have been able to answer more fully than either he or the Chancellor of the Exchequer (Sir William Harcourt) has done. The right hon. Gentleman only referred in his speech to the necessity which he and the Government felt of giving the House more time for the consideration of this measure after the second reading. But, as he pointed out yesterday and again to-day, there are two different ways in which that additional time may be given. Either the House might be asked to adjourn after a certain time, and to resume the consideration of this Bill in an Autumn Session, or else the House might be asked to wind up the present Business in order that there might be an early Prorogation, and that a new Bill —a new measure—should be produced in the autumn, which should go through a first reading, a second reading, and all the stages of a Bill. Now, Sir, surely when these two subjects of proceeding are under the consideration of the Government it is not unreasonable that the House should ask to know, before it gives a decision on the second reading, the main and leading principles contained in it. Which of these courses do the Government intend to adopt? The Government have spoken as if it involved only a difference of procedure; but I must say I entirely agree with what was said on the other side—that the difference appears to me to be absolutely vital. If we are going to continue the consideration of this Bill in an Autumn Session after a second reading, not only will our opportunities for asking for modifications and vital alterations in the Bill be very greatly curtailed, but also the individual freedom of action of Members will be limited; because they will have consented not merely to the principle—what is defined by my right hon. Friend as the principle —of the Bill, but they will have committed themselves to the main and leading principles contained in the Bill. On the other hand, if the Prorogation takes place and a new Bill is introduced, we shall all retain a very much greater degree of individual liberty. It will be open to us to discuss the Bill on its introduction and on the second reading; but now to say that we are going to take the second reading, and not to be told till after that whether we are to go on with the consideration of this Bill or a new Bill, appears to me to be asking the House to do that which is not reasonable.

Mr. W. E. GLADSTONE: I did not say a new Bill. I said to re-introduce the Bill.

The Marquess of HARTINGTON: I may point out that there are to be considerable modifications in this Bill. There is the one point of considerable importance upon which the discussion has most frequently turned — the exclusion of the Irish Members and the Irish Peers from this Parliament. We are told that modifications are going to be made in the two clauses which are directly concerned with the question, and we are told that other modifications may be necessary in other clauses of the Bill. In our opinion—though, perhaps, not in that of the Government—very frequently expressed, such alteration as my right hon. Friend intends to make in this respect, when it comes to be examined in detail, will be found to render alterations in almost every clause necessary. At all events, according to the arrangements of the right hon. Gentleman, there are to be modifications of the Bill introduced in the autumn; it will not be the same Bill as this Bill. If it were the same Bill it would not affect the point I put before the House. It would be a new Bill which the House would be able to deal with on the first and second reading; whereas, if we are to proceed with the consideration of this Bill, the only stages when we shall have it in our power will be the Committee, Report, and third reading. I say that the House has a right to know——

Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT: You do know.

The Marquess of HARTINGTON: My right hon. Friend says we do know. Then, all that is required is for some Member of the Government to get up and state what it is that we do know. The House has a right to know which of the two courses is to be adopted. [Mr. Gladstone here said something to the noble Marquess.] My right hon. Friend says that he did say it. I did not understand him to make any announcement that it was intended to adjourn the House after the second reading of the Bill, or to prorogue——

Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT: We cannot prorogue; the Queen prorogues.

The Marquess of HARTINGTON: It is inconvenient to address the House and carry on a conversation as well. I am well aware that we cannot prorogue the House; but my right hon. Friend is not debarred from stating what is the advice the Government was prepared to give to the Queen.

Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT: I beg my noble Friend's pardon. That is exactly what I did say. I beg leave to repeat that I did say that that was the advice which the Government would tender to the Queen. [*Cries of* "What advice?"] To take the course of Prorogation.

Mr. W. E. GLADSTONE: I stated the same thing in answer to the right hon. Gentleman opposite (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach). Before he made the Motion I stated that the proper course would be Prorogation; but that there were certain references which must be made elsewhere—I presumed he must know what that meant—before we could with propriety make an announcement to the House.

The Marquess of HARTINGTON: I think the last two statements made to the House show more than ever that the Motion for the Adjournment was not uncalled for, because I know now for the first time, and, I believe, the great majority of the House now know for the first time, that it is the intention of the Government—the present intention of the Government—to advise, not the Adjournment of the House, but the Prorogation after the second reading of this Bill. That raises a very important question which it seems to me the House would do very well to take a little time to consider before it goes to the second reading. The House is now going to be asked—after the statement of the Prime Minister and the Chancellor of the Exchequer—to do that which I believe it never was asked to do before, and certainly, I may assert, never was asked to do before in the case of a Bill of any miportance. It is going to be asked to give its assent to the second reading of a Bill, which Bill it knows it is not the intention of the Government to prosecute in the present Session of Parliament. Well, now, Sir, the right hon. Gentleman states what he and his Friends believe to be the principles to which hon. Members will commit themselves in voting for the second reading of the Bill. I venture to assert that it is beyond the power of the right hon. Gentleman to define for any hon. Member of this House what he will commit himself to, or will not commit himself to, in voting for the second reading. Every Member of this House will be the best judge for himself. Under ordinary circumstances, in voting for the second reading of the Bill, he knows that he is helping it forward in its main and most important stage. He knows that it is open to him to make such observations and to propose such alterations as he desires to make in Committee, and to vote against the Bill on the third reading. But what he is going to be asked to do now is to vote for the second reading of a Bill which he knows cannot, under any conceivable circumstances, be passed into law. What he will be voting upon, in my opinion, is not upon the principle of any measure, such as that defined by the right hon. Gentleman; but he will vote simply upon the question whether he desires to force the Government to dissolve Parliament or not. I venture to think my right hon. Friend, after all his Parliamentary experience, cannot produce any precedent for asking Parliament to proceed to a second reading of a Bill which is dead. And I must say it is a matter for the consideration of the House whether, when it is asked to continue solemnly to proceed with the discussion on the second reading of a measure such as this, it ought to give some attention to the extraordinary, and, as I believe, unprecedented position in which it is being placed. There is another point which it might be for the convenience of the House to consider for a moment, and endeavour to obtain some information. Nothing, or very little, has been heard about another measure which is before the House. Little has been heard of late about the Irish Land Purchase Bill. My right hon. Friend, in answer to a Question yesterday, referred an hon. Member to several passages in a speech which he delivered on the introduction of that measure.

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR (Liverpool, Scotland): I rise to Order, Mr. Speaker. You are aware, Sir, that the House has been asked to adjourn for the discussion of a definite matter of urgent public importance—the declarations of the Government on the Government of Ireland Bill. I wish to ask, whether the noble Marquess can discuss another measure which is entirely outside of that, and if it is not out of Order?

MR. SPEAKER: Undoubtedly the terms of the Motion handed to me by the right hon. Gentleman (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach) were to discuss a definite matter of urgent public importance—namely, the statement made by Her Majesty's Government with regard to the Government of Ireland Bill. Anything but a mere casual reference to any other Bill would be entirely out of Order.

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: I had not the slightest intention of discussing the Land Purchase Bill. The House will remember that my right hon. Friend in his first speech on the Government of Ireland Bill referred to two questions which, he said, in the view of the Government were inseparable—that is, the Irish Land Bill and the Irish Government measure—and that the only reason why he regretted they could not be dealt with in the same Bill was the enormous mass of material. I think we are entitled to ask whether, in the opinion of the Government, these questions are still inseparable? My right hon. Friend said yesterday that the position arrived at by the Government was simply this—to establish by vote on the second reading the principle of the Government of Ireland Bill; and I want to know whether my right hon. Friend adheres to his intention to ask the House not only to establish by this vote the principle of the Irish Government Bill, but also whether, before he advises the Prorogation, he intends to ask the House to affirm the principle of the Land Bill, which he told us was inseparably connected with this Bill?

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR: I rise to Order, Sir. I wish to ask whether the noble Marquess is in Order in asking, and whether the Prime Minister would be in Order in answering, a question with regard to the intentions of the

Government on the Land Purchase Bill on a Motion for the Adjournment definitely confined to the question of the Government of Ireland Bill?

Mr. SPEAKER: If I had thought the noble Marquess had been out of Order in the course he has hitherto taken I should have interfered and called his attention to the matter.

The Marquess of HARTINGTON: I can assure the hon. Member that I have finished all I have to say. It will be for the consideration of the Prime Minister whether he will take this opportunity, or another which he may think more suitable, of giving information to the House on this subject, and which I am sure he will be anxious to give at the earliest opportunity. I do not think I need trouble the House any longer. My right hon. Friend has stated in the course of his speech that the declaration of the Government upon the Government of Ireland Bill has been found to be sufficiently definite to secure for that Bill the determined opposition not only of hon. Gentlemen opposite, but of a considerable number of hon. Gentlemen who sit on this side of the House. Well, Sir, it is not the declarations of the Government which have been found sufficiently definite, but it has been the Bill itself with which, up to this moment, we have had to deal. What we do question, and what seems to us a very important consideration now, is whether there is really going to be a definite issue raised upon which the House can decide. The Bill is about practically to be withdrawn from the cognizance of the House, and we are going to be asked to vote for the second reading of a Bill which we now know can never proceed to any further stage. The right hon. Gentleman has laid down something which he says will be affirmed by hon. Members who support the second reading of the Bill. But that is where we say the indefiniteness arises; that is what we say is an attempt to substitute in the place of a Bill, which hitherto we have had to deal with, something more indefinite than any abstract Resolution which has ever been brought before the House. I say that the House will be placed in a position of extreme difficulty and extreme embarrassment—and one in which I do not know any Government previous to this occasion has ever placed the House of Commons in—if it is asked to substitute for a definite vote on a definite issue, such as the second reading of a Bill, a vote on a declaration so vague and indefinite as that which is now practically before the House.

Mr. T. P. O.'CONNOR (Liverpool, Scotland): We on these Benches are not at all surprised that any action taken by the Tory Leader in this House in connection with the Government of Ireland Bill should have the hearty support and sympathy of the noble Marquess (the Marquess of Hartington). In fact, the scene we have witnessed tonight will not fail to be productive of instruction. The noble Marquess says the Bill is dead. The action of the noble Marquess and the action of the Leader of the Opposition (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach) is the strongest proof that the Bill is far too much alive for them. Some of us may have had some doubts with regard to the tactical course adopted by the Prime Minister; but any doubt we may have had on a question of tactics must be, to a large extent, removed by the extraordinary ebullition of chagrin and disappointment which has been displayed by the noble Marquess and the Tory Party. We are asked to vote on the second reading of the Bill. The noble Marquess says that this is asking the House to adopt a course which is entirely unprecedented, and he wants to know what we are voting upon. The Prime Minister does not want, as I understand it, to base the second reading of the Bill on any purely tactical or technical purpose. But the House is asked to deal with the question of social order in Ireland, and to deal with it by voting the second reading of the Bill, promising to the people of Ireland self-government in their own affairs; and by voting for the principle of that Bill to send to the people of Ireland a message of peace and of love. The Prime Minister said that the state of social order in Ireland was exactly the same as when the late Government dropped the Coercion Act. With great respect, I venture to differ from the right hon. Gentleman. The state of social order in Ireland is in a much improved condition. The state of feeling is much improved; and, Sir, the state of feeling in England is much improved. I will tell you what the House will do when it votes for the second reading of the Bill;

it will obey the mandate of the democracy of England, speaking through Representatives with a unanimous voice. Did the noble Marquess the Member for Rossendale receive a vote of confidence from his own constituency? Did any of the mutineers against the Prime Minister? [An hon. MEMBER: Yes.] Well, there may have been one or two; but then exceptions prove the rule. Did a single Representative of the masses of the people on that side of the House oppose the Government of Ireland Bill? Did the Labour Representatives, who speak with a special mandate from the toilers of England, rise and say a word of opposition against the Bill? [Mr. ARCH: Not one.] The Labour Representatives in the Liberal Party are unanimous in the support they give to the Bill; and, therefore, I am entitled to say that in voting for the second reading of the Bill the Liberal Representatives of England would obey the mandate of the British democracy, and give to the people of Ireland a message from the masses of the English people of peace and reconciliation between the two nations. That is the question we are going to decide by the second reading of the Bill. We may be prevented from doing so owing to this unholy alliance. The Whigs and the Tories—I will not mention any other—Party, although the House is aware that there is a Party from whom we have, perhaps, a better right to ask for information than from the Prime Minister representing the dominant classes in this country, who are desirous of maintaining the dominion of the dominant classes in Ireland. [Mr. HEALY: The Devonshire estates.] The noble Marquess said that the declaration which came from the Prime Minister and the Chancellor of the Exchequer was a sufficient justification of the Motion for Adjournment. The declaration of the Prime Minister, given in the form of an interruption, was that the Government thought that the better course was to re-introduce the Bill with modifications in the autumn. But the right hon. Gentleman made that declaration before the Adjournment was moved. The right hon. Gentleman was asked by the Leader of the Opposition what course the Government themselves preferred to take; and the Prime Minister, in language as clear as ever was used in this House, declared that of the two courses which most recommended themselves to the judgment of the Government, that of re-introducing the Bill in an Autumn Session was the most satisfactory. Because the Government, therefore, had given an explicit answer, the noble Marquess thinks that the right hon. Gentleman (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach) was justified in moving the Adjournment of the House. The reason for moving the Adjournment was not to get information; the real reason was similar to that of the newly-awakened virtue of the hon. Member for Burnley with regard to Secret Service. It was part of a scheme of persistent, of dishonest, of unscrupulous tactics.

MR. SPEAKER: Order, order! The hon. Gentleman is out of Order in applying the word "dishonest" to an hon. Member. The hon. Member must withdraw that expression "dishonest."

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR: Certainly, Sir; but I think you did not hear what I said. What I did say was not applied to any hon. Member, but applied to the political tactics pursued.

MR. SPEAKER: Dishonest tactics were attributed to an hon. Gentleman of this House, and that is the imputation of an improper motive. It is not a proper thing to accuse any Member of dishonest tactics, and I must call upon the hon. Member to withdraw the expression.

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR: Certainly, Sir; I withdraw the expression without hesitation. I was about to ask what is the object, then, of moving the Adjournment of the House? It was not for the purpose of getting information; all the information had been given before the Adjournment was moved. The real reason was for the purpose of disturbing and distracting the public mind. The right hon. Gentleman had another object in view. He and the noble Marquess feared the re-union of the Liberal Party That is a perfectly intelligible object on the part of the Tory Leader, because a united Liberal Party is not a sight which can be pleasing to the Tory eye. Every Liberal Member, therefore, who joins in such tactics as these means, so far as he can, to prevent the re-union of the Liberal Party, and to prevent it sending a message of peace to Ireland. That has been the course adopted by the noble Marquess and the right hon. Member for East Edinburgh (Mr. Goschen) all through. When I heard these right hon. Gentlemen speaking about the retention of the Irish Members, I thought it was the ardent expression of superabundant faith in the matter. Not at all; the reason why they called so much attention to the question of retaining the Irish Members at Westminster was because they knew that it was one of the few points on which different sections of the Liberal Party disagreed, and because they wanted to widen the chasm between the two sections of the Party in order that they might not become united. The people of England, Scotland, and Ireland outside the House are looking with very eager attention at what this House is doing. If it were only for the purpose of securing social order and peace in Ireland the House would be justified in carrying the second reading of the Bill. But I am sure the Liberal Party mean to do more than this—namely, to give a pledge and guarantee on the great question of leaving a people to select their own form of representative government, and that they are going to bestow on Ireland the right of governing her own affairs on her own soil.

MR. RAIKES (Cambridge University): Though the hon. Member for Liverpool (Mr. T. P. O'Connor) may speak the mind of the Treasury Bench, I doubt whether, upon this question, he speaks the mind of the people of Ireland. There is reason to doubt whether the course proposed to be adopted—that of reading the Bill a second time and then withdrawing it—will be regarded as a message of peace from England to Ireland. I do not know whether that peculiar organ of Irish opinion, *United Ireland*, is to be regarded as a Ministerial organ; but it says that to read the Bill a second time and then withdraw it would be the most undesirable and fatal course which could be adopted, and that it would be better to defeat the Bill in the Lobby. I venture to think that when the hon. Member for Liverpool talks about a divided Liberal Party he should look at home and try to settle his own differences of opinion with the gentlemen who represent *United Ireland*. The Prime Minister has told us that this is a question which ought to have been raised, not upon the second reading, but after the second reading. It has already been pointed out by my noble Friend below me (Lord Randolph Churchill) that it was the Prime Minister who raised this question first—not, indeed, in this House, and that is our principal grievance against him—but he did raise it in a manner which challenged the notice of the House at a meeting—not a public meeting, but at a meeting which is inaccurately described as a Party meeting—a meeting held at the Foreign Office, to which were admitted only Gentlemen who belong to one section of the Party, which was attended only by one-third of the Members of this House, and at which statements were made which it has been sedulously sought to conceal from two-thirds of the Members of the House so far as regards any utterance from the Treasury Bench. I cannot but think that the course taken by my right hon. Friend (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach) in moving the Adjournment of the House has been amply justified by the incidents which have arisen in the course of the debate. The noble Lord opposite succeeded in making plain that which was previously clear only to the inner consciences of Ministers, and not to any Members on this side of the House—namely, what are the intentions of the Government with regard to this measure. We now learn—we have it on the authority of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, reinforced by that of the First Lord of the Treasury—that it is the intention of the Government to withdraw the Bill after it is read a second time, to prorogue Parliament, and to introduce another Bill in the course of the autumn. That is precisely the point as to which we sought information. When the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Gladstone) speaks of reconstruction as applied only to Clause 24, and contrasts that with the reconstruction of the whole measure, he is exactly in the same position as if it had been proposed to withdraw the Franchise Bill and to reconstruct and remodel Clause 3, which was that giving the extension of the franchise. If anybody in a less distinguished position than the Prime Minister put forward the argument he attempted to hold it would be received with universal ridicule. If you reconstruct Clause 24 you transform the Bill. If the House is asked to vote for the Bill in order that it may be withdrawn, it is not even asked to affirm an abstract Resolution;

it is asked to go through an idle form simply and solely intended as an expression of unwillingness to reject a measure introduced by the Leader of the House.

Lord JOHN MANNERS (Leicestershire, E.): As the hon. Member for Liverpool (Mr. T. P. O'Connor) has spoken with extreme confidence as to the meaning of Her Majesty's Government in the answer they gave to my right hon. Friend (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach), I wonder whether there is any understanding between Her Majesty's Government and the hon. Member for Liverpool. I do not know whether there is any subterranean means of communication between him and the Government Bench. I do not know what it is to the hon. Member for Liverpool; but I can safely say this—that to the great body of the House the answer of the Prime Minister is enigmatical and unintelligible to the last degree. It was for that reason that my right hon. Friend proceeded to make the Motion for the Adjournment of the House, and I congratulate him upon the success of that Motion, because, undoubtedly, not to him, but to the noble Marquess who sits behind the Prime Minister (the Marquess of Hartington), two Cabinet Ministers vouchsafed the information which they had, in the first instance, denied to the House. Now, we know what advice Her Majesty's Government intend to offer to Her Majesty on this important subject. We know it now, and we know it for the first time; but when my right hon. Friend was driven to make this Motion in order to extract that information, he naturally availed himself of the opportunity to offer a distinct protest against the general course which the right hon. Gentleman announced to his followers at the Foreign Office. But we shall have, no doubt, on the resumed debate on the second reading an opportunity of expressing our views on that part of the subject. My right hon. Friend having now gained the information which he sought for, there can be no object in continuing the debate on the Motion he has made, and he would not put the House to the trouble of an unnecessary division.

Question put.

The House *divided*:—Ay 1; Noes 405: Majority 404.—(Div. List, No. 110.)

The following is the entry in the Votes:—

Sir Michael Hicks Beach, Member for the Western Division of Bristol, rose in his place, and asked leave to move the Adjournment of the House for the purpose of discussing a definite matter of urgent public importance, viz., the statements of Her Majesty's Government as to the future proceedings on the Government of Ireland Bill; but, the pleasure of the House not having been signified, Mr. Speaker called on those Members who supported that Motion to rise in their places, and, not less than 40 Members having accordingly risen in their places:—

Motion made, and Question put, "That this House do now adjourn:"—(*Sir Michael Hicks-Beach*:)—The House *divided*; Ay 1, Noes 405.

## *ORDERS OF THE DAY.*

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### GOVERNMENT OF IRELAND BILL.—[Bill 181.]

(*Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Secretary Childers, Mr. John Morley, Mr. Attorney General.*)

SECOND READING. [ADJOURNED DEBATE.]

[SEVENTH NIGHT.]

Order read, for resuming Adjourned Debate on Amendment proposed to Question [10th May], "That the Bill be now read a second time."

And which Amendment was, to leave out the word "now," and at the end of the Question to add the words "upon this day six months."—(*The Marquess of Hartington.*)

Question again proposed, "That the word 'now' stand part of the Question."

Debate *resumed*.

Mr. RIGBY (Cambridgeshire, Wisbech) said, that the attitude of the opponents of the Bill was now somewhat singular. For a long time they had nothing except complaints from the Tory Members that the measure was so great in extent, and involved topics so new, that time must be given for the purpose of allowing the House and the public adequately to consider the arguments on one side and the other. In those days a great deal of curiosity was expressed as to the opinion of new Members who had not yet taken part in the debate; but of late much of that curiosity had died away, and now the opponents of the Bill seemed to think that the tide had turned against them, and that they had had enough of the debate. He thought, however, that the time had not yet come for closing the debate, because so many statements hostile to the Bill had been made, and made with a great appearance of authority, that if they were not in some degree met in argument it might be said that no argument could be adduced against them. It was, therefore, with some diffidence, but still in the hope that he might be able to say something that would, at any rate, express the views of those who thought with him, that he had ventured to address the House; but he would promise to confine himself strictly to the legal and Constitutional aspects of the question, because they were connected with the subjects which had been his particular study, and as to which he had been obliged from time to time to formulate opinions, and in some degree to apply them. The points on which he should address his observations referred to such titles as unity of Empire, and supremacy of Parliament. Outside the House the opponents of the Bill had fastened upon those who had supported it epithets which they, no doubt, thought would have some effect upon public opinion. The supporters of the Bill had been called Disruptionists, and non-Unionists. He came forward to say that, as a supporter of the Bill, he was not, at any rate, a Disruptionist, and was no opponent of the Union. On the other hand, he was a firm supporter of the Union, and certainly a firm supporter of the unity of the Empire everywhere. They heard a great deal about a rival Parliament being established in Ireland. The only Constitutional Body in this country that could be called a Parliament was the Parliament of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland. There was but one Parliament throughout Her Majesty's Dominions. A Congress could be constructed by a paper Constitution; Legislative Bodies of different kinds might be made by means of a delegated authority derived from Parliament; but a Parliament such as they knew it in this country could not be created by any paper Constitution, and it did not derive its authority from any superior Body, but by virtue of its own intrinsic power, and it had through centuries absorbed into itself all power and authority in the country, and now stood in a position altogether different from that of any other Legislative Assembly in the world. It was absolutely without control from any other authority without. It was controlled only by the feelings of justice and moderation that actuated the different Members of the different branches of the Legislature. That Parliament was supreme not only throughout the United Kingdom, but throughout all the Colonies and Dependencies of Her Majesty's Dominions; and it was equally supreme in those Colonies which had received a legislative form of Constitution by delegation by Parliament as it was in those Colonies which had not yet received any such Constitution. It would be equally supreme the day after this Bill had passed into an Act, and when the Legislative Body which was to be formed in Dublin was carrying on the functions delegated by Parliament as it was now. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham (Mr. J. Chamberlain) preferred a movement in the direction of federation, somewhat on the lines of the American Constitution. He would not argue now how far that was desirable; but he was certain that if any such measure was to be adopted now or at any future time, those who supported it must cease to speak of being supporters of the Union of the Empire in the sense in which it was now bound together in unity, and, above all things, they must cease to speak of being supporters of the principle of the supremacy of Parliament. Whatever else they did, if they approximated at all to the lines of the American Constitution, if they adopted any form of federation yet devised, they must have the elements out of which a federation was to be formed, and those elements necessarily must be independent States. How they could have federation or anything that had a resemblance to the Constitution of the United States without, in the first instance, dissolving the Empire and sacrificing altogether the supremacy of Parliament he, for one, was unable to say. He did not see why they should not look forward to the development of our Constitution, and at some future day invite Representatives of Her Majesty's Dominions not represented in that House to seats within those walls; but he trusted that when that day came this would be brought about, not by surrendering any of the powers of Parliament, not by altering the nature of Parliament, or by creating anything that might be co-ordinate with or superior to Parliament, but, if need be, by introducing Representatives to Parliament who would succeed to all the traditions of the history of that Body, and who would have all the privileges which Parliament had received through all the centuries of its existence. He entirely concurred in the principles that had been laid down by the right hon. and learned Member for Bury (Sir Henry James), whose great authority upon such a question as this he fully recognized; but he ventured to differ from the right hon. Gentleman as to the application of those principles. The right hon. and learned Gentleman had commenced his speech by quoting a passage from the Prime Minister's speech to the effect that there was no intention on the part of the framers of the Bill to weaken or to impair the supremacy of the British Parliament; and the right hon. and learned Gentleman then went on to read the 3rd section of the Act of Union, which declared that the United Kingdom should be represented by one and the same Parliament, to be called the Parliament of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and said that as long as that Parliament existed so long would the unity of the United Kingdom be an established fact, and that as soon as it was done away with we should no longer have a United Kingdom. The right hon. and learned Gentleman, however, went still further, and contended that the unity of the United Kingdom consisted not in the identity of the law, but in the unity of the manufactory of the law. That, of course, meant that we must have one Parliament to manufacture the laws for both countries. But the Attorney General (Sir Charles Russell) had pointed out with fatal force that such an argument would not hold good for a moment as far as our Colonies were concerned. If our laws must be made in one manufactory, then unity of the Empire no longer existed. But how far did such an argument hold good, even as regarded the United Kingdom itself? In this country we had many manufactories of law other than Parliament. Large manufacturing powers had been conferred upon our municipalities, who were authorized to make laws of great importance for themselves, involving a large amount of taxation. Then, again, the Judges of the land were authorized to legislate upon matters of great importance affecting the administration of justice. These large legislative powers had been conferred upon these numerous subordinate Bodies, because it was believed that such Bodies could legislate better upon the subjects within their jurisdiction than the Imperial Parliament could. But the existence of the powers of such subordinate Bodies was fatal to the right hon. and learned Gentleman's contention as to what constituted the Union of the Empire. In his opinion, true unity consisted in the continued identity of the Imperial Parliament, from which the subordinate Bodies received their powers. The right hon. and learned Gentleman had laid down two conditions as necessary for the supremacy of the Imperial Parliament—the first being that that Parliament should be at full liberty to alter its own Constitution and to remodel and to vary that Constitution; and the second being that it should not be subject to the decisions or the decrees of any man or body of men who should have power to say that it had exceeded its jurisdiction. The right hon. and learned Gentleman had rather shrunk from giving any opinion upon what he termed the refinement of the law as to whether a Parliament, such as the Imperial Parliament would be after this Act was passed, would be able to repeal the Act. But when the Imperial Parliament passed an Act there was no authority within its jurisdiction which could dispute the force of such an Act. The right hon. and learned Gentleman said that whenever the Imperial Parliament thought fit to pass an Act varying the Irish Government Act every Judge in England and Scotland would be bound to take notice of and to obey such varying Act. No doubt they would be bound by such an Act. But the right hon. and learned Gentleman thereupon proceeded to ask what would be the position of a Judge in Ireland who would say that the Imperial Parliament had given the Irish Parliament authority to make laws, and that as they were passing very good laws he should obey them, notwithstanding any laws which the Imperial Parliament might make. The only opinion which the right hon. and learned Gentleman gave in the matter was that the Irish Judge would be right. The Judge of First Instance sat in Ireland, and he must found his judgment upon the Government of Ireland Act, and any other Act or Acts of the Parliament of the United Kingdom which might be supposed in some degree to conflict with it. Those were the only materials before him for his judgment. But suppose the decision of the Irish Judge was questioned, then the matter had to come before the supreme tribunal, the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, composed of Scotch, English, and Irish Judges sitting in England, and they would be bound to obey the Acts of the Imperial Parliament. Therefore, they were brought to this extraordinary conclusion—that two tribunals, having to deal with one and the same question, the one being an inferior tribunal and the other the Court of ultimate appeal —the Judge of First Instance would be right in arriving at a decision which the Court of ultimate appeal would be right in reversing. To arrive at a result so contradictory involved something wrong in the premisses, and that he found to be no other than this—that the Parliament of England had parted with some of its supreme authority to the Irish Parliament, and that from the passing of the Act there were two co-ordinate independent legislative authorities. But they had heard from the Prime Minister when introducing the Bill that the question of an independent Parliament or of a federal arrangement was not to be mentioned; and if there had been any doubt on the point almost the first sentence in the speech of the Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. John Morley), that if the Bill were passed into law it would be within the legal capacity of our Parliament to effect its repeal, would be sufficient to dispel it. He thought the Prime Minister must have introduced the question only to make an eloquent appeal to the Irish Members not to be beguiled by the offer of a Parliament so unlike what a Parliament ought to be. The terms laid before the Irish Members were plain. The Prime Minister said that the paramount object was that the Irish people should be left to manage affairs which were Irish; that in times past some had looked for separation, at least some in the Greater Ireland beyond the seas, but he did not offer them anything of the kind; that he had tried to find out what made the cry for separation possible; that not separation but the closest possible union was required; that he had probed the matter to the bottom, and that he found not separatist tendencies but the demands of the Irish people for local self-government, and that he offered to them freely. We did not disguise that we were keeping over Ireland the same dominion as ever; we only pointed out that the Irish might depend upon it that in ordinary circumstances the independence of the Irish Legislative Body would never be interfered with. The hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for the Inverness Burghs (Mr. Finlay), in a speech which attracted the attention of the House, followed, to some extent, the line of argument of the right hon. and learned Member for Bury. He observed that it was said that, as a matter of strict law, there might still remain a power in Parliament to repeal or alter this Act, even without the attendance of the Irish Members, but that he doubted that very much. The hon. and learned Gentleman was not prepared to express an opinion more confident than the hint of a doubt. The question was, what would be the state of the law after this Act was passed? Parliament would not be called upon to interpret it, unless, perhaps, by a Declaratory Act, though they might be called upon to amend or repeal it if a repeal was forced upon them. The hon. and learned Gentleman was bold enough to say that the omission from this Act of the clause inserted in the Colonial and Indian Acts reserving all the authority of Parliament led him to the irresistible conclusion that the jurisdiction and powers of Parliament had been weakened and infringed. But the fact was that this clause, which might sometimes be inserted, was always understood, and thus this argument of his hon. and learned Friend had no weight whatever. He listened with a very great deal of pleasure and instruction to the speech of the hon. Member for the Romford Division of Essex (Mr. Westlake), who had contended that we should have no authority in Ireland to carry out the wishes of this Parliament. The hon. Member referred to the original Constitution of the United States, under which it was found that there was no provision for the exercise of any power by the Executive authority. Unquestionably, that was the fact in the first Confederation of the 13 States, each State being independent, and the central Federal Body having no means of enforcing its decrees, and being, in fact, as helpless as this country would be if it attempted to carry out its laws in France or Germany. But that could not happen with regard to Ireland, for in that country the authority of this Parliament was indisputable, and would remain so after the passing of this Bill. In Ireland, if an Executive officer were appointed to carry out that part of the government of Ireland which was reserved to the British Parliament—all matters relating to Customs, Excise, commerce, and navigation being reserved to the Imperial authority—when anything of that sort was required to be done, no Treaty with Ireland was requisite, and the British Parliament could empower persons to carry out its decrees. It would be known that there was a reserve of supreme power in the Imperial Parliament, and that would place us in a totally different position from that which was occupied by the first Federal Government of the United States. He should like to explain why he was one of those who were disposed to support the Bill. He had satisfied himself that this Parliament was not governing Ireland at the present time in any satisfactory sense which they could ascribe to the word "government." He did not consider that government to be satisfactory which caused among so large a majority of the people a feeling of discontent and hostility towards the governing power. He had satisfied himself that, unfortunately, the feeling of discontent and the desire for greater independence were not likely to pass away from Ireland. The root of that hostility might be in history and in times long ago; but a great deal of discontent existed in Ireland, and he did not see how they could hope to mitigate or to do away with it. So far from their governing Ireland, he felt that in a most intolerable sense of the word Ireland governed England. They found it impossible to carry out legislation for their own country in the presence of a body of Members united in the disposition that the Irish Members had shown for some time past. For that he did not believe in any panacea. No doubt, by the English and Scotch votes they could easily outvote the Irish Members upon every point; but they would be bound to surrender their freedom of action, and they would not be able to separate from their co-gaolers to take any steps independently of them, and in which they might wish to oppose them. He saw no hope of remedying the present state of things except by advancing boldly with the object of removing all sources of Irish discontent. They might think that Irish grievances were exaggerated, but there could be no doubt that the Irish were sincere in the demands they had put forward; and he thought that they should no longer fight against that sentiment, but do their best to carry it into effect.

MR. E. W. BECKETT (York, N.R., Whitby): Sir, in approaching the consideration of this Bill we are met with a very remarkable phenomenon. Everyone at the outset must ask himself—"How is it that men whose views on all other questions are wide as the poles asunder, on this are in solid and substantial agreement; and how is it that, regarding it from every conceivable point of mental perspective, they arrive at a conclusion absolutely identical, that conclusion being that at any cost this Bill must be rejected?" The answer is plain—because the principle on which this Bill rests is inadmissible, and the Bill itself, which was to have been a monument to the Prime Minister's genius, is unworkable. It sweats difficulties at every paragraph, every provision breeds a dilemma, every clause ends in a *cul de sac*, dangers lurk in every line, mischiefs abound in every sentence, and an air of evil hangs over it all. It is almost unnecessary to argue against this Bill, because it is not recommended by argument. Nor do we know what Bill we are arguing about. In fact, hon. Members are invited to figure for themselves a Bill that will please the fancy, and after agreeing to the second reading of the present measure to imagine that in an Autumn Session a Bill will be brought in which will satisfy all their aspirations. Speeches on behalf of this measure have been delivered in nearly every style of oratory. We have had specimens of the ludicrous, the pathetic, the turgid, the confidential, the denunciatory, the light and airy, the tragic and solemn; but all the hon. Gentlemen who have spoken have not provided between them one argument that holds the field. In fact, Ministerial speakers seldom refer to the Bill. They keep at a distance from it, as if it were a dangerous thing to meddle with. They steal shy glances at it over their shoulder, but never do they fairly grapple with it. The Chancellor of the Exchequer (Sir William Harcourt), in a speech of nearly two hours' duration, did not dare to touch upon the Bill, and he is bold enough when there is no dynamite about. This last new creation of the Prime Minister's brain, this abortive, monstrous leviathan of legislation, is pierced and riddled through with hostile arguments, and wallows helplessly in the mire, rolling about its huge, ungainly bulk in a vain attempt to get upon its legs. But these spasmodic struggles are its last, and before many days are over it will have given up the ghost. Upon another ground it is unnecessary to produce reasons against this Bill. Reasons can only be addressed to reasonable people; they appeal only to the intelligent; and a high authority has confessed that the reasonable and intelligent part of the nation is against this Bill. I am glad that the claims of the Tory Party, so long ignored, are at last acknowledged. We have been designated as the stupid Party; but now it seems we are the intelligent Party, and so magnanimous are we that we rejoice that we can share this honourable title with many of those who have hitherto denied its justice. But does it satisfy those Members on the other side of the House, who consider themselves the salt of the earth, to be numbered with the ignorant and the foolish, the blind and the prejudiced? Surely, Sir, these lights set on a hill, these minor prophets in their own estimation, who call all men to run unto them, cannot be very well pleased to be classed in such a category. It is a strange occurrence, and one significant of the time, when such a man as the Prime Minister says—"Darkness be thou my light; folly be thou my friend and stay; ignorance be thou my guide and counsellor." Most Ministers are satisfied if their measures have to encounter only the regular opposition to which all Ministerial measures are exposed. But such a course would be too tame and unexciting for the Prime Minister, who has accordingly ranged against himself hostile forces of an unusual and formidable character. In the first place, he has to meet himself in arms, he has to argue against himself or confute himself, to explain away himself, and smash, pulverize, and demolish himself in the most thorough-going fashion before he deals with anyone else. I am afraid he will find himself rather an awkward customer to tackle. Having got rid of himself, he has next to cope with the opposition of, at least, a third of those who sit on his own side of the House, and the strength of this third is not to be measured by mere numbers, inasmuch as it contains nearly all the intelligence, honesty, and backbone of the Liberal Party. The Prime Minister and his followers have very much the appearance of a tadpole—the right hon. Gentleman being the head, and they the little insignificant, invertebrate, wriggling tail. The Prime Minister stands alone on this question, for the support of the Home Rule Party can hardly be said to be impartial, and the support of the Home Rulers was not, in Liberal estimation at the last Election, a passport to popular favour. It is, indeed, a sorry spectacle to see those very same politicians who raged so furiously against the Tories for their supposed alliance with the Parnellite Party now rubbing noses with that Party, and marching arm in arm with them to the dismemberment of the Empire. Such a flagrant exhibition of political immorality has not been seen since the ill-omened coalition of North and Fox more than a century ago, and it is quite enough to debauch the people of England for more than a century to come. Consistency will soon cease to be regarded as a virtue at all. The Liberals have been invited by the Prime Minister to sit down to a banquet of their own election speeches and addresses; but their digestive organs not having yet acquired an assimilative capacity of equal strength and vigour with his, some flatly refuse to come, some munch their own words with manifest repugnance, and some gulp them down wholesale, and try to look as if they liked them. The truth is that the bulk of the Liberal Party in this House do not follow their own judgment, their own convictions, or their own inclinations on this question. They are traitors to themselves. They are bound at the chariot wheels of the Prime Minister. Their devotion is magnificent, but it is not patriotism. It is hero worship run mad. Imagine an impossibility. Suppose the Conservatives had introduced this Bill. The whole Liberal Party, with the right hon. Gentleman at the head of them, would have exploded with indignation. The country would have rung with their denunciations. Fierce, fiery orators would have rushed to and fro like comets, scattering behind them a tail of burning words. Platforms would have sprung up like mushrooms; processions, with drums beating and flags flying, would have paraded our streets, monster demonstrations and cheap trips would have been got up at so much a head, and all the machinery of agitation would have been brought into play. And the Liberals would have been in earnest. Their indignation would have been honest, for I believe they dislike Home Rule, and I venture to say that in their heart of hearts they would like to change places with the Conservatives, and would have been infinitely happier if we had brought in this Bill, and it had fallen to their lot to throw it out. It has been laid down that the duty incumbent on any one Minister or Member who brings in a Bill is first of all to prove the existence of an evil, next to suggest a remedy, and, lastly, to prove that his remedy would cure the evil. Of these three things the Prime Minister has only done one—he has suggested a remedy; but for what? What is the precise and particular evil this Bill is designed to cure? We do not know, for neither he nor anyone else has told us. Is it agrarian? Is it political? Is it sentimental? To say chronic discontent is the evil from which Ireland suffers is to substitute the effect for the cause, and as to the cause we are left entirely in the dark; and, without good cause shown, we should be madmen to pass this Bill. The House must be well aware that this measure is dependent entirely upon the influence of the Prime Minister. Its life is bound up with his life. The cause of Home Rule stands or falls with him, and were his support withdrawn it would collapse completely. No Bill at all resembling this would have the slightest chance of being accepted by Parliament or the country if introduced by anyone else. The demand for a separate Legislature would die a natural death, and it could not be revived. The people would marvel by what witchcraft so many of them were induced to take temporary leave of their senses, and would feel proportionate gratitude to those who, in spite of threats and obloquy, had saved them from themselves. Is there any precedent in our Parliamentary history of a measure of this magnitude being passed at the dictation of one man, which, if that man were removed from public life, would be scouted, mocked at, derided, and kicked into the kennel? Is there any justification for passing such a measure? Were all the great measures of the century so passed? Were the removal of Roman Catholic disabilities, the three extensions of the franchise, and the repeal of the Corn Laws so passed? These measures had all taken hold of the heart and mind of the country. The country insisted that they should pass, and if whole Cabinets had gone down into the pit they would still have been passed. But this measure, more important than them all, is imposed on the country as by an Edict from an Eastern despot; and I hope that the presence of a despot has not so far corrupted the free spirit of the people as to lead them to sanction legislation which, in his absence, they would most certainly condemn. This assertion is not mere conjecture. We have sure and certain evidence of its truth. Last December, in a moment of convivial confidence, the hon. Member for Leeds (Mr. H. J. Gladstone) dropped a hint of his father's intentions. The Liberal editor, who was the recipient of his confidence, was so horrified that his bosom could not contain the dread secret. On December 17 it became public property by appearing in the columns of *The Standard.* All will remember the angry incredulity with which the country, and especially the Liberal Party, received the news. Monstrous, impossible, absurd! they cried with one voice, and denounced it as an infamous Tory fabrication, a malicious invention, without a shred or particle of truth. Indeed, so excited did the Party become that the Prime Minister himself wired from Hawarden disavowing all responsibility for the announcement. Thus were troubled consciences set at rest, and the leading Liberal organ declared that the

Prime Minister had repudiated the sinister designs attributed to him. This little history proves that the proposals of the right hon. Gentleman are unacceptable, nay more, hateful to the free, unbiassed mind of the country. The Liberal Party has greatly changed since last December. *Quantum mutatus ab illo!* It has been educated into ignorance. It has bathed in the waters of Lethe, and the oblivious stream seems to have washed away not only all memory, but all manhood, veracity, sensibility, honour, integrity, and courage. There are certain phrases which in this debate do duty for arguments. One of them is "Ireland a Nation." The President of the Local Government Board (Mr. Stansfeld), in particular, expressed his belief in the principle of nationalities. The reappearance of the right hon. Gentleman as a Cabinet Minister is exceedingly interesting; and I am not surprised that the Government should have sought his assistance at such a time as this. The right hon. Gentleman in his youth played with the fire of revolution, and had to resign his Office, because he was implicated with conspirators and assassins, so that there is something peculiarly fitting in his resuming Office just at the moment when the Government are engaged in a conspiracy against the Empire, and in an act of surrender to traitors and rebels. Well, Sir, we believe in the principle of nationalities, so long as it is not adopted indiscriminately. But before you create the Irish or any other nation you must be sure that it can stand alone. Of its ability to do so there is only one test. Has it credit in the markets of the world? Can it, from time to time, raise loans as may be required to meet the extraordinary needs of Government, either for purposes of public improvements, of internal development, or national relief? Would Ireland command this credit and power? Even the bare prospect of Home Rule has depressed Irish securities 50 per cent. The realization would probably knock them down to zero. Without borrowing power, an Irish Government could do nothing to improve the condition of the Irish people, and in certain contingencies their condition would be infinitely worse than it is now. In the event of another famine, for instance, their situation would be desperate indeed. The Irish Government could not help them, so unless relief came from England—England, hated and maligned, but always ready to assist with her wealth her poorer sister in the day of trouble—they would starve by thousands. This would be only one of the happy results of "Ireland a Nation." Another cry is "Justice to Ireland. That parrot cry was raised in this House on the first reading by the hon. Member for North-West Norfolk (Mr. Arch), and I suppose in the forthcoming campaign it will be used again to supply pumped-out politicians with perorations. The hon. Member said that if he went round England and asked every labourer whether he wanted "Justice to Ireland," 90 per cent would say "Yes." Of course they would; but everything depends on how you put a question. If you were to go round England and ask every labourer whether he wanted civil war in Ireland, 90 per cent would say "No." Ten per cent would perhaps say "Yes," as they might be of opinion that a good civil war, in which one half of the Irish nation did their best to exterminate the other half, would be the readiest and quickest way of settling the Irish Question. I would ask the hon. Member if he has ever seen a representation of Justice? I will not refer him to the classics, for though the idea is taken from the ancients, the figure is familiar in modern prints. Justice is always drawn as a tall and stately female, with a pair of scales in one hand and a sword in the other. Hon. Members too often forget the sword. They would substitute for it the gilded bladder tied to a gilded stick which mock Kings carry in pantomimes. Yet the sword is essentially necessary to a true conception of justice. By all means hold the scales level and mete out equal measure to all, showing fear and favour to none; but always remember that without the sword justice is impossible, as the unruly passions of men, unless held in check by a salutary awe, will disturb the true balance and throw it out of gear. Those Gentlemen who call out for justice to Ireland must either get another cry or alter fundamentally their false and shallow conception of justice. Another cry is that Ireland must be governed according to Irish ideas. What are Irish ideas of government? Have they ever been defined? Do they exist at all except as a phrase? Are we sure that government, according to Irish ideas, is not misgovernment according to English ideas? The ideas that lie at the root of a good government are pretty well understood all the world over, and at least as well understood here in England as anywhere else. We have served a long apprenticeship, and should know our trade by this time. We wish to establish in Ireland peace and happiness, truth and justice, religion and piety, as much as in England, or in any other country throughout Her Majesty's wide Dominions. But is it pretended, or can it be maintained for a moment, that the principles by which these blessings are to be secured have their dwelling-place in Irish ideas alone? Is there in these ideas a subtle magic—a potent alchemy—that enables them to overcome and transform the essential vulgar characteristics of human nature? Can they make a silk purse out of a sow's ear? If so, how is it that in the speeches of the Irish Leaders this *elixir vitæ* has never been detected? If Irish ideas do not clothe themselves in Irish brogue, where are we to look for them? These speeches have run along the whole political gamut, and not a note do they strike, except in this House, that leads us to believe that government by Irish ideas means nothing else than the plunder of therich by the poor, and the oppression of the weak by the strong. Sir, Ireland is now governed according to Irish ideas; and what do we see? Liberty of speech, liberty of action, liberty of conscience, sore beset and hindered, and almost ceasing to struggle for existence. We see the whole nation, all but the brave North, in the grasp of an iron tyranny that threatens to crush out all healthy life. We have seen that tyranny imposed upon the people by a series of barbaric crimes and brutal outrages, that have excited horror and indignation throughout the civilized world. As a natural result of all this, we see capital leaving the country, business at a standstill, enterprize dead, poverty and wretchedness alone flourishing, a spirit of suspicion and malevolence abroad throughout the land, and a fearful looking forward to the things that are to come; every sign, in fact, that Ireland is in a disturbed, distressed, unwholesome condition. This, Sir, is government according to the law inaugurated by the Land League, and continued, upheld, and strengthened by the National League. The men who have established this illegal system, and who, though not absolutely perpetrators of the execrable deeds by which it is maintained, cannot certainly be acquitted of moral responsibility for them, now demand that we should pass a sponge over the past, and that we should set the seal and sanction of Parliament to an instrument which would be a justification of all their proceedings, and would hand over an integral and important part of the United Kingdom, and with it the lives and properties of thousands of Her Majesty's most loyal subjects, to the government of those who have for years striven to render all good government impossible. We are invited to make the wolf the guardian of the fold. The antecedents of the Parnellites should make it impossible for us to grant their demands; and I maintain that by placing Ireland under the authority of these men we should put a premium upon conspiracy and crime, and should enthrone not a Constitutional Government, but a secret society. We should establish not the rule of a Parliament, but the rule of a despot. The Prime Minister is very strong on this point. On May 24, 1882, speaking of the hon. Member for East Mayo (Mr. Dillon), he said—

> "He comes here as the apostle of a creed which is a creed of force, which is a creed of oppression, which is a creed of the destruction of all liberty, and of the erection of a despotism against it, and on its ruins different from every other despotism only in this—that it is more absolutely detached from all law, from all tradition, and from all restraint."—(3 *Hansard*, [269] 1553-4.)

Now, Sir, the hon. Member has not changed his creed. The only change since the day on which those words were spoken is in the number of Apostles who profess that creed. In the last Parliament there were 34; in this there are 86; but the creed remains the same; and, apparently, the only reason why the Prime Minister has become an advocate of this creed of force, oppression, and despotism, is that its Apostles have increased from 34 to 86. This opens out a very serious speculation. At what precise number does oppression become liberty — does despotism become mild and Constitutional government? What is the exact figure at which demands which wore a harsh and forbidding aspect assume such a gracious and beneficent air that we are no longer to repel them sternly, but to embrace them gladly? What numeral has the magic power of transforming things to their contraries—of turning into white what was black, and of making wrong become right? I have only dabbled in moral philosophy, but have never yet come across a system of ethics which was founded on an arithmetical progression. Sir, I deny that the 86 Nationalists who sit in this House are in any true sense Representatives of Ireland. If we look at the numbers alone, they only represent 4,823 more than half the electors of Ireland. Then, Sir, votes should be weighed as well as counted. The South and West—the source and seat of disorder, disaffection, grievance, poverty, and crime—voted for the Nationalists; but the hardy and industrious North—where the trade and commerce and wealth and intelligence of Ireland congregate—is bitterly opposed to the Parnellite programme. Of those who supported it, how many did so from a conscientious conviction, or with any real knowledge of what they were doing? I believe that the number of illiterate voters amounted to one-fourth, and that they voted, almost without exception, for the Nationalists, for to them the Ballot was no protection, and they knew an adverse vote would have exposed them to the terrible vengeance of the National League. The voters in Ireland were acted upon at the last Election by two of the most powerful influences that can control human nature—greed and fear; greed for the property of others, fear for the consequences to themselves. Bribes and threats were dealt out in equal measure. Even religion lent her hand to the agitators. As an inducement they were promised the possession of the land; as a deterrent they were threatened with "Boycotting" in this world and damnation in the next. Can anyone who knows the character of the Irish peasantry be surprised that they voted for the Nationalists, or can anyone so blind himself to notorious facts as to entertain the belief that such a vote was an honest expression of a national conviction? There is no doubt that the Nationalist Party in this House were returned in the main by the Irish peasantry. What is the character of the Irish peasantry? Here is a picture of it drawn by the hon. Member for East Mayo on May 11, 1882, in a speech delivered in this House—

> "I know something of the Irish nature and I I know something of Irish crime. . . . Who is there that understands, or pretends to understand, the peasantry of Ireland who will say here, without stating a falsehood, that crime and outrage has not the sympathy of the Irish peasantry? I state that because I know it to be a fact."—(3 *Hansard*, [269] 488.)

I congratulate hon. Gentlemen on those Benches on the character of their constituents. I think I have said enough to show that the Nationalists are in no true sense Representatives of Ireland, or if they are they represent what is worst in Ireland and ought to be suppressed, not what is best and ought to be encouraged. On behalf of the idle and vicious they come here, not on behalf of the industrious and respectable. They have usurped the name of the Irish nation; but the true Ireland has not spoken, and cannot speak, while she is in the hands of Thugs. The Prime Minister has taken those who make the loudest noise at their own estimation. He has regarded a foul, malignant, and traitorous organization as the mouthpiece of Ireland. Because we refuse to grant Home Rule we are told that we are the enemies of Ireland. The Irish Leaders are the worst enemies of Ireland. They exaggerate every petty grievance such as must exist in every country, in every age, under every Government, into wrongs of the first magnitude, in order that they may win a bubble reputation and fill their own pockets. They fan the embers of discontent that are always smouldering in the Irish character into a glowing flame of passion; they fill the ears of an excitable and credulous people with tales of English cruelty and oppression, mostly false, in order to arouse a passionate and undying hatred to English rule, English order, English law, English manners, and English religion. They never cease to teach and to preach hatred to England; they exalt it into a moral obligation; they draw the minds of the Irish away from their peaceful avocations and daily toil in order to plunge them in the turmoil of politics. They intoxicate their senses with the alcohol of agitation. You say we know nothing of the Irish. What do the Irish know of us? You take care that they do not know the truth, or your occupation would be gone. The idea the ordinary Irishman has of England is so monstrous as to be absurd. To say that she figures as a vampire sucking the life blood of Ireland—as a Minotaur that not yearly, but daily, demands its victims—is but a poor and faint representation of the character in which England appears to many Irishmen. For this distorted, extravagant conception the Nationalist speakers are responsible. Has a single man on those Benches ever tried to do anything but excite ill-will between England and Ireland? Has he ever endeavoured to point out the many advantages that she undoubtedly owes to her connection with us? Has he ever dwelt upon the honourable position which Ireland occupies in being associated in the government of the greatest Empire the world has ever seen. Has he ever told his fellow-countrymen that the great achievements which adorn English history are as much theirs as ours? Has he ever informed them that they are heirs of our glory and partners in our Possessions? If they have declaimed in favour of England a tenth as much as they have declared against her, the Irish Question would be dead and buried for evermore, and Ireland would be a peaceful, happy, and prosperous country. Are we, then, to repeal the Union, to set up a separate Parliament, with all its attendant and contingent embarrassment, at the bidding of a lawless organization? I cannot believe that Parliament or the nation will be guilty of an act of such fathomless folly. The principles of good government, by which alone a nation can thrive, are neither English or Irish. They are peculiar to no age or nation. They existed before the world, and will remain after the world has ceased to be. Those principles are of Divine origin and nature, and we can never apply them in the fulness of their perfection. I fully admit that so far in our dealings with Ireland they have often been overlaid by ignorance, by corruption, by selfishness, by prejudice, by ambition, by Party passion; and we reap to-day as we have sown throughout the centuries the mistakes which have been made by both nations. We recognize ours, and repent of them, and intend to avoid them in the future. Can the Irish say as much? It is not too late to retrieve our errors. We stand, as the Prime Minister said, at the parting of two ways. Do not let us choose the broad and easy way that leads to destruction, but rather the straight and narrow way which, if consistently pursued with patience and firmness, will, in the end, regenerate Ireland and bind her fast to England in the strong ties of reciprocal interest, and perhaps at last in the silken cords of affection under one Throne, one law, and one Parliament.

MR. ATHERLEY-JONES (Durham, N.W.) said, he had come to the conclusion, after carefully listening to the debate, that no Bill had been exposed to more varied and more merciless criticism than that now before the House. It would be impossible to deny that, to a very large extent, this criticism had been successful. Even he, an advanced Liberal, could not deny that it was with feelings of somewhat mixed satisfaction that he viewed some of the provisions of the measure; but he believed he was expressing the opinion of those who sat on the same side of the House when he said the Bill was not to be regarded from the point in view of its details, but in its general scope, and that as such it fulfilled the aspirations of the Liberal Party. It was because they were not to deal with the measure on a merely abstract idea, or as endeavouring to find a Constitution for two Islands placed in juxtaposition, but because they were dealing with a question of great complexity, and after a bitter experience of eight centuries, that they were convinced it was the only one which would justly satisfy the desires and aspirations of the Irish people. He asked if the Bill had been criticized fairly? They had heard speeches from the opponents of the Bill, prophesying every calamity, vice, and folly to those who would have the administration of this measure in Ireland. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for the Border Burghs (Mr. Trevelyan) had raised a number of chimeras in order to terrify the House from giving a cordial reception to the measure; and if the people of Ireland were all lunatics and also criminals, he could not have prophesied more absurd and nefarious acts as being likely to be committed by them. The noble Lord the Member for Paddington (Lord Randolph Churchill) had met the Bill with what sounded very like incitement to armed hostility to the Forces of the Crown. He should like to deal briefly with the principal arguhad referred to. What was there to prevent some combination being made with the Irish Members who came over to vote in that House whereby the Church in England should be disestablished, while as a *quid pro quo* they would have to be granted some change in the Constitution given by this Bill by which hon. Members below the Gangway might establish another Church in Ireland? They would be able to enact a measure by which England should have dearer beer in order that Ireland might have cheaper whisky. They were told that the Irish Members were only to sit in that House for special purposes; but the Prime Minister himself had said that it was impossible to separate local and Imperial affairs. Let them take, for instance, the case of a debate on the Budget. Would Irish Members be allowed to vote upon an Amendment to the Budget? Undoubtedly hon. Members below the Gangway would be affected by some Resolution as to the Expenditure upon the Army and Navy and the Services. The Rules of Procedure, again, would affect them, even if they were only admitted once a year. The consequence would be that on a measure of that character the Irish Members would have the fate of the Ministry in their hands; and if that was the case there was an end to all finality in this measure, because everything would become a matter of bargaining with the Irish Members. Apart from that, something else had been overlooked—namely, the enormous voting power which Irishmen possessed in this country. If the Irish Members wanted some concession in the way of an alteration in the Constitution which was now to be imposed upon them, they would be able to traffic with the promise of the Irish vote in this country at the next Election. He did not believe that Ireland would be satisfied by the grant of a separate Legislature of the sort which was now contemplated. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for the Border Burghs (Mr. Trevelyan) had told them that there was no half-way house between government by the Imperial Parliament at St. Stephen's and complete independence; and, in his opinion, anyone who attempted to build a half-way house would find that he was building it on sand, and that the fall of that house would be great, and would be accompanied by bloodshed and by disaster to this Empire. He knew that many hon. Members opposite believed that this would be a final measure, and that Irishmen would be satisfied by it; but he would ask which Party in that House was most likely to be right upon this point—those who relied on the sayings and speeches of hon. Members below the Gangway, or those who relied upon the assurances, with many reservations and many qualifications, and upon the promises yet unperformed of the hon. Member for Cork? They had the authority on their side of hon. and right hon. Gentlemen on the Treasury Bench. [Mr. GLADSTONE dissented.] From the Prime Minister's speech at Aberdeen, he would have said that the right hon. Gentleman, at that time at all events, was not in favour of granting a separate Legislature to Ireland. The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. J. Morley) was the only Minister on the Front Bench who had been consistent. But even he had taunted the Conservative Party with advocating a policy of "soft words and hard cash." He would describe the Chief Secretary's policy not as one of "soft words and hard cash," but of soft words and promissory notes, drawn upon other people's property. The Bill, he contended, did not contain the elements of finality. Hon. Members would be reminded of the promises they had made in the past, and would be called upon to fulfil them. The national sentiment in Ireland might be described as not "Three acres and a cow," but "Three acres and a pig." What had they seen in recent years in Ireland? They had seen men like John Mitchel returned to that House. [An Irish MEMBER: He was a noble Ulster man, but he is dead.] Well, he should not refer further to John Mitchel, as he had learned that he had gone to the "bourne from which no traveller returned;" but could they forget that not so long ago Tipperary returned O'Donovan Rossa as Member of Parliament for that county; and he would ask the House to consider what was to prevent him being elected to the Irish Parliament? Was that an argument for handing over power to these men? He could not wonder that the loyal Irishmen in Ulster were aroused and angry. And he should not be surprised if they submitted themselves to many pains and penalties rather than allow themselves and their property to be placed under the control of men of such an infamous character.

Mr. WILLIAM O'BRIEN: If you refer to Mitchel, he was one of the noblest Irishmen that ever lived.

Mr. SPEAKER: Order!

Mr. FISHER said, he did not know whether the hon. Member for South Tyrone would apply that to O'Donovan Rossa.

Mr. WILLIAM O'BRIEN: O'Donovan Rossa is now what you made him. Whatever he was before, he is now what you have made him by your tortures, while he was in your prisons.

Mr. FISHER said, that if O'Donovan Rossa was the noblest character——

Mr. WILLIAM O'BRIEN: I never said so. I said John Mitchel was one of the noblest characters Ireland has produced.

Mr. FISHER said, he was extremely glad they had done some good in Ireland. He saw nothing in the Bill to prevent Rossa being Prime Minister of Ireland, and the hon. Member for South Tyrone Speaker of the Irish House of Commons. References had been made to the Conservative policy as one of coercion. He denied that it was so. Coercion was only employed to meet exceptional crime. When he went before his constituents at the General Election, he stated to them that he was prepared to grant a large measure of local self-government to Ireland. He did not woo the Irish voters in his constituency by saying that he would vote for the establishment of a separate Legislature in Dublin. He denied the statement of the hon. Member for North-West Durham (Mr. Atherley-Jones) that this question had been settled at the last Election. His opponent for the constituency which he represented (Mr. George Russell) was a Member of the late Liberal Administration, and in his Election address that gentleman stated that—

> "In the interests alike of England and of Ireland, he should oppose the legislative separation of the two countries."

He was under the impression that that gentleman was at that time in the secrets of the Prime Minister; but, at all events, he denied that the question was before the constituencies at the General Election. He maintained that it was not fair on the part of hon. Gentlemen opposite to say that coercion was the only alternative which the Conservative Party had to offer. He invited Irishmen still to take some part in the preservation of our great Empire, in the building up of which they had borne a glorious and a conspicuous share—an Empire which administered just and merciful laws, and which never could be maintained in all the fulness of its vigour as the chief factor in the civilization of the world unless it was preserved under one Queen and one Parliament.

Sir THOMAS ACLAND (Somerset, Wellington) said, that he addressed the House not from any desire to make personal explanations, or to vindicate the course which he intended to take with respect to this measure. He did not presume to speak for other hon. Members on his own side of the House; but if the difficulties which he had felt were felt by others, and which he himself had overcome, could be any proof of the sincerity of his convictions, he wished to put his views shortly before the House. Much as he admired the frank and high spirit of the noble Marquess the Member for Rossendale (the Marquess of Hartington), he could not sympathize with him, or believe that he was justified in the remark which he had made as to the Prime Minister bringing this question forward as a surprise on the country. Knowing as he did from personal friendship, and not from any public or official connection, the frank way in which the Prime Minister expressed his own feelings to those with whom he came in contact, he should, indeed, be surprised if some of the most bitter opponents of the right hon. Gentleman at this moment would get up in the House and say, before they went to their constituents at the Election, that they were not aware of the tendency of his views. What did the right hon. Gentleman himself say at the Election? It would be remembered that on certain burning questions a red flag was hoisted at Birmingham, which was followed by the hoisting of a blue flag at Hatfield. The Prime Minister, however, did not appeal to the electors on any burning question. He called upon them to apply themselves sincerely and earnestly to the primary duties of a deliberative Assembly, and the right hon. Gentleman warned the constituencies and the candidates that if order was to be maintained in Ireland it was necessary to have a strong Liberal Government. So far as he was personally concerned, he certainly spoke on no exciting topic to his constituents. He impressed on them the important fact that three of the greatest Liberal measures passed by Parliament had been passed when the Liberals were put out of Office and their Successors came in. So, in like manner, when the question of Ireland came most prominently to the front it was necessary to have a Liberal Government and not a Conservative Government in power for the purpose of maintaining order in that country. He wished, however, to avoid all Party imputations; but he could not refrain from observing that in the course of the discussion a great deal of vague language and many vague catchwords had been employed—as, for example, "the Empire," "Imperial interests," and "Repeal of the Union,"—mixed up with a great many vague sentimental appeals to nationality. He could not bring himself to vote for an abstract Resolution in favour of autonomy in Ireland; he wished to have something in definite and clear language which lawyers might interpret afterwards. He believed that if there was one thing for which the country was anxious it was a united Empire maintained by the supremacy of an Imperial Parliament. The Bill proposed to constitute for Ireland a legislative authority, an executive authority, and a judicial authority. On these points he wished to see not legal theories but practical propositions. The right hon. Member for Halifax (Mr. Stansfeld) spoke clearly about the supremacy of this Parliament; but he was not strictly accurate in what he said. The right hon. Gentleman spoke of the Bill as defining the delegation of a limited portion of the legislative power of this Parliament to the new Body; but the Bill rather defined the power it did not delegate. As the matter stood it was possible that in the future great differences of opinion might arise. The new Body was to be intrusted with matters of Irish concern; but what were they? They involved the protection of life and property, and generally the maintenance of social order, including liberty of contract and the payment of debt. Making allowance for all restrictions, the Legislative Body would be practically independent. It would, for all practical purposes, have legislative independence; and, according to the Attorney General, there would remain in this Imperial Parliament a great reserve of power which was not intended to be used except in some great emergency. The responsibility of this Parliament for the happiness of Irishmen would be in abeyance. Irishmen in Ireland would be absolutely dependent on the sense of responsibility to which he hoped the granting of power might train the Members of the Irish Parliament. Many of the Irish Members of this Parliament were rising to this sense of responsibility; but still we could not forget the vindictive spirit in which some of them had spoken of Earl Spencer and of the Prime Minister, and the opinions of the 85 Members could not be accepted as the last word from the whole of Ireland. Their position might be strong, constitutionally, and many might by Parliamentary service have earned claims to personal respect; but still, before displacing the Executive of Ireland, creating a new system under the control of a Legislative Body, and surrendering the power of the Imperial Parliament, he must look at what was going on in Ireland, and particularly at the "Boycotting" which so largely affected tradesmen, and appeared to be countenanced by high ecclesiastical authority. He should feel more comfortable if he could see Irish Members effectively using their influence to put a stop to this system. What was the remedy proposed? That the Imperial Parliament should abdicate its whole responsibility, and trust to a sense of responsibility arising suddenly as soon as absolute powers over Irish affairs was transferred to an Irish Legislature. He wished to trust the Irish people, and he believed that they might, as a whole, be trusted if their passions were not aroused and their self-interest was not appealed to by those who misled them. But he had to look at that as a practical question of government, and he said that if a measure could not be carried at once for establishing social order in Ireland, he earnestly hoped that Englishmen and Scotchmen might appeal to their Irish fellow-countrymen to show themselves worthy of the trust which we wished to place in them. With regard to the veto—although Mr. Dicey, whose authority had been quoted, had told them very plainly in an article which appeared three months ago, that the Colonial system of veto was utterly inapplicable to the case of England and Ireland, still, for himself, he believed that the Government had framed that Bill with an honest intention that the veto should be a reality; and from what he had heard yesterday, he understood that it would undoubtedly be in the power of Parliament to call the Ministers of the Crown to account if they neglected their duty in Ireland. He felt quite sure that it was not by a union of Parties, or something in the nature of coercion, that we could look forward to the restoration of order in Ireland; but it was to a growing good feeling between the toilers of Great Britain and Ireland that we were to look for a good understanding between the two countries. With regard to alternatives, he admired the noble Marquess the Member for Rossendale as a true-hearted Liberal and a fine manly specimen of the English aristocracy; but it seemed to him that the noble Marquess offered them nothing but a simple negative to the carefully-prepared plan of a responsible Government, and he neither indicated any alternative nor even his willingness to undertake the responsibility. Then as to those who aspired to head the Radical Party, he did not understand their policy, nor did he presume to fathom their purposes. For himself, he came to the conclusion that he could not refuse to join in sending a message of sympathy to the Irish people as a whole. He wished to believe and to trust their Representatives. He could not trust the Nationalist Members as a Party, because they had surrendered their freedom of deliberative action; but he thought he might safely rely on some indications of a gradually growing sense of responsibility, and a changed tone of feeling towards this country. He believed, also, that among the English and a large proportion of the Scotch people there was a disposition to meet the Irish in a responsive spirit. He was convinced that a mere recasting of the machinery of local government was quite unsuited to the emergency, and he thought that more good was to be expected from a collective representation of all interests meeting at Dublin and speaking, not in unison, but in that harmony which might result from variety. The Ulster men were sometimes more Irish than other Irishmen; and he did not believe that in their hearts they were so much afraid of what was coming as was sometimes supposed. He was, therefore, in favour of the 1st clause of the Bill. The words of the 2nd clause were wide reaching, but they must be taken with the restrictions and exceptions and with the prerogative of the Crown. He was prepared to face the problem as inevitable of establishing a *bonâ fide* Legislative Body in Ireland; but he hoped that the Government would pause before they gave it control over the Judges, and he certainly was not prepared to make it independent of the supremacy of the Imperial Parliament. Reserving in every sense the abiding and continued responsibility of Parliament to promote the happiness of Ireland, he believed that a Legislative Assembly in Dublin was, under all the circumstances, expedient, provided that the extent of its powers was not prejudged. The people of both countries were, in his opinion, anxious to come together and to work in harmony, and he hoped that these debates would result in the promotion of the welfare and the happiness of the people and the maintenance of the honour of the Empire.

SIR THOMAS ESMONDE (Dublin Co., S.): Sir, I do not think that the Representative of an Irish constituency can rise to join in this debate without feeling that it is the most momentous discussion in which the Irish Members have taken part since their entrance into this House. Looking back beyond the present century, through the vicissitudes which have marked the connection of England and Ireland, I do not believe that, at any period of that connection, a more fateful issue has been raised between the two nations than that which confronts us to-night. Hon. Members on opposite sides of the House will doubtless form widely different estimates of the policy which Her Majesty's Government is pursuing; but no section of the House will deny that the problem which the Government seeks to solve is of vital import not alone to Ireland, but to the Empire. An opportunity has arisen, under circumstances which I will venture to describe as especially favourable, for the healing of a long-standing feud between the two peoples. In Ireland, it has at length been possible to frame, in a Constitutional manner, the demand of the country for what it considers its rights, and to give a practically unanimous expression to that demand. It has, furthermore, been possible to bring the Irish people to the temper of mind in which they are willing to forget and forgive the wrongs that have been done them—in which they are willing to enter into cordial union with the present generation of Englishmen, leaving the unfortunate past to history and historians. It has been possible to inspire them again with confidence in Parliamentary methods, and to induce them to look to this House for a redress of their grievances. They are waiting, in silent expectation, for the answer of Parliament to the demand they have addressed to it; and I believe it is only the foes of England, or her very shortsighted friends, who could wish them to be disappointed. In England, too, a temper of mind seems to prevail which is favourable to the solution of the Irish difficulty. Among a large section of the English people, the bigoted hatred and irritating contempt of the Irish nation, to which we were so long accustomed, have given place to a better understanding of our claims, and a more generous sympathy with our necessities. There are, too, among responsible English statesmen, some at least who are enlightened enough, and patriotic enough, to seek in their solution of it not the mere triumph of a Party, not the mere gratification of personal ambition or personal spleen, but only the welfare of the peoples whose destinies they are set to control. To such men, and to the unprejudiced Englishmen whom they represent, our claim to self-government must be easily intelligible. Addressed to them by any other people under the sun, it would at once command their sympathy and ensure their support. We base our claims on our natural rights to enjoy the privileges, as we possess the character, of a free nation. We are a people geographically distinct from the English. We have a national spirit of our own. We have our own historical traditions. We have our own peculiar wants, and, in great part, we profess a different religion. This character of a distinct nationality we have ever upheld, as the incidents of a somewhat unfortunate history bear witness. We are now, as we have ever been, fully conscious of our right to national autonomy; and as we have striven to enforce that right in the past, so shall we strive to enforce it now. In asserting that we are a people distinct from the English, I must not be understood to mean that we are by nature antagonistic to England, nor even that we are necessarily opposed to her by tradition. It does not follow that because a man is not English, or of English blood, that he is therefore the enemy of England. We were not born Englishmen, and we will not die Englishmen; but that is no reason why through life we may not co-operate with Englishmen for a common political purpose. In many parts of the world men who are not English by race are nevertheless staunch friends of England. In many portions of the habitable globe men, alien by birth, are politically connected with England, and are fervent supporters of the English connection. There is, therefore, no firm reason why we cannot be at peace with England without being forced to become Englishmen. I wish to insist strongly upon this point—that it may be understood that, in putting forward this claim, in no sense do we meditate an attack upon Great Britain, and in no way do we wish to make our just demands a menace to her greatness. Being, therefore, a people apart, and forming a distinct, though not a separate, nationality, we assert our claim to the privilege of a people, and insist upon our right of national self-government. The claim thus put forward determines at once our attitude regarding all proposals of local self-government. We cannot consent to accept minor measures of parish administration by Elective Boards as a compromise of our demands for a National Legislature. Being a people, we claim a people's right—the government of our nation by our nation. We claim to manage for ourselves in National Council the national concerns which affect us and us only. We can accept nothing less than this. We have a duty to our country's ancient name and to the undying aspirations of our race, and we should fail in our obligations to both if we demanded less. I trust hon. Gentlemen will so far understand our demand as to perceive that no arrangement of County Boards or Provincial Councils will in any way meet it. I trust, too, that we shall not again be asked to explain why Ireland cannot submit to be governed in the same way as the Municipailty of London, or the county of Middlesex. It may seem, perhaps, to hon. Members that this aspiration is but a striving after a romantic idea. To that we reply that the ideas which govern men are factors of political life with which practical statesmen must deal. The history of mankind proves that ideas have had much to do in shaping the destinies of nations. I might add that ideas of this kind, when entertained by other nationalities, have found ample sympathy and encouragement from English statesmen, and that, thus fostered, they have not unfrequently revealed themselves as forces of vast power in the history of the modern world. Let English statesmen then realize, once for all, this plain truth—that the Irish people are determined at all cost to be a free people. We do not object to form a portion of the Empire; but we protest that we must be a free portion of it, requiring that we shall be recognized as a nation within the Empire. We demand that we be permitted to enjoy within the Empire the legislative and administrative independence which befits a free people. We cannot consent to have our laws made by an Assembly which is the Representative Body of another people, which does not live with our political life, which is not vitally concerned in our national prosperity, and which therefore cannot legislate in our name. Allowing such an Assembly to be actuated by a desire to accord us the fullest and most ample justice, the fact of its being virtually a foreign Assembly would still make its legislation a yoke, and at best a well-meant oppression. Again, we cannot submit to have our Administration placed in the hands of strangers, who are ignorant of the condition of our people, who are unable to sympathize with their feelings and aspirations, and whose government in consequence does not represent the national will. Granting that they were animated by the most honourable motives, the fact of their being strangers makes their interference in our domestic concerns a grievance, to which force alone will oblige us to submit. So long as the Senate in which our laws are made shows a majority of five to one against the Representatives of our people, so long will this grievance subsist; and, furthermore, so long as the control of the Irish Administration rests with a Parliament so constituted, so long must we hold with the distinguished Member for West Birmingham (Mr. J. Chamberlain) that the Government of Ireland is an alien bureaucracy. I would again beg the House to understand that when I say "strangers," I do not mean enemies. I would convey that our laws are made and administered by men of different race, of different nationality, with but very imperfect opportunities of becoming acquainted with our circumstances and our wants, and whose political education has not fitted them to sympathize with either. You may still govern the ryots of India through English gentlemen appointed by the authorities at home; but in Ireland the point has been reached in political education, and I trust in political power, when this system is no longer feasible. The time I hope has arrived when the Rulers of Ireland shall be appointed by the will of the Irish people and not by a Government which comes and goes by the will of the people of England. Giving credit to Englishmen, Scotchmen, and Welshmen, for a sincere desire to rule Ireland aright, we still hold that they ought not to rule her because they are not of her people, and we emphatically decline to submit to their government. Is there anything preposterous in that? I appeal to the fairness and common sense of this House, and of the English people —Would the people of England consent to have their laws made by a Legislature sitting in Washington or Sydney, were those cities within four hours' sail of London? Would they submit to have their Administration placed in the hands of the American or Australian nominees of such an Assembly? We know full well their national spirit would revolt against such an arrangement. Why, then, should the Irish people acquiesce in a state of things under which their laws are framed by a Senate established in London, and the administration of their affairs is placed in the hands of individuals appointed by such a Parliament? But, Sir, the legislative independence of Ireland is not merely an idea—independence is something more than a mere ornament of a people's life—it vitally concerns the material interests of the nation, and affects profoundly its general welfare.

I do not know if the history of the human race furnishes one example of a country which has prospered without being free. If it does so, I have not heard of the example, nor read of it. It will, I think, be found that an alien domination, established in the midst of a people, has ever formed a centre from which deadly influences radiated to blight and blast the national prosperity and paralyze the national life. That, I believe, has been the rule in other nations. It certainly has been the rule in Ireland. The era of our Parliamentary independence was the one era of prosperity amongst us. With the destruction of our Independent Legislature began a period of decay which, continuing without interruption, has eventuated in the condition in which we find ourselves now. During the years immediately preceding the Union Ireland was a thriving nation. She possessed a widespread and ever-increasing trade. The ferment of industrial life was active throughout the country, the bustle of commercial enterprize enlivened the streets of our towns; numerous native manufactures afforded occupation to our people, and swelled the sum of the nation's resources. The City of Dublin, which was then worthy of the name and dignity of the Metropolis of Ireland, was among the most brilliant and most wealthy of the European capitals. Sir, the statements of Lord Clare and of Lord Plunket as to the pre-Union prosperity of Ireland have been given to the House during the course of this debate. I shall now ask the attention of hon. Members to some other statements to the same effect—statements of the traders and bankers of Dublin in 1798 and 1799—and that Parliament, be it remembered, was representative only of a section of the nation—it represented the Protestants of Ireland only. Yet under the rule of that Assembly, thus imperfectly constituted, the progress of Ireland was rapid beyond example—so rapid, that jealousy has been assigned as the motive which prompted English Ministers to destroy the liberties to which that prosperity was attributed. I will not dwell upon the means to which Ministers stooped to effect their disastrous purposes. I believe there is not now an instructed Englishman who does not look with shame upon the devices by which the Legislative Union was effected. I believe that there are few amongst those who advocate the continuance of the Union who, if it had to be effected again, would not shrink from participation in the loathsome horrors by which it was accomplished. Hon. Members, who are strangers to the methods of government that have hitherto obtained in Ireland, may think this language exaggerated. Were they natives of an Irish county, through which the ancient Britons and their mercenary German allies had been encouraged to carry ruin and dishonour and death, and where every glen has been the scene of some fiendish outrage, perpetrated by public authority on a defenceless peasantry; had they spoken with men who were eye-witnesses of the ghastly imfamies done in the name of the British Government to force a wretched people into rebellion, they would not esteem any language of indignation and abhorrence too strong for the crimes denounced. But I do not wish to keep the attention of the House fixed further on these melancholy events. I trust we are about to enter on an era of good feeling between the people of the two countries, in which the remembrance of these wrongs may be suffered to die out. What I am concerned to bring under the notice of the House is the circumstance that the Union has been disastrous to that prosperity in which, under a free Parliament, Ireland had advanced so rapidly. I shall be brief in my reference to the significant statistics which prove the dismal truth —statistics as to Irish manufactures. It appears, then, that the commercial and manufacturing prosperity of Ireland did not long survive the Legislature to which it owed its existence—a period of gradual decline began with the advent of the foreign Government which has lasted to our own day, and which has now reached its lowest point, because there is nothing left for it to destroy. An attempt was made some time since, in an Address presented to the new Viceroy by the Dublin Chamber of Commerce, to prove, from the Returns for the Port of Dublin, that the trade of Ireland had increased during the past 80 years. The tonnage of the vessels that entered and leave the port is much greater than it was at the beginning of the century—therefore, argued these discerning merchants, the prosperity of Ireland has increased. The Returns of the Port of Dublin seem to furnish the most melancholy evidence of the decadence of Ireland that could well be offered us. It will be found, on examination of these Returns, that the bulk of the imports to Ireland come in the form of manufactured goods, and that the exports are mainly agricultural products. The fact that, since 1800, Ireland has been driven to buy more largely manufactured articles, and to pay for them in agricultural produce, is proof that her own industries have died out. Instead of utilizing her agricultural produce in maintaining a native manufacturing population, and exporting only as much of her surplus produce as would pay for the raw material, she has now to export as much as pays not only for the raw material, but for the labour which, 80 years ago, was supplied by a thriving population at home. The barristers and half-pay officers who form the Dublin Chamber of Commerce can hardly be regarded as authorities upon matters commercial; but their fallacies are worthy of notice, since they have been taken as a test by more thoughtful men. The one industry which, since the unfortunate Act of Union, has thriven in Ireland—apart from landlordism — is that of cattle raising. But that increase is no indication of national prosperity — it is rather the reverse. It indicates that a large part of the population has been exterminated to make way for cattle; that a readier means has been found of paying foreign countries for the commodities that were before manufactured at home, and a simpler method introduced of raising the yearly revenue which the people of Ireland have had to furnish to the 1,500 absentee landlords, who claim an exorbitant rent for some 4,500,000 Irish acres, of which they assert themselves owners. I will not weary the House by quoting further statistics in proof of the melancholy effects of the Legislative Union on Irish industries and Irish trade. I could wish that hon. Members who have no experience of our country could pay a visit to Dublin or any other of the Irish towns that, 80 years ago, were thriving centres of commercial and industrial life. It would do more to convince them than volumes of statistics. They should see the ruin which is gradually settling down upon those towns, the half-empty streets, the lines of noble houses crumbling into decay, the squalor and misery which are invading the quarters in which wealth and rank had their home; and I venture to predict that, after an experience of this kind, they will not be deeply impressed by the figures of the Dublin Chamber of Commerce. But the loss of our industries and our commerce is not the only material disaster which we owe to the Legislative Union. We had a right to expect that the new Legislature, which usurped the functions of our own, would give attention to the one industry which was left to us, only because we could not be deprived of the soil of our own country. Shut out from other fields of labour, the Irish nation was forced to give itself almost entirely to the cultivation of the soil. Agricultural industry being almost the sole source on which the nation had to depend, it might have been expected that the Imperial Legislature would have regulated the condition of that industry so as to secure the cultivators against the evils of an extravagant competition for land; yet, for 80 years, the Imperial Legislature looked calmly on, till the evils, which grew out of the misery of the nation, reached the point at which they were endurable no longer; and, even then, it took an agitation which convulsed the country from end to end, and a supreme effort on the part of England's greatest statesman as well, to secure some measure of justice for the Irish farmers. The want of all legislative protection to the Irish tenant farmer against the exactions of a grasping landlordism must stand as a condemnation of that Government which arrogated to itself the guardianship of the rights of the Irish people. In less than a century, the landlords of Ireland, as a class, took advantage of the competition for land, occasioned by the practical extinction of other industries, to increase their levies on the labour of the poor beyond all reason; but Government did not interfere to assert the plain principles of economical justice in favour of the oppressed. From 1782 to 1874, the Irish rental of the Marquess of Bath rose from £28,000 a-year to £78,189; that of the Earl of Devonshire, from £18,000 to £34,326; that of the Earl of Caledon, from £1,000 to £19,754; that of the Marquess of Conyngham, from £9,000 a-year to £32,644; that of Lord Bantry, from £800 a-year to £14,561; and so on through a melancholy list; and when, at last, the Imperial Legislature was brought, under the pressure of what looked like a social revolution, to take cognizance of this gigantic evil, the Court which it established proclaimed the grievous neglect of the Government by proceeding to cut down the landlords' rentals by from one-fith to one-quarter, and as its courage grew and its experience increased, by one-third, one-half, and even a higher fraction. If the proceedings of that Court are but the assertion of the principles of strict economical justice, what are we to say of the system of government which delayed 80 years to establish it—which waited until the country was on the verge of ruin before initiating remedial legislation? The further evils which government by the Imperial Legislature has brought upon Ireland have, of late years at least, become familiar to the ears of the Members of this House. Our educational system neglected, or, if not neglected, constructed in direct antagonism to the wishes of the nation, the law administered by partizan Judges and by ascendancy magistrates; the public offices in the gift of men who were most frequently at open war with the country, and filled by strangers whom they thought most likely to serve their purposes—a system of Administration in no way amenable to the public opinion of the nation, and supported in every unpopular act by the public opinion and the Press of another people. Famine at stated times; the Constitution suspended periodically; and, finally, the usual outcome of tyrannical government, chronic disaffection, and at due intervals spasmodic rebellion. I do not make these assertions in any contentious spirit. The Irish Question has now reached a phase in which the Representatives of Ireland may dispense with long arguments. The political Parties in this House are, I venture to believe, in accord as to what is due to Ireland in justice. The difference between them is a difference as to how much of justice shall be conceded. Concession is inevitable, and, let me add, the concession of the full measure of our rightful claims is inevitable. There is much talk about the choice between coercion and justice. I do not believe that the advocates of coercion put the least faith in it themselves; and I make bold to assert that, from coercion, England has much more to fear than we have. We have reached a depth of political misfortune in which we have nothing to lose but the modicum of individual and public liberty which we are permitted to enjoy during the periods when the Constitution is not suspended by Act of Parliament. Commercial prosperity we have not, and it is difficult to imagine a worse condition of our agricultural industries than that in which we find ourselves at this moment. What, then, have we to lose by coercion? The additional Army that coercion would quarter on us would be but a trifling addition to the evils we have to wince under already. But what has England to fear from coercion? I have no hesitation in asserting that the statesman who, at this moment, would enter into a course of repressive legislation towards Ireland would deserve the reprobation of every man who values the dignity and the stability of this Empire. A people that have suffered, as few peoples have suffered, are willing to forget their injuries, and to join the people of England in maintaining a common Empire. They are willing to lend to the support of the Imperial power the strength of a people whose day is only beginning; they are joined in their friendly advances by the millions of their race scattered over the face of the globe, and the sympathy of every nation in which freedom is a sacred thing with them in their endeavour. Sir, I do not envy the man who can look with a light heart on the results that must follow if their advances are rejected. They have expressed their demands in the form and through the channels prescribed by your Constitution. They have unanimously asked from you the privilege you have accorded to many other peoples within the Empire. If you refuse them, you will have to deal with an insulted and maddened nation, familiar with the methods of political organization, united at home, and supported by their kinsmen in Britain and in every region under the sun; and you will have this hostile opinion at home and abroad impregnably strengthened and irresistibly justified, by the fact that the Prime Minister of England has proclaimed their demands to be just, and declared it your duty to satisfy them. United in the demand for mere justice, supported by the public opinion of the civilized world and by the enthusiastic sympathy of their own kinsmen, vindicated in their determination by the Prime Minister of England and by the most enlightened as well as the most patriotic of England's sons, they cannot be defeated. A cause that can command such resources must succeed, were the opposition against it ten times what it is. The certainty of our success is the best guarantee that we will never relax our endeavours. I trust it will be a motive to the hon. Gentleman who are opposed to us to relax somewhat of their opposition. They may be able to delay justice, or to minimize the measure of justice accorded to us; but a triumph of that kind would be a national disaster. It would not prevent us reaching the end we seek, but would leave us without friendly feeling towards those who had hindered us. If it is important that the relations of Ireland to England should henceforth be those of cordial friendliness, those who seek to make ungracious the concessions which must ultimately come, are doing scant service to both countries. It has been the misfortune of English remedial legislation for Ireland that every concession has always come too grudgingly to command our gratitude. I trust that mistake will not be committed now; and that all who are concerned for the welfare of both nations will concur to make this last concession a basis of genuine concord between them for all time to come. We have been asked for guarantees of loyalty to the Empire. The best guarantee in our case is that of self-interest. Make it worth while for us to be loyal, and we will be so. Make the Irish people a recognized member of the Imperial system, and they will be faithful. Permit us to share in the Imperial prosperity, and we will defend the Empire of which we are a part; and we will sacrifice, if needs be, our properties and our lives to uphold its greatness and enhance its glory. And count also upon our gratitude. We are willing to take the great Leader of this House and his Colleagues as the exponents of the wishes and feelings of the people of England towards us and towards the people for whom we now speak; we are disposed to be grateful. We know they have done a just deed; and on account of the generosity they have shown, we are willing to forget the littleness and the bigotry which have opposed them. As to the insulting predictions that we should plunder the property of our fellow-subjects if power were placed in our hands, if we are able to govern at all we must be able to govern with justice, and we shall have as much interest in making the minority contented in Ireland as the British Government could have in protecting it. I pass by the foolish appeal to the prejudices of the British traders, which represent us as excluding British manufactures from our markets. The common sense of the ordinary British trader will convince him that, in a prosperous and thriving Ireland, he is likely to have a better market for his wares than in the empty towns and ruined villages of Ireland in her present state. These pretended difficulties are not worthy of the consideration of thoughtful men. Hon. Members, in discussing this question, should look to higher issues. They should, I think, be swayed chiefly by motives dictated by justice between nations, and by the honest desire to undo a great national wrong and alleviate a great national misery. On behalf of the people of Ireland, we now ask for justice from the people of England. We appeal to them to cast aside unworthy prejudices, and to accord us generously the rights we claim. If they will concede to us the privilege of self-government, if they will grant us our rightful share in the Imperial dignity, we will contribute to the support of the common Empire with the enthusiastic zeal and unconstrained devotion of a free and grateful people.

SIR RICHARD WEBSTER (Isle of Wight): I am sure that everyone who has heard the hon. Baronet must feel that, from his point of view, he has made a moderate speech, and one which shows that he has the interest he speaks to very close to his heart; but I feel that we must not, at the present time, blind our eyes to the fact that the Irish Members in the House have an object in view which they surely conceal, and that their speeches are not made for the purpose of showing what their real feelings are. Those, on the other hand, who venture to oppose this measure have got their responsibilities to regard towards their country, and their duty to regard towards Ireland as well as towards England. The right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister made an appeal yesterday to some section of the followers of his Party, and pointed out to them the responsibility that rests upon each one of them. Does the right hon. Gentleman suppose that the opponents of the measure do not feel the responsibility of their position? Does he think that we are careless or indifferent to the duties we owe to the country and the House? I trust that the Prime Minister, and those right hon. Gentlemen who have assisted him, will pardon me if, in expressing my views in opposition to this measure, I may, perhaps, do so in somewhat stronger language than they may think befitting in their much greater experience. I am sure the right hon. Gentleman will admit that I have the right, to the best of my ability, to present my views to the House. I cannot help noticing that the position of the House, and certainly the position of hon. Members who feel it their duty to oppose this measure, is most peculiar, for we have not got to deal with the speeches of the right hon. Gentleman and his Colleagues delivered from the Bench opposite, but we have got to deal with an exposition of policy made at a meeting at which none of us were present. That puts hon. Members who desire to deal thoroughly with the measure in a position of the greatest difficulty, because it will be open to the right hon. Gentleman to say, if by any chance we have not understood correctly his speech as reported in the newspapers—"You have not appreciated what the position was, and what I meant when I made that statement." The hon. Baronet opposite gave a large number of reasons for voting against this Bill, yet, strangely enough, at the end of his speech expressed his intention of voting for it. The hon. Baronet said he could not vote for an abstract Resolution; but what is the House called upon to do at the present time but to vote on an abstract Resolution? [*Cries of* "No!"] I do not ask hon. Gentlemen below the Gangway to assent to my view; but, at the same time, I do ask them to hear the reasons why I suggest to the House that this Bill is no better than an abstract Resolution. There have been some who have spoken in this House who say that they are only prepared to vote for this measure when they see it as a complete scheme; and the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister, in a speech of unexampled eloquence and of the greatest possible detail, has described the grounds which make the measure, in his opinion, complete. What is our position now? We have at length elicited that there is no intention on the part of Her Majesty's Government that this Bill shall ever reach the Committee stage at all. Not only is it that the second reading is to be a mere farce—a mere matter of form—but we are told that this Bill is not again to be presented to the House; but some other Bill is to be proposed that is to embody, as far as we can judge, the measure that the right hon. Gentleman introduced. Sir, if that is not the position, why is it that the right hon. Gentleman, addressing first those present at the meeting, and now, to-night, the House of Commons, has told us that the measure is not to be proceeded with beyond the second reading? The right hon. Gentleman must forgive me for expressing my feelings—they are the feelings of conviction—when I say that I think the Members of the Liberal Party were put in a most humiliating position yesterday. It was conceded to them by the right hon. Gentleman that they might have very good reason for opposing the second reading of the Bill in its present form. It was conceded to them that they might very likely feel that they could not support the second reading of the Bill in its present form; but what were they invited to do? They were invited to vote for the second reading while retaining their liberty to vote against the third reading; and yet, in the very next sentence, they were told that they never would have an opportunity of voting on the third reading. This seems to me an extraordinary thing. Here are these Gentlemen who will go down to posterity as having been at that meeting. Are they, I ask, when their conduct is referred to, to get up, or is someone to get up for them, and say—"It is true we do appear as having supported the Bill; but we only voted for the second reading, on the distinct understanding that we shall have an opportunity of voting against it on the third reading, if the matters of which we complain are not set right in it?" I do not pretend to put this—or even to suggest to the right hon. Gentlemen that I have a right to put this—as a matter of Parliamentary experience. I admit that I may be making a mistake, for I have only been able, in years gone by, to read from outside what has been said and done in this House; but this I will say, that, as a matter of principle, I can see no difference whatever between the course proposed by the right hon. Gentleman, and voting for an abstract Resolution, which is repudiated by the right hon. Gentleman. I think the House ought now to have some statement from hon. Members below the Gangway on this side as to whether they do, or do not, approve of the proposed course. I can well understand a certain view being adopted by them. I can well understand the Representatives from Ireland saying —"We are only too glad to take this measure, because it is a step in the direction in which we seek to go;" without openly saying in this House—"It is a platform on which we can stand, in order to make further demands." We can understand that they, with perfect honesty, are entitled to accept what is given to them, and that then, in years to come, they or their successors may ask for more; but I do think, if it is to be understood by the House that those hon. Gentleman are really satisfied not only with this measure, but also with the course adopted by Her Majesty's Government, they ought to say so. I do not think it is fair to the House—it is scarcely fair to Her Majesty's Government, and it is certainly not fair to the opponents of the Bill—that it should be assumed without a statement on their part that they will be satisfied with the course that has been taken. One cannot help being struck by what one reads in some of the Irish organs in regard to this matter. Of course, hon. Gentlemen below the Gangway may say I have no right to refer to this paper, when they have heard what I am going to read; but I find this passage in a paper which is, I believe, not unconnected with some of the hon. Members below the Gangway—

> "The proposal to withdraw the Bill, either before or after the second reading, is absolutely out of the question. It would be a defeat more disastrous than could, by any possibility, be sustained in the Lobbies."

Does the hon. Baronet below the Gangway agree to that? If that is the position, the hon. Members below the Gangway, instead of supporting the proposal, ought to let the House know what is their opinion of the proposed second reading. The same organ goes on to state—

> "The proposal to strike out the clause excluding the Irish Members from the Westminster Parliament is no less inadmissible. It will be a gratuitous admission by the Government that they are wrong in the main point of their Irish policy, and that they dare not take the judgment of Parliament on that particular proposal."

What I say is, that if this does express the views of a section of those who are represented by the Irish Members, I think that in candour the latter ought to let the House know what their opinion is of the conduct of Her Majesty's Government in offering to withdraw the Bill after the second reading in order to save a defeat which is otherwise inevitable. I will now pass to so much as has been left of the measure, and to the speech of the right hon. Gentleman, which I read with a great deal of attention, in *The Times* of this morning. I apologize to the right hon. Gentleman if I am misrepresenting his views. I have only brought to bear on the matter such explanation as I could, putting the two things together; but I must say I have less difficulty in speaking against the second reading to-night, because if the right hon. Gentleman is true to the statement he has made—if he does not change again as he has changed so many times in the course of these discussions—["No, no!"] Well, I must be allowed to express my own opinion. I will submit to criticism. I have never shirked it, at any rate, in this House. I cannot reconcile the various statements of the right hon. Gentleman, even in the course of the debate on this Bill, without coming to the conclusion that he has changed his opinions. I therefore say that if the right hon. Gentleman does remain true to the exposition of policy given at the Foreign Office on Thursday, the principal blots and objections and vices of this measure will still continue in it, or in the Bill that is to be introduced, and the measure brought in on these lines would be open to the Constitutional objections that have been raised by more than one hon. Member in this House to the measure as it at present stands. A great deal of the debate during the last few nights has turned upon the speeches of the right hon. and learned Member for Bury (Sir Henry James) and the hon. and learned Member for Inverness (Mr. Finlay), and I do not wonder at it. I do not wonder that the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Mr. Bryce), the President of the Local Government Board (Mr. Stansfeld), and the hon. Member for the Wisbech Division of Cambridgeshire (Mr. Rigby) should, in their turn, have attempted to answer those speeches. It is, at any rate, my duty to say what my view, and what our view on this side of the House, is upon this question; and I do not hesitate to say—not as a matter of doubt, not as a matter of opinion which I am afraid to quote, not as a matter of statement which I desire to withdraw—that if this Bill passes in its present shape, or if an amended measure is brought in in the shape indicated in the Prime Minister's speech, the authority and supremacy of the Imperial Parliament will be seriously impaired. Sir, this, at any rate, is clear—and I am not going to deal with it from any special-pleading point of view, I am going to test what the right hon. Gentleman called "the root and substance of the matter"—this is clear, from the speech of the right hon. Gentleman, and from the clauses which exist in the Bill, that certain matters are intended to be put within the exclusive domain of a Legislative Body in Ireland, and that these matters, upon the face of the Bill, are to be excepted from the supremacy and from the domain of this House of Commons. The hon. Member for Wisbech, speaking to-night, said that it would be right to postpone all consideration of the clauses of the Bill until the Committee stage—a very safe observation to make, because it is a stage which will never be reached. But I protest against the doctrine that in discussing the fundamental parts of the measure we ought not to regard the provisions of the clauses as presented to the House for the purpose of second reading. These clauses were referred to by the right hon. Gentleman who spoke yesterday; and I say again that Clause 37 provides in so many terms that that which is left to the Irish Legislative Body is no longer within the power of this British House of Commons. I am perfectly willing to read the language; but the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary cannot plead ignorance of the language to which I refer—

> "Save as herein expressly provided, all matters in relation to which it is not competent for the Irish Legislative Body to make or repeal laws shall remain and be within the exclusive authority of the Imperial Parliament save as aforesaid, whose power and authority in relation thereto shall in no wise be diminished or restrained by anything herein contained."

I will not deal with this by blinking the subject. I will point out a reason why, if the Bill were to pass, the supremacy of Parliament would be seriously impaired; but I will for a moment adopt the language of the right hon. Gentleman and say that if, after the passing of this measure, which purports to give not merely municipal government, but an Irish Legislature, which purports to give to that Irish Legislature the power of making every law, and the power of altering every law, except in so far as is excepted by Clause 3 and Clause 4, and which only reserves to this House of Commons—the Imperial Parliament as it will then be—those matters which are not handed over to the Irish Legislature—if, I say, after the passing of this measure, this House were to pass a Bill respecting one of those matters that are assigned, it would be guilty of a gross breach of faith, and will do that which will be far more than a breach of some technical rule of law. I listened with the greatest interest to the speech of the hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General. He knows how I respect his opinion. He knows how I should look for guidance from him in such a matter, and I was astonished to hear that, though he quoted the speeches of the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for Bury (Sir Henry James) and the hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for Inverness (Mr. Finlay), beyond saying that their arguments were futile, he never ventured by argument to point out in what respect they had erred. It does not make an argument bad to call it a futile one. Though the hon. and learned Gentleman's speech was eloquent and moving on general topics, I think the House was entitled to have some exposition from him—something more than the statement that the arguments to which I refer were futile. He ought to have dealt with such a matter as this very much more in detail. I am not going to weary the House with technical matters. I want it to remember that there is one part of this Bill that seems to be lost sight of by all the lawyers who have attempted to advocate the Bill. The Attorney General talked of the 30 Legislative Bodies in the British Empire. Does he forget—I am sure he does not—but does the House forget that not one of the countries, districts, or peoples who have a separate Legislative Body ever had representation in the Imperial Parliament? It is, I say, one thing by a grant of the Crown, or a grant of Parliament, or, it may be, by some other Constitutional means, to give certain limited powers of legislation, reserving — as always has been hitherto reserved in express terms —the power of the Imperial Parliament; but it is quite another thing where you take a section of the House—a section entitled to the same rights as we have, a section who now form an integral part of the Imperial Parliament—and say—"We will cut you adrift; we will place you in another country, and give you separate legislative rights." I do not hesitate to say that, looked at from a practical point of view, looked at from the point of view of making a Parliamentary contract with these Gentlemen who have the right to represent Ireland, it is an entirely different thing to say—"Leave this House, and leave it on the terms that you shall have the sole right of legislating in Ireland in respect of Irish affairs," and to say to some Colony, who has never had representation—"We give you the right of autonomy, subject to the express power reserved to the British Parliament of legislating, if they think fit, and of your being bound to obey their laws." I think I may make an appeal to the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister to deal with this point when he addresses the House. He will do me the justice of saying that I am not treating it in the least degree in a technical manner. I think we are entitled to say, having regard to the precedents of the India Act and the Colonial Laws Act, and having regard to the admission made by the Attorney General, that this Bill was framed on the lines of those Acts, the omission of clauses analogous to those expressly reserving to the Imperial Parliament the right of legislating for the Colonies—the omission of a clause enabling the Imperial Parliament to legislate on Irish matters—was in itself significant. But I say, further, that the Prime Minister made no question about it. When he introduced this Bill he made it perfectly clear that he did not intend that this English Parliament should legislate in respect of Irish affairs as distinct from Imperial affairs. What was his language? He said that there could not be a Domestic Legislature in Ireland dealing with Irish affairs and Irish Representatives sitting in Parliament to take part in English and Scotch Business. It is perfectly clear that if Ireland is to have a Domestic Legislature Irish Peers and Irish Representatives cannot come here to control Irish Business. I appeal to the House whether the meaning of this was not that, as Irishmen are to have exclusive rights in regard to Irish affairs, therefore they have no right to come and interfere with English and Scotch affairs? If the right hon. Gentleman meant that there should be a practical power of legislation in this House with regard to Irish affairs, I will do him the justice to say he would have said so, and would not have allowed the House to remain under the false impression it did. If this Bill passes into law with the clause in it giving the Irish Legislature the exclusive right to deal with Irish affairs, and reserving to the English Parliament no right to deal with Irish affairs, and if, at the same time, the clause stands which declares that the Bill can only be repealed and altered in the presence of the Irish Members, all that I can say is that it would be practically impossible and against the terms of the Bill for the Imperial Parliament to pass an Act of Parliament dealing with Irish affairs without repealing this Bill. It may be possible that such a breach of faith may be committed by the British House of Commons; but, if it were possible, it would be so gross a breach of faith that I cannot conceive that it is a matter which ought to come within the range of practical politics. Now, let us for a moment consider one or two other matters in respect of which the power of the Imperial Parliament is seriously impaired. It has astonished me that it occurred to no one—at any rate, on the Government side—to point out the extraordinary nature of the veto given to the Privy Council by the 25th section. [Mr. W. E. GLADSTONE dissented to the use of the word "veto."] I beg the right hon. Gentleman's pardon. Perhaps I have used a wrong expression. I think he will see in a moment what I mean—that the Privy Council have the right of deciding finally whether or not an Act of Parliament passed by the Irish Legislature is, or is not, beyond the scope of that Legislature to pass. I used the word "veto." Unfortunately, I am not the master of language the right hon. Gentleman is; but I am quite willing to make my meaning clear. I was about to refer to what was said by the President of the Local Government Board (Mr. Stansfeld), and certainly the most extraordinary proposition was laid down by him in connection with this matter, and one which I was also sorry to hear somewhat confirmed by the hon. Gentleman the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Mr. Bryce). They said that this idea of submitting these matters to the tribunal of the Privy Council was taken from the well-known precedent—to use the expression of the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Local Government Board—of the Supreme Court of the United States. Well, I wonder whether the right hon. Gentleman was in the House when the hon. Member for Wisbech (Mr. Rigby) spoke to-night when he referred, perfectly correctly, to the constitution of the Supreme Court of the United States, to what its functions are, and to the functions proposed to be given to the Privy Council. I assert—and I invite the criticism of every right hon. and hon. Gentleman on the other side of the House—that there is no real analogy between the function of the Supreme Court of the United States, which is in itself entirely unique, and the function which it is proposed shall be exercised by the Privy Council. But if the functions of the Privy Council are as the right hon. Gentleman assumed, then the power of the Imperial Parliament is most seriously impaired. It was pointed out by the hon. Member for Wisbech, that by the Constitution of the United States the Legislatures of the different States have equal rights, and if by any chance any Act passed by those States should be contrary to the terms of the Constitution, the function of the Supreme Court is to set it aside. There is nothing at all analogous to that in the British Constitution. [Mr. Bryce here interposed with some words of dissent.] I can assure the hon. Gentleman the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs that I have not the smallest objection to being corrected. Perhaps he did not hear the speech of the hon. Member for Wisbech. The hon. Member stated the fact with perfect correctness. He said that the right of the Supreme Court of the United States is to control the State Legislatures within the terms of the Constitution. [Mr. Bryce: To interpret the Constitution.] What is the distinction for this purpose between interpretation and control? ["Oh, oh!"] The hon. Member is trifling with terms, for if an Act of one Legislature in the Union is passed, and it is contrary to the Constitution of the United States, the Supreme Court interprets it as being invalid and beyond its power, and that, I maintain, may be interpretation, but it is also control. I can give chapter and verse of instances in which the legislation of one of the federated States has been held to be *ultra vires* by the Supreme Court of the United States; but there is nothing analogous to this in the British Constitution. The nearest approach is that, in regard to Colonial legislation, the Privy Council has certain powers in the matter of the Royal Assent being given; but I need not tell the House, because it has been admitted by many right hon. Gentlemen, that the Imperial Parliament can pass an Act overruling the decision of the Privy Council in any such matter. Will the House bear with me whilst I point out what the provisions of this Bill are? By the provisions of this Bill in regard to this matter, if the Irish Legislature passes an Act beyond the scope of its authority, under Clauses 3 and 4, this would be submitted to the Privy Council, whose decision would be final. But if the supremacy of Parliament is to be left unimpaired, the power of deciding whether the Irish Parliament has exceeded its authority should, of course, rest with the Imperial Parliament. What, then, becomes of the finality of the Privy Council's decision, if it is not intended to override the power of this House? No doubt, the immense ingenuity of those who are advocating this Bill will be brought to bear upon this matter, and that we shall be told that there is some different view to be taken. But where is it in the Bill? You find it stated in the measure that the judgment of the Privy

Council is to be final, and, under the circumstances I have pointed out, the exercise of that judgment would be a complete infraction of the supremacy of Parliament, unless it is understood that the authority of the Privy Council is never to be put in force. When it is sought to justify this part of the measure by an appeal to the existence of the Supreme Court of the United States, all I can say is that the Supreme Court of the United States has nothing in common with the Privy Council, for there is no tribunal here which can control the Imperial Parliament or interpret its Statutes in the same way that the Supreme Court of the United States can interpret the Acts which have been passed by the federated States. Now, there is one other matter upon which the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for Bury (Sir Henry James) has been entirely and completely misunderstood. I forget whether it was the Attorney General or the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, or both, who referred to it, but they have said there is no possibility of a judicial conflict. I should like just for a moment to put to the House what the true position of matters is. The Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs has said it will be competent for this House to pass an Act of Parliament respecting Irish matters the day after this Bill is passed. Well, if that be so, it is contrary to the provisions to which I have referred relating to the jurisdiction, both of this House and of the Irish Legislature, with respect to Irish matters. But assume that this Parliament did pass Acts in direct contradiction to some of those passed by the Irish Parliament. Now, what would be the position of an Irish Judge who had brought before him an Act of the British House of Parliament—I speak, of course, of the House of Parliament sitting at Westminster when the Irish Members are not here? Suppose an Act of this kind dealing with Irish affairs, laying down a different law to the Acts passed by the Irish Legislature, came before an Irish Judge, what would be his position? I say that, adopting the principle of Constitutional Law that has been recognized by every lawyer who has spoken in this debate, no Court of Law would venture to question the right of Parliament to legislate in any case—I say that, adopting that principle, it would be incumbent upon the Irish Judge to follow the law of the Irish Parliament. ["No, no!"] I am perfectly willing, as I have said more than once, to submit to criticism; but it is only fair to listen to my arguments. The Judge would have before him an Act of Parliament passed by an Irish Legislature—an Act which would have received the Royal Assent. He would have before him this Act—the Magna Charta of the Irish people, according to the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister—whereby, on the face of it, there was left to the English Parliament, as I have already urged, no right of dealing with the matters which were committed to the Irish Legislature. In following the Statute passed by the Irish Parliament, this Judge would have the encouragement of the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minster, who has told us that the laws passed for Ireland by this Parliament, even when the Irish Members are here, are foreign laws. If they are foreign laws whilst the Irish Members are here, how much more will they be foreign laws in every way when the Irish Members are absent? I do not hesitate to say that if we are to place the Irish Judges, who would owe no allegiance to the British House of Commons, in conflict with the English Parliament, it would be the duty of the Irish Judges to obey the Irish Parliament. They would be removable by the vote, or rather the Address, of the Irish Legislature, and if, as I say, a conflict arose, they would naturally obey the Acts of the Irish Parliament. It may be said—"It is all very fine to make these statements, but in such criticisms as these hon. Members who oppose the Bill seem to assume that the Irish people are either criminals or lunatics." I was sorry to hear language of that kind used by the Attorney General. Has anyone ever heard from these Benches any insinuation that the Irish people are criminals or lunatics? One may have thought them misled and misguided, and to be under influences which are not for the best, and which have for their result that the true opinion of the nation is not elicited at the elections; but, at any rate, we have never attributed to the Irish nation the suggestion or idea that they were going to act either as criminals or lunatics. We are taunted with having criticised the "safeguards," and with having pointed out that they are not sufficient, and that the Imperial Parliament will be shorn of some of its supremacy. It does seem strange to me that these taunts should come from right hon. Gentlemen opposite, who are responsible for this Bill. For where do we find the strongest testimony that the framers of the Bill feel that the dominant Party—meaning thereby the Party represented by the Home Rulers—are not to be trusted? It is in the Bill itself. The hon. and learned Attorney General—and I hear him making the remark again *sotto voce*—twitted us the other night because some of us who contend that this Bill would impair the authority of Parliament, have also pointed out that that which is to be given to the Irish nation ought not to satisfy them. These arguments are not inconsistent. I wish to show that this measure has not been carefully thought out. I also wish to show that the framers of the Bill have considered that the power which was going to prevail in Ireland was not a power which was entitled to full trust and confidence. I will not, except in one passing reference, allude to the Land Purchase Bill; but it does seem to me, whatever view may be taken of the right of this House to deal separately or together with the two measures, that the Prime Minister himself represented that, in the opinion of the Government, the union of the two measures was necessary. If there was that absolute trust and confidence in the Party that was to have the dominant influence in Ireland, what was the necessity for the introduction of a measure framed in these terms? But it does not stand there. I am referring to what is on the face of the Bill. Will any hon. Gentleman get up and say that the Irish Judges have not done their duty? Will Earl Spencer, or anyone who has had a knowledge of the course of judicial business in Ireland in these troublous times, say that these men—these Judges—have not done their duty gallantly? They have enforced the law as representatives of the Queen, and have done in their own country what the Judges of Her Majesty are in the habit of doing. Will the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. John Morley), or any other responsible Member of the Government, say that Mr. Justice Lawson, Mr. Justice Murphy, and Mr. Justice O'Brien are not worthy of the confidence of Her Majesty? I do not think it could be said that they were not gentlemen in whom the Prime Minister had confidence when some of them sat on the Front Bench beside him. I say that no one will suggest that these Judges have not been worthy of respect and esteem; yet so little confidence has the right hon. Gentleman in the dominant Party in Ireland that he provides for the retirement of the Judges, if they wish to retire, and enacts that they shall be obliged to abdicate the duties which they have fulfilled to their own credit, and to the safety of the nation; and here, again, I will not fence at all with the question, but will take the right hon. Gentleman's own language. Is the hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General quite right in suggesting that this is a fear that is only expressed by those who think the Irish nation is composed of criminals or lunatics? Had he in his mind the language of his great and eminent Leader when he threw that reproach in our teeth? I will quote the words of the right hon. Gentleman, which seem to me a complete refutation of the words of the Attorney General—

> "Some of the Judges, by no fault of their own, have been placed in relations more or less uneasy with popular influences, and with what, under the new Constitution, will, in all probability, be the dominating influence in that country."

It seems to me—I will not use the word "unfair," because we know the Attorney General would not be unfair intentionally—but it seems to me hardly just, when these provisions, which will protect men who have only done their duty against dominating influences, are inserted in the Bill, to suggest that we are the persons who are afraid that the Judges in Ireland will not do their duty. I do not wish to-night to deal with the question of the connection between the Legislative and the Executive. It has been amply dealt with by the hon. and learned Member for the Romford Division of Essex (Mr. Westlake), and I do not think it would be right to detain the House with further argument when it has been so well put by the hon. and learned Gentleman; but I will say this, that I share the feelings and the views of the hon. and learned Member, and it does seem to me to be a most serious thing that we are to have a complete severance between the Legislative and Executive, and that we are to have no control over those Ministers who represent the Offices of State in Ireland. It involves serious questions as to the Army, and as to the action of the Military Forces in Ireland, who cannot act of themselves, but only on the authority of the Civil power—questions which, in my opinion, call for some answer, and which, I trust, some Member of the Government will be able to answer. I will content myself with adopting the hon. and learned Gentleman's arguments. I have but a few more general observations to make, and I crave indulgence in making them, because we all feel the importance of the question. The President of the Local Government Board, in order, I presume, to inflame the feelings of the House, has said that the feelings of Ireland are the result of many years of obstinate injustice and repression. If the right hon. Gentleman had referred to what had happened 30 or 40 years ago, I should have absolutely and entirely agreed with him; but if he referred to what has happened during the last 20 years, then I contend that there is no ground whatever for the assertion. I do not wish to quote the Prime Minister, but the House knows perfectly well that the right hon. Gentleman has asserted more than once that there is nothing which Ireland has asked for that this country and this Parliament have refused. I wish to call the attention of the House to the very remarkable difference between the present cry and that which existed in former times. Mr. O'Connell and Mr. Butt were able to state to the House grievances which existed, and which required Parliamentary remedy by legislation; and in many instances, if not in all, the House admitted that their complaints were right. Have hon. Members below the Gangway been able to quote a case of legislation which is now required for Ireland with which this House is not competent to deal? Is it to be said that the British House of Parliament has so fallen that it cannot respond to the just appeals of the Representatives of the Irish nation in their places in the Imperial Parliament? It seems to me that such a supposition is little short of an insult to the British House of Commons. Before the introduction of a measure of this kind, we ought to know in what respect the Imperial House of Commons has failed to do its duty to Ireland. Another matter has been mentioned, and as it is a matter of most serious importance, I am glad to see the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary in his place whilst I refer to it. When my right hon. and learned Friend the Member for Bury (Sir Henry James) was speaking, he referred to some observations of the Chief Secretary, and apparently, or at any rate to the mind of the Chief Secretary, misquoted those observations. I do not know that there was a misquotation, but the Chief Secretary repeated his words. I shall read to the House the words of the Chief Secretary; and when it is suggested that this measure is put forward in the interests of the Irish nation; when it is said to be a measure of peace that is demanded by the Irish people, what is it that the Irish Secretary said with regard to this measure of peace? I took down his words on that occasion. The words were—

> "The dynamiters and assassins will be very delighted if you reject this Bill."

Now, what does that mean? Does it mean that this House is going to make a bargain with dynamiters and assassins? ["No!"] Then, what is the meaning of the statement that they will rejoice if you reject this Bill? All I can say is, that this is pointing to that spirit of fear which was repudiated by Mr. Disraeli, when he spoke in that debate referred to by the Prime Minister, and when he said we ought to vote on the measure as Englishmen, and not with the fear that we should meet Rory of the Hills in the Lobby. It seems to me that the argument of the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary is unworthy of him.

The CHIEF SECRETARY for IRELAND (Mr. John Morley) (Newcastle-on-Tyne): The hon. and learned Gentleman absolutely misconstrues the force and drift of my argument. My argument was that if you reject this Bill you will divert the movement in Ireland from the hands of Constitutional agitators into the hands of violent Extremists on the other side of the Atlantic.

Sir RICHARD WEBSTER: Nobody can quote the exact words of the right hon. Gentleman without misunderstanding him. I have quoted the words, and I will submit to the judgment of the House. What is—

> "Diverting the movement in Ireland from the hands of Constitutional agitators into the hands of violent Extremists"

but saying that we must be afraid of rejecting this Bill, because the fact of its rejection will rejoice the dynamiters and assassins? Perhaps it appears to me in that light owing to the infirmity of my own mind. If he can show me that I have misunderstood his argument, I will gladly admit it; but at present I can put no other construction or meaning on his argument. I maintain that dynamiters and assassins are factors which ought to be left out of the calculation altogether. We have suffered enough, God knows! through them in the past, and there are those amongst us who know that the course pursued by Liberal Governments on other occasions have led to some terrible results; but I say that the Government is surely not so craven and cowardly as to be affected by such arguments as those. But it is not from the right hon. Gentleman alone that we have heard these arguments. I trust the House will remember the observations made by the hon. Gentleman the Member for East Mayo (Mr. Dillon), who is, I think, not present. No one doubts his sincerity. I have never for one moment doubted the sincerity of hon. Gentlemen below the Gangway. They know what they want, and, from their point of view, they are fighting honestly for it. I, perhaps, misunderstand the hon. Gentleman the Member for East Mayo, as I misunderstand the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary. He says there is a Truce of God in Ireland—there is a Truce of God in this House. With whom is this truce? Why is it we are appealed to to continue this truce to-night? It can only be that it is supposed that by passing this Bill the truce which the introduction of this measure has begun will be continued with the Extremists, who are capable of outrageous acts. ["No, no!"] Well, I know of no other Party to whom the hon. Member could refer, and it would be a monstrous thing if we were afraid of doing justice to Ireland, as well as to other parts of the United Kingdom, under a fear of this kind. Then the phrase "cessation of hostility between the two peoples" is used, and it is a remarkable thing that the fact that there is no hostility between England and Ireland should be spoken of as "a Truce of God in Ireland and a Truce of God in this House." How has this hostility been shown? The Extremists have adopted the system of conducting matters by violent means. We do not need to have any fear of the legitimate Representatives in Ireland. They have the most perfect right to represent their views in most forcible language, and they certainly do adopt a forcible method of bringing their wishes and desires before us. But to speak of this cessation of the use of this method as "a Truce of God," is a remarkable thing, and I should scarcely think the hon. Member for East Mayo, if he were here, would defend the words. I have plainly—and I hope in not too strong language—put my convictions before the House. The Tory Party feel their responsibilities just as much as hon. Gentlemen opposite feel theirs. But I cannot help saying one word, in conclusion, with regard to this measure, of which we are never to be allowed to discuss the details, and which we are only to deal with as an abstract proposition of Home Rule—Home Rule being, as has been over and over again pointed out, a thing which may mean anything until the details are fully explained. Sir, I wonder if it ever crosses the minds of those who are prepared to follow the Prime Minister with such blind obedience what the real position of this legislation has been. It was repudiated by the Prime Minister himself in December last. ["No, no!"] An hon. Gentleman opposite says "No!" He may have been in the secrets of the Prime Minister. He may have understood the original utterances of the right hon. Gentleman; but how did the honest people outside understand the language of the Prime Minister in December last? When the scheme was first put forward in a semi-authorized version it was repudiated by the right hon. Gentleman in language that convinced the nation at large that there was no such scheme. There was nothing that would have justified any reasonable man in coming to the conclusion that the right hon. Gentleman meant to bring in such a scheme. The scheme, however, repudiated by him in December last was introduced by the right hon. Gentleman a few weeks ago, supported by the remnants of a shattered, and, adopting the Prime Minister's phrase, I might say an almost emasculated Cabinet seeking to obtain safety on the wreckage of a disorganized Party. It is by such means as these that it is hoped safety can be attained by Her Majesty's Government at the present time. Of the ultimate passing of this measure I have no real fear. [*Cheers and counter cheers.*] Hon. Gentlemen must not misunderstand me; I do not think they will affect to do so. I have no fear that the Bill will ever pass. The House and the feelings of the nation will be true to that which is right and just in this matter. What I am afraid of is the influence that the fact that such a measure could have been introduced by the Prime Minister may have upon the ignorant classes to whom the right hon. Gentleman has appealed. ["No, no!"] Do hon. Gentlemen opposite repudiate the language of the Prime Minister? Has not the Prime Minister admitted, in his Manifesto, that the professional classes, the men who have to work by their brains, are against him? It is because I fear the influence on the uneducated classes that I think it dangerous and most disastrous that this measure should have been introduced by the right hon. Gentleman. It is to be feared that, for many years to come, the proposal of this measure has inflicted a serious blow on the bond of Union between England and Ireland—a bond that can only be strengthened by straightforward and honest adherence to a moderate and firm policy of law and order. Sir, I trust that the independent opinion of the country will join the independent opinion in this House in resisting a measure which can bring no lasting benefit to Ireland, and can only injure the United Kingdom, of which Ireland is a part.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Debate be now adjourned." —(*The Secretary to the Treasury, Mr. Henry H. Fowler.*)

Motion *agreed to.*

Debate *further adjourned* till *Monday* next.

## ARMS (IRELAND) BILL.—[BILL 205.]

(*Mr. John Morley, Mr. Secretary Childers, Mr. Attorney General.*)

CONSIDERATION.

Bill, as amended, *considered.*

On Motion of The CHIEF SECRETARY for IRELAND (Mr. John Morley), the following Amendments made:—Page 1, Clause 2, line 14, leave out "June," and insert "December;" Sub-section 2, line 14, leave out "first," and insert "thirtieth;" leave out "eight," and insert "seven;" Clause 3, line 24, after "granted," insert "and the number of prosecutions ordered and the results."

Motion made, and Question put, "That the Bill be now read the third time."—(*Mr. John Morley.*)

The House *divided*:—Ayes 156; Noes 65: Majority 91.—(Div. List, No. 111.)

Bill read the third time, *and passed.*

## LOSSES BY RIOT (COMPENSATION) BILL.—[BILL 209.]

(*Mr. Childers, Mr. Broadhurst, Mr. Attorney General.*)

COMMITTEE. [*Progress 24th May.*]

Bill *considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Clause 1 *agreed to.*

Clause 2 (Compensation to persons for damage by riot).

SIR R. ASSHETON CROSS (Lancashire, S.W., Newton): I wish to ask the right hon. Gentleman in charge of the Bill a question on a subject which, in some parts of the country, is considered of importance—that is, the subject of areas. It has been already mentioned in the discussion on the Motion for the second reading of the Bill, and I am under the impression that the right hon. Gentleman said he would make inquiries in the matter. For the sake of putting myself in Order, I shall move to strike out the words "police district," in the first line of the clause, for the purpose of inserting the word "hundred." It appears to me that the Bill, as it is drawn, will very much alter the incidence of the rate. I take the case of my own county. It is divided into hundreds, which are, for all money purposes, found to be satisfactory; we have hundred rates, and if a disturbance should take place in Liverpool or in Manchester I am convinced that the people living in the northern part of the county would feel it a very great hardship if they are called upon to pay for the first time for damages caused by riots with which they have nothing to do. This system of hundreds has worked perfectly well; it is well understood; and, therefore, I ask the right hon. Gentleman why, for the purpose of this Bill, he has taken the police districts? I am aware that he has placed a clause in the Compensation for Damages Bill, which provides that the police district shall be the rating area. That may be quite right; but I do not think the analogy holds in the case of the counties, some of which are very large, and where it would be a great hardship for the inhabitants at one end of the county to be called upon to pay for the damage done at the other.

Amendment proposed, in page 1, line 13, to leave out the words "police district," and insert the word "hundred."—(*Sir R. Assheton Cross.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Clause."

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE HOME DEPARTMENT (Mr. CHILDERS) (Edinburgh, S.): It is quite true that in Lancashire the hundreds have certain duties with respect to bridges, and there is in the Highways Act of 1878 a provision that the rating area should be the hundred. That is the only county, I believe, where this is the case, except possibly Gloucestershire, about which I am not quite certain; but these are the only two counties, at any rate. I have taken pains to look into this matter in consequence of the remarks of the right hon. Gentleman opposite, and have arrived at the conclusion that it is better to adopt the police area for the purpose of this Bill.

SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH (Bristol, W.): I thank the right hon. Gentleman for the trouble he has taken in this matter; but yet I do not think he has quite answered the contention of my right hon. Friend that the county of Lancashire is so large that a rate to pay for the damage caused by a riot at one part of it would be regarded as a tax for the purpose of repairing injury with which the people in another part of it had nothing to do. I have suggested that it would be better to take a different area, and I do not see why the Union area should not be adopted, which would practically come to the same thing in the end, and would be felt to be more uniform—that is to say, more just to the large areas and less burdensome to the small.

MR. CHILDERS: I have a *primâ facie* objection to this proposal, founded upon the different bodies of police in counties; but I will take the subject into consideration before the Report.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Clause *agreed to.*

Clause 3 (Mode of awarding compensation).

MR. TOMLINSON (Preston): I ought to apologize to the right hon. Gentleman the Home Secretary (Mr. Childers) for not having put the few Amendments I desire to move on the Paper, in order to enable him to understand them the better. I rise now to move an Amendment, in line 21, to leave out the words "published in *The London Gazette,*" in order to insert the words "laid before Parliament." We are very familiar with regulations which are framed to carry out Acts of Parliament, and we are aware of the difficulties which have arisen in consequence. This clause appears to give very extensive powers of making regulations to the Secretary of State; and I submit that the proper mode of dealing with the matter is to provide that the regulations which he may frame shall be laid upon the Table of this House.

Amendment proposed,

In page 2, line 21, to leave out the words "published in *The London Gazette,*" and insert the words "laid before Parliament."—(*Mr. Tomlinson.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Clause."

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE HOME DEPARTMENT (Mr. CHILDERS) (Edinburgh, S.): I can assure the hon. Member that these words are merely formal, for the regulations must, of course, be published. Does the hon. Member mean, however, that the regulations shall be laid on the Table of the House in order that they may be open to revision by the House, or in order that the public shall know of them?

MR. TOMLINSON: What I was in hopes of was that the right hon. Gentleman would have given us some actual precedent for the course which has been adopted in regard to this clause. I should like to know whether it has ever been the case that an Act of Parliament has been administered by the Secretary of State publishing regulations in *The London Gazette?*

MR. CHILDERS: Oh, yes, Sir; that is so. There are hundreds of Acts of Parliament which have been administered in that way; but, as a matter of fact, that does not happen in this case.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Clause *agreed to.*

Clause 4 (Right of action to person aggrieved).

MR. TOMLINSON (Preston): I beg to move to omit Sub-section 2 of this clause. It may be proper that the County Court should have jurisdiction up to £100; but what I want to know is, what is there in these matters to take them out of the ordinary rule as to jurisdiction? I submit that there is nothing to take them out of the ordinary rule, and therefore I move to omit the words.

Amendment proposed, "To leave out Sub-section (2.)"—(*Mr. Tomlinson.*)

Question proposed, "That the Sub-section stand part of the Clause."

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE HOME DEPARTMENT (Mr. CHILDERS) (Edinburgh, S.): It is thought that those are just the sort of actions that will be taken under this Bill. I hope the hon. Member will not press his Amendment.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Clause *agreed to.*

Remaining clauses *agreed to.*

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE HOME DEPARTMENT (Mr. CHILDERS) (Edinburgh, S.): I now beg to move the following new Clause:—

"The police authority of any district other than the City of London or the Metropolitan Police District may, if they think fit, within one month after the passing of this Act, by order declare that claims for compensation under this Act may be made in respect of losses sustained within such district during any period not exceeding twelve months next before the passing of this Act, and thereupon the said authority may allow such compensation (if any) as they think fit, and the compensation so allowed shall be paid in accordance with the provisions of this Act with respect to riot expenses in like manner as if such expenses had been incurred after the passing of this Act.

"A Secretary of State shall have power to make special regulations under this Act for the purpose of any claims for compensation to be made in pursuance of this section."

There are some verbal Amendments to the clause which I will put into the hands of the Chairman.

Clause *brought up*, and read the first time.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Clause be now read a second time."

MR. CARVELL WILLIAMS (Nottingham, S.): I shall be glad to have an assurance from the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State for the Home Department that he will promptly exercise the power given to him in the clause in regard to the making of special regulations for the purpose of any claims for compensation made in pursuance of this section. I ask for this because only one month is allowed during which the police authorities are to receive claims and adjudicate upon them.

MR. CHILDERS: Yes, Sir; I think that that may be promised.

Motion *agreed to.*

Clause *added* to the Bill.

Bill *reported;* as amended, to be considered upon *Tuesday* next.

## WEST INDIAN INCUMBERED ESTATES BILL [*Lords*].—[BILL 233.]

(*Mr. Osborne Morgan.*)

### SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES (Mr. OSBORNE MORGAN) (Denbighshire, E.): I beg to move the second reading of this Bill, Sir. It is a short Bill, and the object of it is to provide for the determination of the Acts respecting the sale and transfer of incumbered estates in the West Indies. It has come down from the Lords, and I may say that nearly all the Colonies interested have passed a Resolution in favour of the measure. The Bill only consists of two clauses, the 1st providing that it shall be lawful for Her Majesty, from time to time, by Order in Council to direct that the West Indian Incumbered Estates Acts, 1854 and 1872, shall cease to be in operation in the Colony as from the day mentioned in the Order, and such Order in Council shall have effect as if enacted by this Act; but before such Order is made in respect of any Colony an Address from the Legislature of the Colony, praying for the Order, shall be presented to Her Majesty. The 2nd clause contains the machinery for carrying this out. It is very important that the Bill should pass at once, and therefore I hope the House will consent to read it a second time now.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."—(*Mr. Osborne Morgan.*)

SIR HENRY HOLLAND (Hampstead): I am not anxious to oppose the second reading of this Bill; but I should like to know how we are to go on in regard to the West Indian Incumbered Estates Court? I understand that all the Colonies are not in favour of abolishing it; and if it is to be abolished, how are the Judges to be paid in the meantime in respect of those Colonies who may desire the Court to continue.

MR. OSBORNE MORGAN: I believe there will be no difficulty in that respect. All the Colonies except one have already passed Resolutions in favour of the Bill, and we have no reason to doubt that they will all adopt it.

Motion *agreed to.*

Bill read a second time, and *committed* for *Monday* next.

## BRITISH NORTH AMERICA BILL

[*Lords*]. — [BILL 234.]

(*Mr. Osborne Morgan.*)

SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES (Mr. OSBORNE MORGAN) (Denbighshire, E.) I beg to move the second reading of this Bill. It is a very short Bill, and proposes to authorize the representation in the Parliament of Canada of territories which, for the time being, form part of the Dominion of Canada, but are not included in any Province. A Bill with this object has already been read a second time in the Dominion Parliament.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."—(*Mr. Osborne Morgan.*)

Motion *agreed to.*

Bill read a second time, and *committed* for *Monday* next.

## PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS (IRELAND) (RETURNING OFFICERS) ACT (1875) AMENDMENT BILL.

(*Mr. T. M. Healy, Mr. Chance.*)

[BILL 211.] COMMITTEE.

[*Progress 24th May.*]

Bill *considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Clause 2 (Review of taxation).

MR. T. M. HEALY (Londonderry, S.): I beg, Sir, to move the omission of this clause, in order to accept the new clause of the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for Bury (Sir Henry James).

Question, "That the Clause stand part of the Bill," put, and *negatived.*

SIR HENRY JAMES (Bury, Lancashire): In the place of the clause which has just been struck out, Sir, I beg to move the following clause:—

(Review of taxation.)

"The judge or officer by whom any account or claim is taxed or examined under 'The Parliamentary Elections (Returning Officers) Act, 1875" (herein called the 'principal Act'), shall deliver to the returning officer, and to the other party to the taxation or examination, a certificate showing the items and amounts allowed or disallowed, with a copy of any order or judgment made thereon.

"Either party may, within seven days of the delivery to him of such certificate, give notice in writing to the said judge or officer of intention to appeal, specifying in the notice the items and amounts in respect of which he intends to appeal.

"The said judge or officer shall thereupon forthwith transmit to the prescribed taxing officer of the Superior Court the said account or claim, with any vouchers relating thereto, the certificate and the notice of appeal, and such taxing officer shall forthwith proceed to review the taxation or examination in the usual manner, or in such manner as may be prescribed, and shall, if required, receive evidence in relation to the matters in dispute, and may confirm or vary the certificate, and direct by whom all or any part of the costs of review are to be paid, and shall return the certificate as confirmed or varied to the said judge or officer with any such direction, and effect shall be given to a certificate as so confirmed or varied, and to any such direction, as if the same had been a judgment of the Court as defined in the principal Act.

"In this Act 'Superior Court' means in England the Queen's Bench Division of the High Court of Justice in England, and in Ireland the Common Pleas Division of the High

Court of Justice in Ireland. 'Prescribed' means prescribed by rules of the Superior Court in England or Ireland, as the case may be."

We thought it better to leave the power of taxing to the Judge, with power of appeal to the Taxing Master of the Superior Court. It is a complicated matter, but we are all in accord upon it.

Clause *brought up,* and read the first time.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Clause be read a second time."

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir CHARLES RUSSELL) (Hackney, S.): The clause which my right hon. and learned Friend proposes is, no doubt, a valuable one; but it appears to me that it would be better if, in the case of large towns like Liverpool or Manchester, the power of taxation were left to be exercised locally.

MR. CHANCE (Kilkenny, S.): I desire to move an Amendment to this clause—namely, to insert the words—

> "Any taxation or review of taxation under this Act shall be subject to appeal to the Superior Court, in like manner as any ordinary taxation of costs is now subject."

I do not think I need make any remark upon it.

Amendment proposed, to the said proposed Amendment, to insert the words—

> "Any taxation or review of taxation under this Act shall be subject to appeal to the Superior Court, in like manner as any ordinary taxation of costs is now subject."—(*Mr. Chance.*)

Question, "That those words be there added," put, and *agreed to.*

MR. CHANCE (Kilkenny, S.): I do not propose to move the new clause which stands in my name.

Bill *reported;* as amended, to be considered on *Monday* next, and to be *printed.* [Bill 241.]

## MUNICIPAL BOUNDARIES (DUBLIN) BILL.—[BILL 20.]

(*Mr. Chance, Mr. T D. Sullivan, Mr. Edmond Dwyer Gray, Mr. Timothy Harrington, Mr. Murphy.*)

### SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

MR. SPEAKER: I am informed that this Bill has not complied with the Standing Orders in going before the Examiners; and, under those circumstances, I have thought it my duty to inform the hon. Member that this compliance is necessary before the second reading is taken.

Second Reading *deferred* till *Wednesday* 9th June.

## *MOTION.*

### CONVEYANCING (SCOTLAND) ACT (1874 AMENDMENT (NO. 2) BILL.

On Motion of The Lord Advocate, Bill t amend "The Conveyancing (Scotland) Act, 1874," *ordered* to be brought in by the Lord Advocate and Mr. Solicitor General for Scotland.

Bill *presented,* and read the first time. [Bill 242.]

House adjourned at a quarter
after One o'clock till
Monday next.

# HOUSE OF LORDS,

*Monday,* 31*st May,* 1886.

MINUTES.]—PUBLIC BILLS—*First Reading*—Arms (Ireland) * (129); Post Office Sites * (130); Patriotic Fund * (131); Tramways Order in Council (Ireland) * (132); Patents Amendment * (133).

*Committee* — *Report* — Oxford University (Justices) * (119).

*Report*—Crofters (Scotland) (No. 2) (127-134).

*Third Reading*—Infants * (125-135), and *passed.*

*Withdrawn* — Friendly Societies Act (1875) Amendment (99).

PROVISIONAL ORDER BILLS—*Third Reading* — Commons Regulation (Stoke) * (102); Commons Regulation and Inclosure (Totternhoe) * (103); Local Government * (104); Local Government (No. 2) * (105); Local Government (Poor Law) * (106); Local Government (Poor Law (No. 2) * (107); Local Government (Poor Law) (No. 3) * (108); Local Government (Poor Law) (No. 4) * (109); Local Government (Poor Law) (No. 5) * (110); Local Government (Poor Law) (No. 6) * (111), and *passed.*

## FRIENDLY SOCIETIES ACT (1875) AMENDMENT BILL.—(No. 99.)

(*The Lord Greville.*)

### SECOND READING.

Order of the Day for the Second Reading read.

LORD GREVILLE, in moving that the Bill be now read a second time, said, the societies proposed to be amended by its provisions might be generally described as societies formed for the purpose of mutual assurance among the working classes, the members making weekly or monthly contributions, in the expectation of receiving allowances in case of sickness, or provision for funeral expenses in the event of a death in the family, or securing a payment to the widow on the death of the subscriber. It was required that such societies should be registered, and it was an easy matter for seven men to form a society and register it. They then described it as "registered under an Act of Parliament;" and poor men, imagining that these words in themselves afforded some security for the soundness of the society, the integrity of its managers, and the certainty of future benefits, and that they were as safe as if the money had been deposited in the Post Office Savings Banks, paid their deposits for months and years, only to find, in the time of their trouble and need, that they had been cruelly deceived and robbed, and that it was impossible to obtain redress. Many cases of hardship had been brought under his notice, and in one, which was a fair sample of the rest, a man who had invested £23 gave notice of his intention to withdraw. After the lapse of two years he was informed that he could not get back his money; but perhaps he might find someone to purchase his interest in the society for the sum of £10. The fact was that no protection was afforded by the registration, and only recently a gang of persons were put upon their trial for starting these bogus societies, and the public were then surprised to find with what ease such societies could be started. He (Lord Greville) did not ask that the investors in, and subscribers to, these societies should have Government security as the depositors in the Post Office Savings Banks had; but he proposed that no society should be allowed to be registered unless its tables were certified by an actuary as sufficient to enable it to meet its possible obligations. That would be an additional protection to poor men by preventing the starting of societies which could not provide the benefits they offered. The necessity for some further protection of the provident working classes was shown by the fact that 150 of these registered societies had disappeared in the course of a year, and the aggregate of the weekly or periodical payment to these societies probably amounted to £5,000,000 yearly. One did not like saying anything against his own Party; but he was very much surprised that the Liberal Party, who were always appealing to the working classes of the country, declined to take up a matter of this kind in the interests of the poor, thrifty, hard-working, honest working man. The matter was one affecting the whole community, because the more provident working people were, the fewer paupers would there be; and the burden of pauperism was sufficiently onerous to render it incumbent on them to do all they could to encourage habits of thrift and self-dependence among the working classes. He therefore hoped their Lordships would read the Bill a second time.

*Moved*, "That the Bill be now read 2ª."—(*The Lord Greville.*)

Lord NORTON said, he also concurred in the necessity of amending the legislation as regarded these societies, for a more important subject than this could hardly be brought before their Lordships. The great difficulty in legislating on the question of these societies was to promote their soundness without Government guaranteeing it, or seeming to do so. At the present moment, the whole working of the Friendly Societies Act turned upon the Registrar, which, he maintained, did more harm than good, for a guarantee was supposed to be offered by him as to the soundness of the societies, while practically he neither could nor should offer any security whatever. That officer, by the Act of 1875, prepared and circulated model forms of accounts and tables, and collected and published Returns; registered societies which sent their rules to him if he was satisfied that they complied with the conditions of registry, had tables certified by an actuary, and had an office, trustees, and quinquennial audit. The Act, however, failed to give effect to its intention. Two things seemed to him to be wanted—first, that the Registrar should be ready to give assistance by discretionary advice; secondly, that he should be able to enforce what coercive functions he nominally had; either by penalty, or by taking or temporarily suspending societies from his register. As to the first requisite, it was recommended by Lord Iddesleigh's Commission, 1872, on the Report of which the Act of 1875 was drafted, that the Registrar should, at his discretion, give advice to promoters and managers, and popularize and publish information. Those societies were intended to encourage thrift and saving, and their privileges were only justified by their need of such encouragement. Private individuals, without official knowledge or power, often undertook the formation of friendly societies, though not their management. It was right that these societies should be self-governed; but the present Registrar did not give advice and aid to promoters of those useful institutions like his Predecessor, Mr. Tidd Pratt. Perhaps, however, advice unwillingly given would not be worth much. The second requisite was more important than the first which he had mentioned. It was that effect should be given to the coercive powers nominally given in the Act. The case of the Liver Society lately reported sufficiently showed the necessity for that amendment of the law. Its mismanagement came before Sir Stafford Northcote's Commission in 1874; and in the 10 years after that exposure its two secretaries pocketed to their own use, by their own confession, nearly £70,000. They altered rules, "Boycotted" interference, packed meetings, and became registered plunderers of 1,000,000 poor dupes of subscribers. When at last application was made to the Registrar, under the 23rd section of the Act, to look into the matter, he appointed Mr. Lyulph Stanley to report. The result of that Gentleman's inquiry was that since then nothing whatever had been done to improve the management of the society. They had all heard the allegations which had led up to the inquiry; and although the Registrar had received the Report of the Inspector sent to inquire into the matter, he only replied by expressing obligations for suggestions as to the reform of the law, in which he said he partly concurred, and he promised to consider whether any legal proceedings ought to be taken. The Bill, he (Lord Norton) feared, must be altered to meet such impotency on the part of the chief officer under the Act. To say, as it did, that no new society should be registered unless its tables were certified by an official actuary, did not meet the case, and went too far in the way of Government undertaking a guarantee. The Bill should rather say that all such societies as were named in the 6th clause should imperatively be registered, and that failure to report revaluations and audits, at least once in every five years, to the Registrar, should incur the removal or suspension of the society from the Register, and the consequent loss of privileges during suspension. Amendments to that effect might be introduced in Committee. Insurance for sums at death not mentioned in the Bill required an additional clause for security against gross and dangerous abuse. Undertakers frequently got the whole of the sums so insured transferred to themselves for funeral expenses, to the total deprivation of the widow; and that dangerously discouraged all efforts of thrift and saving in the way of insurance. If the Government rejected the Bill as not entirely meeting the case, or for fear of giving too much guarantee to the societies, they were bound to do something without delay to prevent the Registrar doing much harm with little compensating good.

Lord SUDELEY (for the Treasury), in moving the rejection of the Bill, said, it was identical with the one introduced by the noble Lord last year, which their Lordships rejected on the second reading. It was impossible not to feel sympathy with the views expressed by the noble Lord, in his desire to stop, at the outset, the formation of unsound societies, by obliging the tables to be properly certified by an actuary before the society was registered; but it was a very grave question how far legislation should be carried on those lines. Unfortunately, tables were not nearly so important as management. No one could deny for a moment that the failure of a friendly society, in which large numbers of the working classes might have for years contributed to make provision for themselves in old age and in sickness, was a calamity of a terrible and national character, and one against which every endeavour ought to be made to render it impossible. The great difficulty, however, was to what extent the State could interfere without producing a far greater amount of mischief in one direction than it produced good in another. The Government, after carefully considering the Bill, believed that the proposals it contained would be a retrograde step, would have a most disastrous effect of stopping the formation of registered societies, and would do far more harm than good. It had been found, by considerable experience, that the idea of having to obtain and work with approved Government actuarial tables completely stopped the formation of societies. It might be a sentimental idea, and it might be a foolish objection, but it was none the less true, that these societies got frightened either at the expense, or the possibility of a higher table being used than was necessary; and the simple result was either that they did not form them, or it drove them from becoming registered, and the State lost all control. In 1870, as their Lordships were aware, a very important Royal Commission sat on this subject, presided over by the noble Earl opposite (the Earl of Iddesleigh), and, in the course of four years, went very fully into the whole matter of friendly societies, and perhaps there was no greater authority on the question than the noble Earl. They made a great many recommendations, but they made no proposal such as the one now under consideration, as they saw it would not work, for they had before them the experience of the failure of previous legislation on the subject. In different shapes this enactment was in force from 1819 to 1834, and again from 1846 to 1850; but in both these periods the number of enrolments of societies fell off so considerably that an Act had to be passed to repeal the enactment. Mr. Tidd Pratt and Mr. Ansell both gave very strong evidence before Committees of the House of Commons, and showed that the number of applications fell off one-half. Although evidence on the subject of compulsory actuarial certification was received by the Commission, the matter was not even referred to in their Report; but instead of that they reported that the same object could be attained in a different way, and they proposed that every registered friendly society should be required to submit its affairs to valuation once, at least, in every five years as a better method. They expressed their opinion that periodical valuations were far more important than the original tables in these words—

> "We attach even more importance to properly conducted periodical valuation, and to corrections made from time to time in the tables according to the results of those valuations than to the original tables themselves, and we consider that such valuations should be made compulsory upon all registered societies."

That proposal was carried into effect in the Act of 1876, and thus, practically, the very result desired by the noble Lord (Lord Greville) of getting proper tables was now the law of the land, only the mode of doing so was different. It was true that for the first few years, until the quinquennial valuation took place, the tables might be wrong; but that soon righted itself. Perhaps he might be allowed to quote the evidence on the subject of the Chief Registrar, Mr. Ludlow, who was examined last year before the Committee which was sitting in the other House on National Providence Insurance—

> "You think the State ought not to interfere to help those people?—I do not think the State ought to compel registration, and I do not think it ought in any case to compel the acceptance of particular tables of contribution at starting. . . . The table of contributions when the society is started is nothing but a working hypothesis, and until it is tested by the experience of the society it is virtually of no value.
>
> "Taking societies whose tables are not sound, must it not be certain, in the judgment of men like yourself, that these societies must end in mischief?—The only cases in which they must end in mischief are cases where they are worked by dishonest people, because societies have a wonderful power of recovering themselves when they seem to be very low if they have got the right sort of men.
>
> "Supposing that such a table of contributions as we have been speaking of were laid down by the State, what mischief would accrue?—Very great mischief, because there would be an undue reliance placed upon it, and no good would arise. It is just the same thing as supposing that the community is to be made thoroughly healthy by requiring that everyone shall have a dietary prescribed for him by the doctor. The first question is will it suit the particular man, and the second question is whether, having received it, he will throw it out of the window."

The noble Earl opposite (the Earl of Iddesleigh) would probably confirm him (Lord Sudeley) in saying that there were few greater authorities living than Mr. Ludlow. That gentleman had been Chief Registrar for 10 years, and before that was Secretary to the Royal Commission, and previously had made friendly societies one of the great studies of his life. His opinion was very strong that mismanagement was the real great difficulty. They might have the best possible tables, but they could not insure by them efficient control. Only the other day they had brought before them, in Mr. Lyulph Stanley's Report, the gross mismanagement of the Royal Liver Society, and yet they had the best tables based on actuarial valuations. There were also numerous actual failures recorded, where the tables had been quite sound. The United Assurance Society was one of these; and there had been several great collecting burial societies which had also failed, and yet they had all worked with certified tables from actuaries. It was quite possible, as alleged by the noble Lord opposite (Lord Norton), that the Government ought to have greater power to control and enforce proper regulations, and to see that there was honest management; but that was another question altogether, and was not contained in the proposal of the Bill before them. Further inquiry and investigation might be necessary; but he (Lord Sudeley) maintained that in any case the Bill of the noble Lord was most inopportune at that moment. Grave doubts were even entertained whether the proposals of the Commission for a quinquennial valuation had not themselves gone too far. Even the Chief Registrar gave evidence to that effect. He said—

> "The Act of 1875, which it is the fashion to call weak, is, in fact, too stringent for the great bulk of the population. The obligation to return a periodical valuation is one which, I believe, stands in the way—enormously in the way—of registration by the separate societies. The cost of valuation is a bugbear to a small society. This obligation to value is, I believe, very much dreaded by societies, and the consequence is that in an increasing proportion the new registries of separate societies which there have been are confined to such societies as are exempted from valuation. It is certain that the number of new individual societies of the ordinary class is much less at present than it was 10 years ago."

Whether that was the case or not, there could be no doubt that legislation on the subject of friendly societies was too important to be lightly dealt with, and without very full inquiry and examination. The Royal Commission showed that in 1875 there were, with wives and children, nearly 8,000,000 persons interested in the societies in England and Wales alone; and he believed the number was now, in 1886, close upon 10,000,000. The assets of these societies amounted to over £13,000,000, and the annual expenditure in benefits strictly was £3,000,000, which was thus annually saved to the ratepayers. That proved that it was of the utmost importance that no check should be put on the formation of friendly societies and of their becoming registered. In conclusion, he thought that he had shown that the principle of the Bill was ill-timed, and was condemned by experience, and by the highest authorities, and that a similar provision had actually to be repealed by statute in 1850. The Government, as he had said, had come to the conclusion that it would do more harm than good, and he trusted their Lordships would decline to give it a second reading.

THE EARL OF IDDESLEIGH said, he entirely shared with the noble Lord who had brought in the Bill (Lord Greville), and his noble Friend near him (Lord Norton), the sentiments as to the great importance of this subject, and as to the great importance of doing everything that could be done to improve and to secure the system of insurance by the working classes. There could be no doubt that that was a matter of the very highest importance to the great body of the working classes of the country; but, at the same time, it was a matter full of difficulties, upon which it was necessary that they should proceed cautiously, warily, and, as far as possible, without giving any false impression to those for whose benefit they were acting, for there could be no doubt that the interposition of the Government, in any way, did produce a certain amount of erroneous impression that the Government was responsible for the management of the societies it allowed to be registered. At the time of the Royal Commission of 1870, the view taken by Mr. Lowe, then Chancellor of the Exchequer, was that it would be better to do without registration altogether, in that it only led the working classes to believe that a security was given to them which was not really given to them. It was from a feeling that that was not the best way to treat the matter that the suggestion that a Royal Commission should issue arose. That Commission went very carefully into the matter, and came to the conclusion that it was not right to altogether throw the whole system loose and do without the Registrar; but that, at the same time, it was not right to take up such a position as would make the Government appear virtually responsible for what it could not be responsible. He did not believe that the mischief in connection with these societies arose so much from insufficient tables. He thought rather that the point to be looked at was the administration of the societies than their original tables. The noble Lord opposite (Lord Sudeley) had said nothing about that; but, in his (the Earl of Iddesleigh's) belief, it was a much more important point than that dealt with in the Bill. In the case of the Royal Liver Society the tables were perfectly correct. They had the highest authority, and no question was raised as to any insufficiency in the funds required to meet the obligations of the society. There were other causes involved, and the Bill of the noble Lord would not affect those causes the least in the world. While he thought that no language could be too strong to describe those who had been guilty of the practices exposed in the Report in the case of the Liver Society, the question before them was—should they, or should they not, make the Registrar responsible for the soundness of the tables? He thought it would be a very great mistake on the part of Government and of Parliament if they were to abandon the position taken up by the Commission of 1870, which was the foundation of the Act of 1875. He quite agreed that there were some things in the existing Act which might be carefully reviewed, and that it might be found possible to give greater powers to the Registrar to interfere earlier and more effectually than in the case of the Royal Liver Society; but he did not think it would be an easy matter. Those who had read the Report in that case would perceive that the real difficulty arose from the fact that the society was spread over a great part of England, and that the administration was conducted at headquarters. He hoped the Government would take such lessons as they could from the evidence given in that matter, and would see in what way their powers could be extended; but he also earnestly hoped they would not be carried away by such a matter into a course which had nothing to do with the evils complained of, and would expose them again to a very great difficulty. As to the Registrar himself, he wished to bear his testimony to his great merits. A harder working official could not, he believed, be found anywhere, and he could not believe that he had been in any way to blame, or that there had been any neglect of duty on his part. Whether the powers of that official should be increased was a matter for the Government to consider; but he did not see how anything of that kind could be introduced into the Bill. In the direction of direct Government action there was something to be done if the Post Office system could be improved. Under that system he believed something was really being done for the working classes in an unobjectionable and effective way. That was a matter to which the attention of the Government should be directed, and he hoped they would bear in mind as points upon which improvements might be made—first, the possibility of introducing stronger coercive measures for dealing with cases of abuse in the case of these great friendly societies when they arose; and, secondly, the possibility of improving and extending Government action by means of the Post Office system.

Lord GREVILLE said, he did not think a conclusive case had been set up against the Bill; but after what had been said by the noble Earl opposite (the Earl of Iddesleigh) he should not press it further by dividing the House.

*Resolved* in the *negative.*

Bill (by leave of the House) *withdrawn.*

## THE FOOD SUPPLY—SALE OF IMPORTED MEAT.

### QUESTION. OBSERVATIONS.

Lord LAMINGTON, in rising to ask Her Majesty's Government, Whether they will take any steps to prevent the sale of imported meat as home produce, which entails great injury on the home producer as well as on the consumer? said, that in asking the Question he must not in any way be taken as objecting to the importation of meat. What he wished to prevent was the sale of imported meat as home produce. By prohibiting sales of that kind they would protect farmers and the public at large against gross frauds. If the Government would bring in a Bill to make the practice illegal, it would do much to benefit the poor in agricultural districts.

Lord HOUGHTON (for the Board of Trade), in reply, said, he fully recognized the desirability of securing that articles sold should actually be what they purported to be. Imported meat, however, was very similar to, or rather absolutely identical with, the home produce. That was especially true of meat that was not frozen. Anything, therefore, in the nature of the prohibition desired by the noble Lord opposite would be ineffective, as it would not be possible, even by analysis or otherwise, to distinguish between home produce and fresh imported meat, for there were often no means of discovering with any certainty as to where it had been produced. Indeed, he doubted whether any analyst, although able to detect the difference between oleomargarine and butter, could by any possible process be enabled to say whether a rump-steak came from an animal bred in Leicestershire, Holland, or Texas. If restrictions were placed on the importation of frozen meat, the Australian Colonies would be the chief sufferers, for they contributed by far the largest portion of frozen meat that came to this country. The United States, on the other hand, would benefit largely, for the quantity of fresh meat which they sent to us was immensely greater than their contribution of frozen meat; the change, therefore, would be likely to benefit the United States at the expense of the Colonies. In these circumstances, the Government did not see how they could ake any steps in the direction indicated by the noble Lord.

## NAVY—H.M.S. "COLOSSUS"—THE 43-TON GUNS.

### QUESTION. OBSERVATIONS.

The Earl of RAVENSWORTH, in rising to ask the First Lord of the Admialty, (1.) For what purpose the *Colossus* s to be sent to sea; (2.) what trials or tests have the 43-ton guns of the *Colossus* been subjected to since the bursting of he *Collingwood's* 43-ton gun on 4th May ast; and (3.) what are the orders given o the officer appointed to the command f the *Colossus* with regard to the use or bstention from use of the ship's guns? aid, a very great deal of interest had ttached to the *Colossus* from the day when she was first designed. She was laid down exactly seven years ago, and therefore it could not be said that the Admiralty had shown any great precipitancy in sending the ship to sea. When she was designed by Sir Nathaniel Barnaby she was described as an improved *Agamemnon*, which, with the sister ship the *Ajax*, had already been described as small *Inflexibles.* The *Colossus* was 5 feet longer than the *Inflexible*, and her beam was 7 feet less. Her tonnage displacement was 2,000 tons less than that of the *Inflexible.* Her estimated cost was £500,000, and her actual cost £533,000. She was the first steel ship laid down at Portsmouth. She was one of the first three ships provided with steel-faced side armour—the other two being the *Edinburgh* and the *Conqueror.* She had two turrets, in which she carried four steel breech-loading guns, which were almost precisely similar to those of the *Collingwood.* She also carried five 6-inch guns, 10 Nordenfelts, and some Gardner and other quick-firing machine guns, and she was fitted with torpedo tubes and boats, so that, both in her offensive and defensive aspect, she was one of the most powerful iron-clads afloat. He wished to draw attention to the remarkable history of the 43-ton guns which she carried in her turrets. In 1882 the authorities at the Royal Arsenal recommended the abandonment of wrought iron in the construction of heavy ordnance for the Navy, and supplied a design for the construction of a steel breech-loading gun. With regard to those guns, he did not wish to decry the gun factory at Woolwich; but they could not shut their eyes to the fact that there were in this country men, composing the firm of Sir William Armstrong and Co., who for their long attention to the delicate construction of heavy ordnance were second to none in the world, and they had positively refused to manufacture guns upon the design of the 43-ton guns in question. It was somewhat remarkable, too, that their objections took two points. First, they objected to the construction of the gun itself; and, secondly, they objected to the mode in which it was proposed to manipulate and work the steel. He (the Earl of Ravensworth) was informed, upon indisputable authority, that steel for heavy rifled guns was best when it approached nearest to wrought iron, and that if it departed from the condition of "low" steel and was worked up to "high" steel it might be stronger, but it was more brittle. For gun manufacture the nearer it was kept to those qualities possessed by wrought iron the better. It was a remarkable circumstance that about the time that doubts arose both in regard to the design and the material of these 43-ton guns there were five in hand; but the authorities were not content with completing these —which, having regard to the money already spent upon them, was reasonable enough—but they ordered six other similar guns to be manufactured. These 43-ton guns were originally designed to carry a charge of 400 lbs. of powder. That was subsequently reduced to 290 lbs.; and even with this it was found that after 16 rounds they jammed, and the charge was then reduced to 222 lbs., which was the charge in the gun which burst on board the *Collingwood.* He should like to hear from the noble Marquess opposite the First Lord of the Admiralty what trials and what tests these guns had been submitted to since that lamentable accident. Of course, he did not deny that accidents to guns occurred in foreign Navies; but when an accident of this kind occurred on board an English ship it was bruited about all over the world; and what must be the effect on the minds of our foreign rivals and competitors in naval construction at hearing that one of our newest and most magnificent ships was being sent to sea with an embargo on her guns? What would be the effect on the gallant officers of that ship and her crew? He hoped that the noble Marquess would inform the House of the orders that had been given with regard to the use of the heavy guns of the *Colossus.* The noble Earl who preceded the noble Marquess at the Admiralty (the Earl of Northbrook) had, in the course of a debate in December, 1884, upon the Naval Programme, pointed out that it was not enough for us to follow in the wake of other nations. Having regard to the information and knowledge which we possessed as to the steps which were being taken by foreign nations to provide themselves with heavy ordnance, could the noble Marquess say that we were as much in advance of our rivals as we ought to be? If not, he hoped that no time would be lost in endeavouring to place ourselves in that position of pre-eminence which we ought to occupy.

The FIRST LORD of the ADMIRALTY (The Marquess of RIPON), in reply, said, the *Colossus* had been sent to sea for the purpose of testing her sea-going qualities, her armament, and her general qualities. For that purpose the *Colossus* would be sent on a summer cruise, which would take place shortly. The noble Earl was aware that there were other guns beside the 43-ton guns which were placed in the turrets of the *Colossus;* and there were, therefore, many parts of the ship's armament which required to be tested, and in regard to which it was desirable that trials should be made. It was hoped that in the course of the cruise of the Channel Fleet this year various experiments would be made with torpedo boats and with the torpedoes with which the ships were furnished, and in these respects it was desirable to ascertain the fighting qualities of the *Colossus.* It was for those reasons that the Board of Admiralty had thought it desirable to send this vessel to sea at once, and not to lose the summer, in order to make a thorough trial of her sea-going qualities. In regard to the 43-ton guns, he thought it was desirable that the public should clearly understand the question raised by the bursting of the gun. It applied only to a particular class of the 43-ton gun—namely, the 11 guns of which the noble Earl had spoken. The 43-ton guns which were now being manufactured, and which would be hereafter delivered to the Navy, were of an improved pattern, and were not, as the best authorities believed, liable to the objections urged against this particular class of gun. He should like to mention also that the 43-ton guns of the *Colossus,* although of the same description as those of the *Collingwood,* had passed through more trials than those of the *Collingwood,* and the result of those trials had been satisfactory. The guns of the *Collingwood* had only been tried at proof, and it was the opinion of many naval men that, in regard to these large guns, the particular danger arose especially in connection with the first round of fire after proof. Whether that was so or not he could not say; but that was the opinion held. Doubts had been thrown, and reasonably thrown, upon this particular class of 43-ton gun, in consequence of what happened the other day on the *Collingwood.* He (the Marquess of Ripon) and his Colleagues, immediately after the accident, communicated with the War Office, with the view of seeing whether these guns could not be replaced, for the noble Earl knew that the Admiralty was not responsible for the construction of these guns. The War Office was responsible; and it was only fair to the Board of Admiralty, who were concerned in this matter, that he should mention the fact. On inquiry, he ascertained that the War Office were making and would soon complete six 43-ton guns for land service, made upon an improved principle, and not liable to many of the objections which had been urged to the 43-ton guns, mark 2. He, therefore, went to his right hon. Friend the Secretary of State for War, and asked him to hand over those guns to the Navy. Looking at the circumstances of the case, his right hon. Friend at once agreed to do so. The guns, however, were made with trunnions, and would require to be altered. They would be taken in hand at once; and in three or four months, at the outside, he was informed that the whole of the six guns would be placed at the disposal of the Navy. Besides that he had already ordered two new guns of the very latest and best pattern. He had also under consideration whether the Admiralty should order some more of these guns, although they would not be completed for 12 or 14 months. He hoped, in consequence of the arrangement which he had been able to make with the War Office, that the Navy would receive six 43-ton guns of a satisfactory kind within a period of not more than four months. It was true that, in these circumstances, and looking to the fact that the *Colossus* was going to sea for the purpose of thoroughly testing her sea-going qualities, as a matter of precaution the Admiralty had directed the captain not to fire these 43-ton guns at target practice. He hoped, however, that soon after the cruise was finished those guns would be replaced by the other and more satisfactory guns to which he had referred. With reference to the Committee appointed to investigate the causes of the accident on the *Collingwood,* he had to mention that it was under the War Office. He made inquiry the other day as to the date of assembling and the probable period within which their Report would be presented; and he understood that the Committee would assemble in the course of the present week, and it was anticipated that the Report would be forthcoming in a fortnight or three weeks. When the Report was received it would be his duty, in communication with the Secretary of State for War, to consider it and the results arrived at, and to decide whether these showed the necessity of any further inquiry either in regard to those special guns, or, as was more likely, in regard to the large question of the mode in which the supply of guns to the Navy should be regulated.

VISCOUNT SIDMOUTH said, he wished to point out that guns of the size referred to were designed to fire a maximum charge of 400 lbs. of gunpowder. Guns of that calibre should be subjected to the full test for which they were designed before they were placed on board ship, as was done in France, otherwise officers and men would never trust these weapons. The noble Marquess had stated that it was the intention of the Admiralty to "chasehoop" these guns before firing them again; but he (Viscount Sidmouth) thought it likely that guns patched in that way would always be looked upon with distrust by the men. All these things showed how desirable it was that the Admiralty should have the entire control of the guns provided for the Naval Service. If you asked naval officers, you would find that 19 out of 20 were thoroughly dissatisfied with the present method of arming the Navy. The question was raised two years ago, when complaint was made of the way in which the manufacture was carried on; and it was stated, he believed, by the Marquess of Hartington, that we were behind other countries in manufacturing materials, and that the hammers we used were inferior to those in use in Germany. Yet we were now standing still, with no improvements effected, and ships were kept waiting seven or eight years for guns. In every instance in which a ship had been delayed, the delay had been attributed to the necessity of waiting for guns. We were now building five large ships, which would be absolutely useless, because the guns were not ready.

THE EARL OF NORTHBROOK said, he fully appreciated the importance of efficiently testing guns before they were placed in the ships for which they were intended; but he did not think that either Admiralty or the War Office could have taken any better course than that which they had actually adopted, in having all the circumstances connected with the failure of the 43-ton gun in the *Collingwood* thoroughly investigated. He understood that, in the first instance, the Ordnance Committee was assisted by certain professional gentlemen quite unconnected with the Woolwich manufacturing departments. We were not the only nation that experienced failure in the manufacture of guns. Notwithstanding the great efficiency and the magnificent scale of the French Departments, it was not long ago, if statements in public journals were to be credited that at least two of the very largest of the French guns failed in proof at the chase, precisely in the same way our 43-ton gun had failed. These were two 70-ton guns, and the French Government had been obliged in consequence to alter their designs and patterns. Notwithstanding the magnificence of the establishments abroad, they had met with difficulties just as we had. It was well known that the most successful manufacturer of guns on the Continent, Herr Krupp, had produced several guns which had burst. Therefore, he hoped their Lordships would not suppose that such an accident as that which lately happened on board the *Collingwood* was to be looked upon as happening only to English guns. The French failures referred to were even more serious, because of the greater size of the guns. The main reason of their failures was the recent introduction of slow-burning powder. The effect of the firing of a charge was a pressure extending throughout the whole gun, instead of being confined to one portion, as it was before, with quick-burning powder. On that account we had been obliged to strengthen larger guns in the chase, so as to provide adequate resistance to the increased pressure resulting from the use of slow-burning powder. The peculiar construction which had caused the failure of the 43-ton gun on board the *Collingwood* had been avoided in the case of the 63-ton guns for ships of the *Admiral* class, which had been strengthened in the chase for the purpose of resisting the increased pressure. The still larger type of gun—the 110-ton gun—was designed in the same way. This gun, which was the largest to be placed on board ship, might be regarded with considerable confidence; and there was this additional ground for confidence—that guns of the same size had been supplied to the Italian Navy by the same manufacturer—namely, Sir William Armstrong and Co., who was constructing them for us, and they had been tested, and had stood the test successfully. So far as we could reasonably place confidence in any gun, we might place confidence in the 110-ton guns, not only because of theoretical improvements in their construction, but also because those guns had been tested by practical experience. As regarded the provision for guns for our ships, and the hydraulic machinery by which they were to be worked on board ship, we had no reason to fear comparison with the guns or machinery of other nations. As to the suggestion that the Board of Admiralty should undertake the construction of guns for the Navy, there was much to be said for and against the proposal. It was a very difficult question indeed. The course suggested might concentrate responsibility on the Department concerned; but it would involve the anomalous and undesirable state of things of a separate Department for the manufacture of naval guns and another Department for the manufacture of guns for the fortifications and the Army. An alternative plan which commended itself to his mind was that there should be a resuscitation of the old Ordnance Department, which should manufacture both for the Army and the Navy, and should be neither under the Secretary of State for War nor under the Board of Admiralty. It was possible that some arrangement of that kind might be an improvement upon their present system.

THE EARL OF GALLOWAY said, he wished to point out that a return to the old Ordnance Department would be going back 30 years. He thought it would be much more to the benefit of the country if the Government placed the whole of the manufacture of guns for both services under one Department, irrespective of the Secretary of State for War and the First Lord of the Admiralty.

The Earl of WEMYSS said, that this question turned not only on the inefficiency of British guns, but also on the efficiency of the guns of foreign Governments. At that moment there was in the House a noble and gallant Lord who was in a position to thoroughly compare the British guns with foreign guns, because he commanded the Combined Fleets at Dulcigno; and he (the Earl of Wemyss) was anxious to know if that noble and gallant Lord would tell the House what his own opinion was of the guns in those Fleets, and of their relative value? He (the Earl of Wemyss) had heard it stated that a Report was sent home to the effect that, with one exception, the British guns were worse than the others. It was rather remarkable that while the Italian ships carried 100-ton guns which did not burst, the *Colossus*, which was supposed to be the most powerful fighting ship created in modern times, could only carry 43-ton guns, one of which had burst, and with respect to the others orders had been given that they should not be fired. He did not know who was to blame; but that state of things was not satisfactory to the country, or complimentary to the Departments concerned.

Lord ALCESTER said, in reply to his noble Friend, that he had no recollection of sending home any Report of the kind mentioned by the noble Earl. Indeed, he was quite certain that he never made any such Report. He had seen a great deal of the foreign squadrons in the Mediterranean. At Dulcigno the French, the Austrian, the Russian, and the German ships carried breech-loading guns, while the English and Italian ships carried muzzle-loaders, and in the comparison the English had nothing to fear. He was able to state that the British ships were not the only ships on which gun accidents occurred. He could mention two ships in the French Navy in which, through premature explosions, no less than five men were killed, and several others wounded.

## NAVY — H.M.SS. "NILE" AND "TRAFALGAR."

### QUESTION. OBSERVATIONS.

Viscount SIDMOUTH asked the First Lord of the Admiralty, Whether it is true that the Admiralty has decided to stop the progress of construction of the iron-clad ships *Trafalgar* and *Nile;* also, whether he can lay any information before the House as to the alleged structural defects of H.M.S. *Calypso*, and the failure of the machinery of H.M.S. *Phaeton* on her trial trip? It would, he said, be a great satisfaction to know whether it was the intention of the Admiralty to proceed with the *Nile* and *Trafalgar*, seeing that it was proposed by a Member of the House of Commons to strike them off the Estimates. He trusted that the noble Marquess and the Admiralty would not be led away by any suggestion to reduce the strength of the Navy in the iron-clad class, for it would, he thought, be a most unwise proceeding to stop the building of the two ships to which he had referred in the first part of his Question. Whatever the Admiralty might do, it was quite certain that other nations were pushing on and building powerful vessels. With regard to the other vessels named in the Question, he hoped the noble Marquess would be able to give satisfactory information, and that no person would be placed upon any inquiry who had been interested in the building of the vessels.

The FIRST LORD of the ADMIRALTY (The Marquess of Ripon), in reply said, that it was not the intention of the Board of Admiralty to make any change in their determination to proceed with the construction of the *Nile* and the *Trafalgar*. With regard to the defects of the *Calypso*, and the circumstances connected with them, there could be no doubt they existed, and they were being made the subject of a searching inquiry, and he should hesitate to express an opinion upon the matter while that inquiry was proceeding. The ship was built at Chatham, and the inquiry was being conducted by Admiral Codrington, the Director of Dockyards (Mr. Elgar), and a gentleman connected with the Constructors' Department. The present Superintendent of Chatham Dockyard (Admiral Codrington) was not in office when the ship was building at Chatham. He was informed that the defects could be speedily remedied, and that the ship would be able to go to sea with the Training Squadron in the course of the month of June. He had received a Report as to the failure of the machinery on board the *Phaeton;* but since then the vessel had again been to sea, and no mention was made in the general Report, which he had received that day, of the engines; therefore, he presumed that they had worked all right. He had, however, called for a special Report.

## CROFTERS (SCOTLAND) (No. 2) BILL.—(No 127.)

(*The Earl of Dalhousie.*)

REPORT.

Amendments *reported* (according to order).

Clause 1 (A crofter shall not be removed except for breach of statutory conditions).

THE EARL OF DALHOUSIE, in moving, as an Amendment, that the "Land Commission" be changed to "Crofters' Commission," said, that the Amendment was intended to meet the objection of the Land Commission of England, who said that they had functions in Scotland, and that unless a change in the title were made confusion would arise between the two Land Commissions.

Amendment *moved*, in page 2, line 4, leave out ("Land") and insert ("Crofters.")—(*The Earl of Dalhousie.*)

Amendment *agreed to.*

Clause, as amended, *agreed to.*

Clause 9 (Compensation to crofter for improvements on removal).

On the Motion of The Earl of DALHOUSIE, the following Amendment made:—At end, add—

> "The provisions of the preceding section and of this section shall not apply to any holdings erected by a crofter or a cottar in violation of any interdict or other judicial order."

Clause, as amended, *agreed to.*

Clause 17 (Appointment of three Commissioners).

On the Motion of The Duke of RICHMOND and GORDON, the following clause was inserted to follow :—

> "The Crofters' Commission shall once in every year, after the year one thousand eight hundred and eighty-six, make a Report to the Secretary for Scotland as to their proceedings under this Act, and every such Report shall be presented to Parliament."

Clause 32 (Saving in case of holdings in possession of servants).

On the Motion of The Earl of DALHOUSIE, the following Amendment was inserted at end :—

> "Nor to any holding or building let at a nominal rent, or without rent, as a pension for former service, or on account of old age or poverty, nor to any holding or building let to a person during his tenure of any office, such as that of minister of religion or schoolmaster, nor to any innkeeper or tradesman placed in the district by the landlord for the benefit of the neighbourhood."

Clause, as amended, *agreed to.*

Clause 33 (Definitions).

On the Motion of The Earl of DALHOUSIE, the following Amendment added :—

> "And shall also include, where not repugnant to the context, the heir or legatee succeeding to the tenancy of the holding."

Clause, as amended, *agreed to.*

Bill to be read 3ª *To-morrow ;* and to *printed* as amended. (No. 134.)

## POST OFFICE (IRELAND)—MAIL SERVICE BETWEEN LONDONDERRY AND DUBLIN.—QUESTION.

THE EARL OF BELMORE asked the Postmaster General, What is the additional amount of subsidy paid by the Post Office to the Great Northern Railway Company of Ireland for the conveyance of the mails between Londonderry and Dublin, and vice versâ, since the late acceleration of the mail service ; whether, in consequence of the acceleration of such postal service, complaints have not reached him or his Predecessor with regard to the non-stoppage of the trains at stations on the Great Northern Railway of Ireland, to the great inconvenience of persons engaged in business at, or visiting, any such places ; and, whether he cannot make such arrangements with the railway company as will reduce such inconvenience to a minimum, without interfering prejudicially with the efficiency of the mail service ?

THE POSTMASTER GENERAL (Lord WOLVERTON), in reply, said, that since April 1, 1885, the additional sum of £1,000 a-year had been paid to the Great Northern Railway Company of Ireland for the conveyance of Her Majesty's mails, thus raising the total subsidy to £38,000 a-year. Applications had reached the Post Office for the stoppage of the mail trains at certain stations at which such trains did not now stop; but as such stoppages were not required for Post Office purposes, and as the applications could not be agreed to without diminishing the short interval for the preparation of replies by return of post now afforded to Londonderry, neither he nor his Predecessor could properly assent to the applications. He was quite willing to consider any proposal which the Railway Company might see fit to put before him with the object indicated by the noble Earl, provided that the expense of this service was not increased, and the public accommodation was not diminished.

### PATRIOTIC FUND BILL [H.L.]

A Bill to amend the Patriotic Fund Acts, 1867 and 1881—Was *presented* by The Lord Sandhurst; read $1^a$. (No. 131.)

### TRAMWAYS ORDER IN COUNCIL (IRELAND) BILL [H.L.]

A Bill to confirm an Order in Council of the Lord Lieutenant and Privy Council in Ireland relating to the Cork, Coachford, and Blarney Light Railway—Was *presented* by The Lord FitzGerald; read $1^a$. (No. 132.)

### PATENTS AMENDMENT BILL [H.L.]

A Bill to remove certain doubts respecting the construction of the Patents Designs and Trade Marks Act, 1883, so far as respects the drawings by which specifications are required to be accompanied—Was *presented* by The Lord Chancellor; read $1^a$. (No. 133.)

House adjourned at Seven o'clock, till To-morrow, a quarter past Ten o'clock.

## HOUSE OF COMMONS,

*Monday*, 31*st May*, 1886.

MINUTES.] — Select Committee — *Second Report*—Ventilation of the House [No. 173].

Private Bill (*by Order*)—*Considered as amended* —Belfast Main Drainage, *debate adjourned.*

Public Bills — *Ordered* — *First Reading* — Revising Barristers' Appointment * [245].

*Second Reading*—Government of Ireland [181] [*Eighth Night*], *debate further adjourned.*

*Second Reading*—*Referred to Select Committee*— Peterhead Harbour of Refuge * [232].

*Committee*—Medical Acts Amendment [163]— R.P.

*Committee* — *Report* — Freshwater Fisheries [218-244]; Jurors' Detention [202].

*Committee* — *Report* — *Third Reading* — West Indian Incumbered Estates [233]; British North America * [234], and *passed.*

*Considered as amended*—Parliamentary Elections (Returning Officers) Act (1875) Amendment * [241], *further proceeding deferred.*

*Withdrawn* — Conveyancing (Scotland) Act (1874) Amendment (No. 2) * [242].

Provisional Order Bills — *First Reading*— Drainage and Improvement of Lands (Ireland) (No. 2) * [243].

*Third Reading* — Gas and Water * [206]; Water * [207], and *passed.*

## *PRIVATE BUSINESS.*

—o—

### BELFAST MAIN DRAINAGE BILL.

(*by Order.*)

CONSIDERATION.

Order for Consideration read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now taken into Consideration."—(*Sir James Corry.*)

Mr. SEXTON (Sligo, S.): I rise to move the insertion of the following new Clause:—

Part 12.—Municipal Franchise.

"And whereas it is expedient to alter the qualification of burgesses in the borough under the Act passed in the session of Parliament holden in the third and fourth years of Her present Majesty's reign, intituled 'An Act for the Regulation of Municipal Corporations in Ireland,' and to assimilate the same to the qualification of burgesses of the borough of Dublin and of boroughs in England and Scotland, and for such purposes to amend the provisions of the said recited Act so far as regards the borough of Belfast: Be it therefore Enacted, That, from and after the passing of this Act, so much of the thirtieth section of the said recited Act as requires that the house, warehouse, counting house, or shop therein referred to shall be of the yearly value of not less than ten pounds, shall be and the same is hereby repealed so far as regards the qualification of burgesses in said borough; and, for the purposes of such qualification, the said section shall be read and construed as if it were therein enacted that every man of full age who on the last day of August in any year shall be an inhabitant householder, and shall for six calendar months previous thereto have been resident as such within such borough or within seven statute miles of such borough, and who shall occupy within such borough any house, warehouse, counting house, or shop, shall, subject to the provisions in said section contained (save only the provision as regards the yearly value of said premises), if duly enrolled as therein, be a burgess of such borough and a member of the body corporate of the Mayor, Aldermen, and Burgesses of such borough: Provided that a person occupying any such premises as aforesaid jointly with any other person or persons shall be deemed an occupier of such premises within the meaning of this and the said section. Nothing in this section contained shall affect any existing burgess roll, but from and after the passing of this Act all persons making out or revising any list or lists of burgesses or preparing any burgess roll, or doing any act in relation to same, shall have, and they are hereby required to have, regard to the provisions of this Act as regards the qualification of burgesses, as if such qualification had been prescribed in the Acts under which such lists are made out."

Sir, I hope very shortly to be able to convince the House that if this Bill is to pass at all the clause which I have to propose ought to be inserted in it. The House will perhaps remember that this is a Bill the chief purpose of which is to authorize the execution of a main drainage scheme for the important town of Belfast. The scheme came before a Committee of which I had the honour to be a Member, and it was estimated to cost about £200,000. The Committee, however, found that the scheme was incomplete, as it only proposed to provide a high level system of drainage; and they, therefore, imposed upon the Town Council of Belfast, who are the promoters, the condition that they should also execute a low level system, which is estimated to cost another £100,000. Considering how generally, in Belfast as well as in most other places, estimates are exceeded by the actual expenditure, it is not rash for me to assume that the execution of this scheme will require about £500,000 to carry it out. The public debt of Belfast at present amounts to £750,000, and the town of Belfast is charged with the payment of interest on that debt to the extent of £45,000 a-year. The execution of this scheme will add to that public debt a further sum, in the shape of annual interest, of £25,000, and it is calculated that that burden will last from the present time until about the end of the first decade of the 20th century. This being so, it is only natural to inquire what is the position of the municipal franchise in Belfast? Belfast, next to Dublin, is the most important town in Ireland, and there is no other town in Ireland, except Dublin, which can at all compare with it. It is a city which at present contains a population approaching 250,000. If Belfast was situated on this side of the Irish Sea, the municipal voters would number at least from 20,000 to 25,000; but, being on the other side of the Irish Channel, the municipal voters are only between 5,000 and 6,000 in number, and the municipal vote is so manipulated that a minority of 1,500 to 2,000 burgesses, finding they could obtain no influence in the municipal affairs of the town, and that they could not return a single Member to represent their opinions, have ceased to take any interest in municipal affairs, and the result is that the municipal affairs of the town, with a public debt of £750,000 and a payment of an annual interest of £45,000, has fallen into the hands of some 3,000 persons. Now, the Parliamentary Register contains the names of 32,000 electors; and thus, out of every 10 persons in Belfast who have a right to vote for the election of Members to this House, only one has the right to vote in the election of an ordinary Town Council. I submit that that is a state of things which should not be allowed to continue. There are special reasons in Belfast why the municipal franchise should be extended. Complaints have been made that the ratepayers and burgesses have not been consulted in regard to the present Bill, and public meetings have been held to protest against the conduct of the Town Council. On the other hand, there has been no public meeting in favour of the scheme; but I have already been intrusted with a Petition, signed by a considerable number of ratepayers of Belfast, protesting against the conduct of the Town Council, and inviting the House to reject the Bill unless the municipal franchise is extended to those who have to pay the taxation of the town. For the last 20 years the Corporation has consisted of a ring of persons representing a small fraction of the inhabitants, and they have taken care that the burden should lean lightly on the wealthy, while it is made to press heavily on the poor. Differential rates have been reduced, while uniform rates have been raised; and the consequence has been that the rates have become so high that within the last 20 years the rents of houses occupied by working men have been almost doubled. Belfast has lately, and is at the present moment, passing through a crisis of acute depression, and that is an additional reason why this scheme, involving the expenditure of £500,000, should not be passed until the men who have to bear the expenditure are given some share in the representation upon the Town Council. While the Corporation of Belfast has not been behind any Corporation in the Empire in the lavish expenditure of money in those parts of the town which concern the business or the comforts of the well-to-do, the paving and other arrangements of the town in the workmen's quarters are a scandal to civilization. The streets which workmen, workwomen, and children have to pass along six times a-day are paved, not with flags, but with stones locally known as "petrified kidneys," which may have been of use to the mediæval pilgrim, but are not often seen nowadays in an important town. Offensive odours continually assert themselves in these districts; and I may say that the condition of this House, of which so much complaint has lately been made, is quite salubrious compared with the working men's quarters of Belfast. I maintain that these are reasons why the working men of Belfast should have some voice in this main drainage scheme before it is carried out. If they are not allowed to have a voice in it, it is not likely to be carried out for their benefit. The position of this municipal franchise question is a peculiar one. In several Sessions of the last Parliament this House passed a Municipal Franchise Bill for all the boroughs of Ireland. It was agreed to extend to every borough in Ireland what I am now asking for in connection with the borough of Belfast. But what was the result? The House of Lords on every occasion threw out the measure; and, therefore, when I am told that it is unusual and inconvenient to introduce a measure of public law into a Private Bill, my reply is that when the wish of this House, in respect of the Irish municipal franchise, is defeated year after year by the action of the House of Lords, this House is not only entitled, but bound, to seize every opportunity which may offer itself to make its will effectual. Since I first moved in this matter, in the early part of the Session, this question has been somewhat advanced, because the new Parliament has adopted the second reading of the Irish Municipal Franchise Bill. By so doing it has affirmed the principle I seek to enforce; but of what use is it to pass that Bill here? What assurance can we have that the Bill would be passed into law? The assurances are all the other way. The probability is that the Bill this year, as in former years, will be rejected in "another place;" and I therefore invite the House, as a matter of self-respect, and in the assertion of its own judgment, to take the opportunity afforded by the presentation of this Private Bill to show that they have a real regard for the interests of the poor ratepayers of Belfast. Early in the Session the second reading of this Private Bill was taken by surprise. The Bill was read a second time on the first day after the Recess, caused by the change of Government, and it was taken at a time when the Irish Members had no idea that it was intended to take that stage. It was taken, in point of fact, at a time when the Irish Members had not returned to this House. I subsequently moved an Instruction, the object of which was to extend the boundaries of Belfast in accordance with the recommendations of a Royal Commission, which reported, some time ago, on the redistribution of boundaries. The hon. Gentleman the Chairman of Committees (Mr. Courtney) objected to that part of the inquiry, because it might involve a lengthened investigation and detailed arrangements; but I maintain that that was no reason why it should not be done. I have now got rid of that part of my former Motion, and I now make the simple request that the municipal franchise, which for four years past has prevailed in the boroughs of England and Scotland, and for the past generation has prevailed in the City of Dublin, should be also extended to Belfast. The House, since I moved my Instruction, has recognized the principle that the wishes of the Irish Members should be respected in matters of Private Bill legislation in connection with Ireland. Only a short time ago the House rejected the third reading of the Dundalk Gas Bill, because the measure was opposed by the majority of the Irish Members; and it is that manifestation of feeling on the part of the House which relieves us of the necessity of making at this time a more determined stand against the whole of the absurd system of Private Bill legislation for Ireland. When I moved my Instruction on a former occasion, the Chairman of Committees objected to part of it, on the ground that it involved a large measure of public policy; and I find it now asserted in one of the reasons put forward by the supporters of the Bill for the rejection of my Resolution, that it is an attempt to make use of a stage of a Private Bill to open up a large question of public policy. Now, this involves no new assertion of public policy. The hon. Gentleman the Chairman of Committees urged on the former occasion that it was unusual and inconvenient to deal with a measure of public law in a Private Bill. But the hon. Member was confronted in that debate by many cases to the contrary. I have looked into the subject since, and I find that, so far is it from being unusual to incorporate the public law in a Private Bill, that it has been the usage and rule. In the Local Acts for Black Rock, Clontarf, Kilmainham, Kingstown, Pembroke, Rathmines, Bray, and Galway measures of public law were incorporated. In addition to these particular cases the Commissioners Clauses Act of 1847, which is an Act

> "for consolidating in one Act certain provisions usually contained in Acts with respect of the constitution and regulation of bodies of Commissioners, for the purpose of facilitating their incorporation in special Acts both public and private, and insuring uniformity,"

contains a series of clauses dealing with the franchise on which Commissioners are elected, and these clauses must have been incorporated in dozens of English Local Acts. The House will be astonished, after the argument of the Chairman of Committees, to hear that up to the year 1847, when that Act was passed, these provisions of public law were usually inserted in all Private Bills relating to the government of municipal towns. I have looked into the Local Acts in question, and I find that they contain, not merely provisions of public law, but actually whole public statutes; and if these things may be done by the promoters of Private Bills, and by Select Committees, why should they not be done by the authority of the House itself? On the day before the day fixed for considering my Instruction, a meeting of the Corporation of Belfast was held, and a motion was made in support of my Instruction. That motion was encountered, not by an amendment on its merits, nor by a direct negative, but by moving the previous question. After the motion in favour of my Instruction had been defeated in that way by the Corporation of Belfast, the Town Clerk posted in hot haste to London, and *The Belfast News Letter* trumpeted the fact in the columns of that newspaper. In accordance with the example set by the Corporation of Belfast the hon. Gentleman the Chairman of Committees moved the Previous Question in this House.

THE CHAIRMAN OF COMMITTEES: Allow me to say that I had not heard of the act of the Belfast Corporation.

MR. SEXTON: The coincidence, nevertheless, was very curious. A meeting of the Corporation of Belfast was held on Saturday last to consider the subject of the present Motion, and upon its conclusion the Town Clerk left again for London. That remarkable official, who enjoys a salary of £2,750 a-year, and who has the honour to hold a roving commission from the Corporation of Belfast, is now in London for the purpose of communicating his views and ideas to the Chairman of Committees. A correspondent writes to me as follows:—

> "The Town Clerk left here last evening for London to obtain all the Parliamentary influence he could to defeat your forthcoming Motion. The Committee were not unanimous in passing the resolution. The Town Clerk says that Lord Arthur Hill has issued a four-line Whip to obtain the rejection of your Motion; and I am also told that the Clerk will use his influence with Mr. Courtney to obtain some Liberals."

In these days even a four-line Whip by the Tory Party has ceased to be a formidable weapon; and I do not think that the supporters of the measure are likely to obtain the advocacy of any Liberal Members except the Chairman of Committees. The House, however, usually agrees with the suggestions of the Chairman of Committees as to Private Bills. No doubt, the House respects the position which the hon. Gentleman holds, and is anxious that it should be respected; but I am afraid that if the language and action of the Town Clerk of Belfast were brought under your notice, Sir, as a matter of privilege, that gentleman might find himself standing at the Bar of this House before he returned to Belfast. On the 14th of July last the Rathmines Bill, which had come down from the House of Lords, was considered in this House, and upon that occasion the right hon. Baronet the Member for Chelsea (Sir Charles W. Dilke) moved an Amendment analogous to the Resolution which I am now moving. The right hon. Baronet said—

> "As one of the Members of the Royal Commission, over which, indeed, he had had the honour to preside, he had become acquainted,

through the evidence adduced before it, with the pressing character of the evils which now existed in Ireland with regard to municipal representation, and of the necessity which existed for a reduction in the borough franchise."

The right hon. Baronet added that—

> "The evidence of witness after witness given before the Commission—and he was bound to say that it was most uniform evidence—the evidence of witnesses belonging to every political Party from all parts of Ireland was of the strongest possible kind as to the effect of the very high franchise which at present existed in the Irish townships. The statement which was heard everywhere was that the franchise was limited to a certain class of people, by whom the representatives returned to the Irish municipalities were only capable of being elected. The effect in regard to the Town Commissionerships was to place the entire power, so far as election and administration was concerned, in the hands of a small ring of persons, upon whom the general public opinion of the locality could have no bearing whatever. The result of that was seen in the extreme difficulty which there was of securing a proper administration of the Sanitary Laws in the Irish townships, and in the fact that the death-rate in the Irish towns was threefold that of the rural districts in Ireland."—(3 *Hansard*, [299] 636-7.)

The Motion of the right hon. Baronet was opposed only by two Members, both of whom were Members for the county of Dublin, and the only reason they gave for their opposition was the lateness of the period of the Session and the fact that the Bill had yet to go back to the House of Lords. That reason does not apply in the present case, as there is abundant time for the consideration of the Bill; and we have the further fact that the two hon. Members who opposed the Bill were neither of them returned for the county of Dublin at the last General Election. One of them—the hon. and gallant Member for the Isle of Thanet Division of the county of Kent (Colonel King-Harman)—was obliged to seek for a seat in England, and the other—Mr. Ion Trant Hamilton, who again contested the representation of the county of Dublin—was defeated by my hon. Friend who now sits for the Southern Division (Sir Thomas Esmonde). Sir Arthur Otway, who then held the position of Chairman of Committees, took part in the debate, and said that—

> "Having given a great deal of consideration to this matter after the Amendment of his right hon. Friend the late President of the Local Government Board had been brought under his notice, he had come to the conclusion that it would not be proper to retain the franchise under which those Commissioners were elected. He was, therefore, prepared to advise the House to consent to the Amendment of his right hon. Friend. . . . When he looked into the matter he came to the conclusion that, under the circumstances in which they were living, with the changes that were constantly taking place, although this franchise had been in existence so far back as the year 1847, it was, nevertheless, of so restricted a character that it ought no longer to be retained for any township. He therefore supported the Amendment of his right hon. Friend, and advised the House to assent to it."—(*Ibid.* 650-1.)

I would strongly recommend to the right hon. Gentleman the present Chairman of Committees the example of his Predecessor in the Office he holds. The right hon. Baronet the Member for Chelsea (Sir Charles W. Dilke) said, further, in moving his Amendment upon the Rathmines Bill—

> "The most likely objection he could foresee was this—'We admit that it is probable it may be desirable to reduce the borough franchise in Ireland, or the franchise for the election of Town Commissioners, and, indeed, all the local franchises in Ireland. But, although we admit that, we should not be prepared to reduce the franchise in the case of the first Private Bill which comes before the House this Session in which the question is raised.' He had considered that objection, believing that it might probably be taken to his present action. Of course, it might have some weight with the House, and some hon. Members might be persuaded by that view to refuse to alter the franchise in an exceptional case. He therefore felt fully the responsibility of the course he was taking; but, in the face of all the facts which had come to his knowledge, he felt that he could not be a party to the continuance of the present high franchise."—(*Ibid.* 640.)

The right hon. Baronet moved his Amendment with a full knowledge of the objection which has since been taken by the Chairman of Committees, and yet the right hon. Baronet persevered with his Motion, and obtained the assent of the House to it. Further than that, the then Chairman of Committees (Sir Arthur Otway), although he entertained a high sense of the value of the scheme proposed to be carried out in the Rathmines Bill, was, nevertheless, prepared to accept the Amendment, even if, by so doing, he risked the loss of the Bill. Now, if that reform was of importance to Rathmines, it is indispensable to Belfast. Rathmines is simply a suburb of Dublin, where the houses are of such a description that almost the whole of the occupiers have votes; whereas in Belfast it is felt by the working men that there is not the slightest prospect of their obtaining any control over the expenditure connected with the municipal affairs of the town unless my Amendment is adopted. I have been furnished with a Statement of Reasons on behalf of the Corporation of Belfast in opposition to my Motion, and it is said that the change ought not to be made except with adequate discussion. Now, for how many Sessions has this House been engaged in discussing the matter, and what is the use of wasting our time in further discussion, when we know that a radical change must be made in the Government of Ireland before any reasonable reform will be adopted by the House of Lords? This Paper says that the Resolution—

> "Emanates from a Gentleman representing a remote constituency in Ireland, having no concern with the borough of Belfast either as a resident or ratepayer."

But this Amendment emanates from 85 out of 100 Irish constituencies, and I wonder at the taste of the gentlemen who put this reason forward, when they know very well that, at the last election for that borough, I obtained more votes than two of the gentlemen who are actually sitting for the borough. The Statement goes on to say—

> "There is no evidence of any desire on the part of the inhabitants and ratepayers for any such change as is proposed being effected by the present Bill, while all the Members for the new constituencies of Belfast are opposed to dealing with the municipal franchise in an exceptional manner."

It is said that this question was not raised at the last municipal election for Belfast. Why should it have been raised there? The municipal elections in Belfast are controlled by a very narrow body of persons who have never shown themselves eager to extend the municipal franchise. What is far more important than the fact that the question was not raised at the last municipal election is the fact that it was raised at the Parliamentary Election, and two of the hon. Gentlemen now sitting above the Gangway presented themselves to the electors as municipal reformers, who adopted the principle I am now seeking to enforce. They were elected upon that principle, and upon that principle alone they succeeded in defeating Sir James Corry and Dr. Seeds—the regular candidates adopted by the Tory Party. The hon. Member for South Belfast (Mr. Johnston), early in the Session, introduced a Bill for the extension of the municipal franchise in Ireland; but the hon. Member, from some inscrutable reason, has moved the discharge of the Order. The hon. Member has an unfortunate habit of saying one thing in Ireland and doing another in this House; but considering that my Motion, if carried, will effect the object he has in view, I venture to hope that I may promise myself the honour of his support. The promoters of the Bill go on to state in their reasons—

> "The present position of the Corporation of Belfast and its municipal affairs will be generally known to Members of the House as comparing favourably with that of any other town in Ireland; and the Corporation of Belfast, and the important commercial and mercantile classes of that town, would probably prefer to continue subject to the existing difficulties in regard to the pollution of the River Lagan and the sewerage of the town, rather than that the municipal arrangements should be revolutionized in the manner and to the extent now proposed. The proposal is, in fact, an attack from outside on the town of Belfast, and the Corporation would not feel justified in making such a sweeping change without a distinct expression of opinion in its favour from the inhabitants generally."

Yes, Sir, this ring which at present controls the government of Belfast, and the expenditure of £200,000 a-year, would rather have the death-rate of the town influenced by the present condition of the sewage, and the inhabitants be liable to pestilence, than that the ratepayers generally should be admitted to a share in the government of the town. If that does not satisfy the House of the spirit by which the Corporation of Belfast are actuated and their moral incompetence to continue the performance of their functions, I cannot imagine what argument will. My Motion is supported by five-sixths of the Members from Ireland; it is sure to be supported by the Members of the Liberal Party who have affirmed over and over again the principle I seek to carry out; and I shall be greatly surprised if the Motion is opposed by the Party above the Gangway who arrogate to themselves the position, in an inclusive sense, of being the champions of the Protestants of Ireland. Sir, I beg to move the insertion of the clause which stands upon the Paper in my name.

COLONEL DUNCAN (Finsbury, Holborn): Although a Tory, I rise to second the Motion of the hon. Member; and I rise perfectly independent of my brother Conservative Members. I am acting purely of my own free will; but I think that, although I approach the question from a very different standpoint from the hon. Member who has just sat down, I am right in saying that he has adopted a correct view of the matter, and that in carrying this Motion we should do something to place the Irish municipal franchise and local government in Ireland upon that footing of equality with local government in other parts of Great Britain on which it ought to stand. I confess that I differ very much from hon. Members who sit below the Gangway on that question of Home Rule which is so dear to them; but I have always recognized the propriety of stimulating the action of the Government in taking steps to remodel the existing municipal system throughout the United Kingdom. On more than one occasion when I have at first felt opinions strongly opposed to the views of the Irish Members on some matters, I have been convinced by their arguments, and I have found myself in the same Lobby with them. I am prepared to admit that there is a certain amount of eccentricity, and it may be inconvenience, in tacking on a general principle to a clause of a Private Bill; but if there is no other way of carrying the point, I am not going to quarrel with it. If I had any doubts as to the course I ought to take on this subject, those doubts would have been removed by the paper which has been circulated among Members this morning by the promoters of the Bill. That paper is very contradictory in its terms, as I hope presently to show. During the late Election I was one of the many Conservative candidates opposed to Home Rule; but I always expressed a readiness to give to the Irish people precisely the same advantages which are given to the English and Scotch people; and I desire to remove all those differential hardships which are supposed to exist in the Sister Kingdom. I have no desire to go back from my words now; and I think the hon. Member has proved satisfactorily that in this particular instance a grievance does exist in Belfast. As a Tory, I have an idea that, in politics as in surgery, when a sore is discovered the best thing is to eliminate it, and that there is no advantage in concealing it, denying it, or maintaining it. I have no doubt that a sore does exist with regard to the people of Belfast in not being allowed to exercise the franchise, although they are required to contribute to the rates. It seems to me preposterous to give the Parliamentary franchise to these people and to deny them the municipal franchise. I have always looked upon the exercise of the municipal franchise, in relation to the Parliamentary franchise, as something like a primary school distinguished from the secondary school. If we desire that those upon whom we have conferred the Parliamentary franchise should exercise it well, why deny to them the education which will undoubtedly be given to the people by the possession of the municipal franchise? In this document we are told that there is already a Bill before the House covering the whole general question—namely, the Municipal Franchise (Ireland) Bill—and that it has passed through certain stages. I can only say that if the effect of the Motion which has just been moved will be to stir up the Government and hurry through that Bill I shall be delighted, and I am certain that in that case this Resolution might be withdrawn. But we are reminded of the now classical expression, "that the sands are dropping through the hour-glass," and unless the Government are almost omnipotent it will be difficult to pass many of the Bills which we now have before the House. We are told that the admission of so many ratepayers of Belfast to the franchise is viewed with something like horror by the promoters of this Bill, and, therefore, the support of those gentlemen would not be likely to be given to the Municipal Franchise Bill which has been referred to. For my part, I look upon this Resolution as a very mild one, indeed, after the discussions we have had during the past half-century in favour of municipal reform. Why should we refuse to grant the municipal franchise in Ireland as in England? The valley of Parliamentary debate for the last 50 years is strewn with the dry bones of arguments against extension, and there is no intellectual magician in the House who can stir those dead bones into life? Therefore, I think it is absolutely a waste of time in this House to raise up the question of the franchise again, and also a great waste of energy, however honest Members may be, in wishing to discuss the question. In the present case a large number of those who contribute to the rates have no power to participate in the municipal government under which they live. We have given to the people the power of exercising the political franchise, and surely it would be wise to instruct them how to exercise that power beneficially which we have so given to them. What is the use of giving a sword to a man and refusing to teach him how to use it lest it may be used against those who give it? It should be remembered that, in the end, if the man who has the sword directs it against the man who has given it, he may inflict clumsy wounds, because he has not been taught, but his arm will be nerved by a sense of anger at not being trusted. When we have once decided upon arming the people and conferring power upon them, we ought to witness with pleasure their skill in using the weapon with which we have armed them. I can quite understand that Parliament may refuse to give it if it thought it right to refuse; but, having once given it, I do not understand why we should do anything to minimize the value of the gift. Let us trust all in all, or not at all. We want to see in this country all classes working together; and I think it would be much better if we were to show in this House that we are anxious to see the people upon whom we have conferred the franchise exercise it beneficially by intrusting them also with the municipal franchise, rather than by imposing little barriers here and there. I feel, as a Conservative, that the barriers which now exist between class and class, created simply by the possession of wealth and education, or by circumstance, are things which a child's foot might kick away, and that they will do no harm unless they are cemented with the hardening mortar of a sense of injustice. Let us do away with every idea of injustice which may have been introduced into the minds of those to whom we have just given political power. I am quite sure that if we had carried out more of this principle in the past the cry for Home Rule would not have become so accentuated as it now is. Let us now try to be just and endeavour to trust the people. It is perhaps an eccentric mode of dealing with the subject to insert a principle of general law into a Private Bill; but unless something is done to arrest the proposed expenditure of public money in Belfast, however desirable that expenditure may be, until the people feel that they have their full share in controlling the expenditure, we shall only intensify the feeling of injustice which now prevails. I am not one of those who believe that the interests of the small ratepayers are hostile to those of the large ratepayers. On the contrary, I believe that the interests of both are absolutely identical. People are rated according to their means, and if a man is guilty of encouraging municipal extravagance he soon finds that it recoils upon himself, and that the small and large ratepayers suffer in equal proportion. As we have done so much in conferring Parliamentary power upon the people, let us do a little more; and although we view these matters from a very different point of view, I hope it will be admitted that we can even discuss Irish local affairs and Irish local administration effectively. Perhaps the hon. Member who has just moved this Resolution thinks and hopes for something very different from what I do. I dare say he believes that if this Motion is rejected, he will be justified in maintaining that another argument has been forged for him to use both here and in Ireland as to the impossibility of obtaining justice for Ireland in this House. Now, I feel that Irishmen do know a great deal in regard to what they want; that they are not people to be legislated for, but that they have a right to legislate in their local affairs for themselves; and if the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary will give some assurance that the general question of the municipal franchise in that country will be pushed forward, I hope that the hon. Member for Sligo (Mr. Sexton) will withdraw the Motion. ["No!"] If such an assurance as that is not given, I can only say that, having studied the question on both sides, I shall undoubtedly feel it my duty, as a Tory, to go into the Lobby with the hon. Gentleman.

New Clause (Part 12.—Municipal Franchise,)—*brought up*, and read the first time.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Clause be now read a second time."

THE CHIEF SECRETARY FOR IRELAND (Mr. JOHN MORLEY) (Newcastle-on-Tyne): I must congratulate the hon. and gallant Member who has just spoken upon having made a most eloquent exposition of sound Radical doctrine. And I think the whole spirit of his remarks, when he comes to make, as we all hope he will, a speech upon another Bill that is before the House, should be to the same effect as that which has now animated him. [Colonel DUNCAN dissented.] The hon. and gallant Member shakes his head; but I do not see why he should limit the principles he has so forcibly laid down to the Bill now before the House. The hon. and gallant Member has thrown out a suggestion which has already occurred to my own mind as the proper and best way of meeting the views of the hon. Member for Sligo (Mr. Sexton). Upon the merits of the hon. Member's Amendment we are most of us on this side of the House absolutely at one with the hon. Gentleman. It is impossible to defend a state of things under which some 4,000 or 5,000 persons decide questions which, if Belfast were an English constituency, would be decided by 25,000 or 30,000. That is a state of things which cannot be defended politically, and it produces a vast number of exceedingly evil social results. I remember a discussion on the Municipal Franchise (Ireland) Bill in the earlier part of this Session, in which I reminded the House that the death-rate in Ireland was lower than the death-rate in England, while the death-rate in the Irish boroughs is higher than in the English boroughs. One very reasonable explanation of that is to be found in the fact that in the English boroughs the population have a very direct influence on the regulation of the affairs of the town, whereas in Ireland this regulation is confined to a very small oligarchy of the people. The hon. Member for Sligo (Mr. Sexton) at once saw the changed aspect put upon his Amendment since he moved his Instruction much earlier in the Session on referring the Bill to a Select Committee. Since that time the House has read a second time a Public Bill extending to the Irish boroughs the same rights in regard to the municipal franchise as those maintained in the English boroughs. That being the case, it seems to me that it would be particularly undesirable and equivocal to admit the extension of the franchise to the borough of Belfast by a side wind when the House has already affirmed the principle of the propriety of that extension, not only in reference to Belfast, but in regard to all the boroughs in Ireland. Now, what we propose is that we should give facilities for taking up the Bill relating to the extension of the municipal franchise in Ireland at such an hour that it would evade a block. The hon. Gentleman said that very likely the same fate would await the Municipal Franchise (Ireland) Bill "elsewhere" as has affected proposals of the same kind in other years. I do not know how that may be, but I may remind the hon. Member that whatever the direction of probability may be, it is equally probable that the same decision may be applied to this Bill when it reaches "another place" if it contains a clause in the sense of the hon. Member's Amendment. Either the whole Bill or the clause may share the same fate which he apprehends for the Municipal Franchise Bill. [Mr. SEXTON: Let the Bill wait.] The hon. Member says—"Let the Bill wait." I should have thought that in taking up that position the hon. Member was placing himself exactly in the position which he reproaches the promoters of the Bill for taking up in the Circular which they have issued to Members of this House—a position which, I am bound to say, seems to me not only astonishing but most indefensible. The Corporation say—

> "The present position of the Corporation of Belfast and its municipal affairs will be generally known to Members of the House as comparing favourably with that of any other town in Ireland; and the Corporation of Belfast, and the important commercial and mercantile classes of that town, would probably prefer to continue subject to the existing difficulties in regard to the pollution of the River Lagan and the sewerage of the town, rather than that the municipal arrangements should be revolutionized in the manner and to the extent now proposed. The proposal is, in fact, an attack from outside on the town of Belfast, and the Corporation would not feel justified in making such a sweeping change without a distinct expression of opinion in its favour from the inhabitants generally."

That is the position which the hon. Gentleman himself is now ready to take up. [Mr. SEXTON: No.] I cannot distinguish between that position and the one occupied by the promoters of the Bill. It is to my mind a position that is most indefensible.

Mr. SEXTON: Will the right hon. Gentleman allow me to explain? I say that the Corporation of Belfast should give up the scheme until they can give the ratepayers an opportunity of expressing their opinion with regard to it. I say that the scheme should be postponed until the ratepayers are admitted to power.

Mr. JOHN MORLEY: In either case the ratepayers of Belfast will continue to be poisoned by bad drainage. Now, Sir, I will not argue the matter further, but will say that we make the offer in perfect good faith, believing that the passage of the Municipal Franchise (Ireland) Bill will be a very great boon to the Irish boroughs. We see, therefore, no reason why the hon. Member and his Friends should not accept the broader position we offer them, instead of the narrow one that they now hold.

Mr. T. M. HEALY (Londonderry, S.): I think the right hon. Gentleman somewhat misapprehends our position. A Circular, in the form of a threat, conveying some sort of intimation that the Bill will be lost if this Amendment is added, has been issued by the promoters. I would, however, remind the House that exactly the same intimation was conveyed last year to us by the promoters of the Rathmines Bill before the Amendment which was proposed by the right hon. Baronet the Member for Chelsea (Sir Charles W. Dilke) was added to the Bill. It was said then, as it is threatened now—"We will abandon the Bill if you insert that clause." An hon. and gallant Member who then represented the county of Dublin, but who now represents the Isle of Thanet (Colonel King-Harman), and Mr. Ion Trant Hamilton, who also represented the county of Dublin, but who is no longer a Member of this House, said—"If you insert this clause the promoters will be inclined to drop the Bill. The House of Lords will throw it out." Well, the House of Lords did not throw it out. The House of Lords were friendly to these gentlemen, and they surrendered upon that Bill, as they will have to do upon this. The promoters having spent hundreds, and, perhaps, thousands, of pounds on the Bill, will not be inclined to waste all that money if they know that the House of Commons will insist upon this Amendment. The House of Commons has a grip on the House of Lords in regard to Private Bills which I wish they had as regards Public Bills. It is, however, a novel and an exceptional position. In respect to Private Bills we have got the House of Lords in a vice, for this reason—that the promoters are on terms of friendship with many of them. They have invested money in the promotion of the Bill, and they will not be content to let it drop. I therefore invite the House of Commons to insist upon the Amendment. I have to tell the right hon. Gentleman that his proposal to give us a day for discussing the Bill will not meet the case at all, for this reason—it would meet the same opposition as this clause from Gentlemen who are all of one view. Let us take this Bill as a hostage until the House of Lords have passed the Franchise Bill. Let us have an adjournment of this debate, and postpone the Belfast Drainage Bill until the other has passed. Is it nothing that £500,000 is proposed to be spent by a little narrow ring in Belfast who were signally defeated during the last Parliamentary Election, by the return of the hon. Members for South Belfast (Mr. Johnston) and East Belfast (Mr. De Cobain)? Everything at the last Election turned upon this question, and it resulted in the defeat of the former Member (Sir James Corry), who was beaten in his own town on this very question, and who is now Member for Mid Armagh. One of the Gentleman who won a seat as an Orange Democrat was the dismissed cashier of the Corporation. He was dismissed by the Corporation because he had opposed their candidate, Sir James Corry, who received a Baronetcy for his services to the Tory Government. We are told that we want to injure Belfast—we are told we want to restrict its liberties—but here, Sir, when we are attempting to extend and amplify the liberties of Ulster, we are opposed by the Torty Party, who say we want to restrict them. I have said that it is an immense amount of money that this Corporation propose to expend—an expenditure amounting to £500,000 sterling—and all we say is, that every capable citizen in Belfast ought to be allowed to have a voice in the matter. It is said that if you delay the Bill the people of Belfast will be poisoned; but they have been poisoned for 20 years. The death-rate has still, however, not yet arrived at any extraordinary high figure. We in this House are also being poisoned. We have been poisoned more or less for 20 years, and are none the worse for it. I therefore think that such arguments are wholly irrelevant. I trust the House will adhere firmly to the principle we have laid down, and until the House of Lords passes the larger Bill, it is our duty to insist that this Bill should go up to the House of Lords with a Franchise Clause inserted in it.

MR. HASLETT (Belfast, W.): We have had a number of instances quoted, but no good authority has been given for inserting a clause of this class in a Private Bill promoted for an entirely different object. The instance of the Rathmines Bill has been quoted as a precedent for the course now proposed to be taken; but the Rathmines Bill, not only in its clauses, but actually in its advertisement, contained statements, covering the question of franchise, through which the public were made acquainted with all the purposes of the Bill. I think it would be inopportune to accept such a clause as is now proposed, seeing that the entire subject is one upon which legislation is pending. The Rathmines Bill, besides being a Private Bill, related to certain districts outside Dublin—[MR. SEXTON: This is a Private Bill.] [*A laugh.*] I am quite aware that this is a Private Bill. If the hon. Gentleman would wait until he heard the remainder of my sentence, he would probably find that the laugh might be turned against him. My argument is, that while this is a Private Bill, and the Rathmines Bill was also a Private Bill, yet, in connection with the latter Bill, public Notice was given of the contemplated Amendment. My contention is, that due Notice ought to be given of any intention to change the character of the Governing Body. That was done in regard to the Rathmines Bill, but it is wanting here; and, therefore, the analogy is entirely fallacious. On the last occasion when the Bill was before the House, and we were asked to pass a similar but somewhat larger Resolution, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, in a very clear manner, pointed out the great inconvenience which would arise if questions of public policy were introduced into these Private Bills; and I now commend that consideration to the House. I am bound to say that, for the convenience of the House, no wiser or clearer principle could be laid down than that which was laid down on that occasion, both by the Chancellor of the Exchequer and the Chairman of Committees. The hon. Member for Sligo (Mr. Sexton), with an evident intention of catching the votes of hon. Members through the principle he puts forward, asks the House to pass his clause, with a view to equalize the franchise in the various Irish boroughs to that which exists in England and Scotland, and even in Dublin. But the hon. Member does not inform the House that his clause would not accomplish that object, and he keeps back the information that in not one solitary instance he has spoken of would there be an assimilation of franchise. The proposed clause would give the franchise to "every occupier" and to "every joint occupier of a house" under the old system. We might have, I suppose, 30 men occupying one house, and though only paying 1*s.* a-week rent each, they would all be capable of exercising the municipal franchise. The hon. Member asks, moreover, to give the franchise for six months' occupation, while Dublin requires three years' occupation.

MR. T. M. HEALY (Londonderry, S.): No, no. That is repealed. It is not so now.

MR. HASLETT: I am aware it is said to be partly repealed.

MR. T. M. HEALY: It is absolutely repealed.

MR. HASLETT: Only partially repealed.

MR. T. M. HEALY: No; absolutely.

MR. HASLETT: The qualification in England is 12 months' occupation. In regard to Scotland, I cannot say what it is, because it varies in different boroughs, and yet we are asked to pass a clause to extend the franchise, and to assimilate it to the franchise in other boroughs, when, as a matter of fact, it is almost impossible to find throughout the whole of Ireland a parallel case. Is it unreasonable, therefore, that we should ask that great public issues of this kind should be decided by Public Acts of Parliament, and not by a Private Bill which can apply to one town only? The hon. Member for Sligo (Mr. Sexton) dwelt very strongly upon £500,000 being required to carry out this scheme, notwithstanding the fact that, as a Member of the Committee, he had sworn testimony before him from a respectable constructor of sewers, who has done an immense amount of work of that kind even in Dublin, that he was prepared to carry out the works in Belfast for the sum named in the Bill. Yet the hon. Member, in defiance of that testimony given before himself as a Member of the Committee, said that it would cost double that sum, and would throw great hardship upon the town to meet it. The entire taxation in one year under this Bill cannot exceed £15,000, of which the larger ratepayers who now possess the franchise will contribute £12,000. There has been a distinct expression of opinion from these larger ratepayers of the borough on this very question of drainage. Then, again, we are asked to consider this Bill, which relates to Belfast only, in conjunction with an Act which has been passed for Rathmines. I do not know how the Rathmines Act was procured. I only know that the clause relating to the franchise, which was inserted in it by this House, simply altered the amount of the franchise. That alteration was previously notified to the public, who had full opportunity of expressing their opinions upon it; but a similar course has not been adopted in regard to this Bill. For once I agree, and I am glad to do so, with the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland that a question of this kind is much better dealt with on a broad basis than the mere question of the alteration of the franchise within the narrow limits of a single borough which would leave all the other boroughs in Ireland in an exceptional position. It has been said that there have been very strong protests against this Bill. I know of none. I have lived in Belfast all my life, and I am not aware of it. There may have been Petitions, but they were not public Petitions, and I have not seen them, and I know nothing of their scope, and, indeed, I never heard of them until now, though, no doubt, as the hon. Member speaks about them, there have been Petitions. All I can say is that I know nothing about them. I remember, however, that on a former occasion we were told that certain witnesses, who desired to be heard against the Bill, were so poor that they were unable to pay the expenses of coming from Belfast to London to give evidence. Yet those poor witnesses, who were said to be two poor to bear the expense of coming to London, and on whose behalf the hon. Member presented a Petition, were afterwards found sitting in the House, having come over, at their own expense no doubt, for the purpose of priming the hon. Member with information. We have been told that the artizans of Belfast are cruelly wronged, and that owing to the heavy taxation imposed by the Corporation rents have been doubled. I can bear testimony, as the owner of a very considerable amount of house property, to the fact that the rents have been doubled in the wrong direction. [*A laugh.*] Hon. Members from England and Scotland are not likely to understand what I mean. But all my Irish Friends will thoroughly understand the Irishism. The houses of the Belfast artizans have been worth less within the last two or three years, by 20 per cent, than they were formerly. Their value has fallen, and the reason is, not that the population has decreased, but that capital has gone in that direction. The result is that the Belfast artizans can now command a better house and better accommodation than can be obtained for the same money in any other town I have visited —and I have seen a good many—in England and Scotland. ["Oh!"] Yes; I maintain that statement, for I speak from my own personal knowledge. I have lived in Belfast all my life, and I have not acquired my knowledge as a passing stranger visiting special streets for a few hours for special purposes. If any complaint can be justly made it is in reference only to the older portions of the town, and these are being cleared away as rapidly as we can, with a view to improvements, without injury to their poor occupants. Hitherto the difficulty has been that frequently these houses are the only income the poor people have, and we have accordingly shrunk from depriving them of them. But in this Bill we have introduced a clause which will enable us to pay any persons whose dwellings it is found necessary, for sanitary reasons, and for the general public good, to deprive them of. I do not know whether this House requires any information in regard to Belfast. A good deal of information was given to the Royal Commission, and the town was complimented for the manner in which the artizans are housed. The hon. Member for Sligo (Mr. Sexton) says that the lighting, paving, and sanitary state of Belfast are a disgrace to civilization. All that is utterly beside the question, and it is not in accordance with facts. We have been told that the streets are paved with "petrified kidneys." Perhaps, Mr. Speaker, you never heard that expression before, but it is the nearest description which can be arrived at of the old mode of paving some of the smaller thoroughfares. But it must be remembered that, even in an important city like Belfast, it is impossible to overtake all the desired improvements at once; and it must also be borne in mind that this is a kind of pavement which cost 2*s.* or 2*s.* 2*d.* a-yard, whereas the more modern flagging would cost from 7*s.* to 7*s.* 6*d.* a-yard. Up to a recent period the Corporation of Belfast, in applying to Parliament for special powers, did not consider it necessary to interfere with the gradual development of the town by compulsory legislation; but, for the information of the hon. Member for Sligo and the House, I may say that in recent Acts they have taken power to compel the flagging of the streets, and they refuse to allow the streets to be paved except with flags. A resolution has been passed that every square yard of the old paving shall be taken up and replaced with flagging at a cost of one-third to the owner and two-thirds to the general taxpayers of the town. Surely no more reasonable proposal could be made in view of all the difficulties. We are flagging our leading thoroughfares as fast as we can, and we are providing funds for the complete flagging of the town, from the centre outwards, as our funds enable us, without unduly pressing on the taxpayers. We hope to overtake the work very speedily. In spite of all this, we are asked if we are afraid to trust the people. I know the artizans of Belfast intimately, and I am prepared to state here broadly that I am neither afraid nor ashamed to trust them with the franchise; but I also know that the artizans of Belfast are prepared to express their opinion that they would prefer the general Act dealing with the question to the proposal of the hon. Member for Sligo. [MR. T. M. HEALY: What is it to them?] It is everything to them. They knew perfectly well that with the general Act will come the enlargement of the boroughs. ["No!"] I believe the larger Bill will be passed. If I can help it I certainly will do so, and when the general Bill comes on I shall be ready to give my most earnest attention to every line connected with the franchise in the boroughs. ["Oh!"] If hon. Members below the Gangway are not prepared to do the same, they will, perhaps, find the subject dealt with in a manner they scarcely expect. In conclusion, allow me to come back again to the main question, and to ask the House if it is wise in a Private Bill to adopt a general principle of public law which is absolutely new? ["No!"] I repeat that it is absolutely new. What precedent can be cited for inserting in a Private Bill a Franchise Clause which is altogether foreign to the Bill?—a Franchise Clause of which no public Notice has been given—which is not hinted at in the provisions of the Bill itself, and upon which the inhabitants who will be influenced by it have had no opportunity of expressing an opinion. Is the House prepared to take a course which may hereafter be used as a lever for legislation of the most inconvenient kind? I think the House is scarcely prepared to take such a course. I trust that the good sense of hon. Members will induce them to reject the clause which has now been submitted, and that in fairness and justice they will decide that the duty of effecting a large alteration in the municipal franchise of an important city should be thrown upon a Public Act and not upon a Private Bill.

MR. STOREY (Sunderland): I only wish to say two or three sentences. I am anxious that it should not be left to the hon. and gallant Member for Finsbury (Colonel Duncan) solely to utter Radical opinions on this question. I heard what my right hon. Friend the Chief Secretary proposed; but I cannot help thinking that the hon. Member for Sligo (Mr. Sexton) would be wise to prefer a bird in the hand to a possible two that there may be in the bush. I cannot pretend to understand the speech of the hon. Member for West Belfast (Mr. Haslett). I only comprehended one sentence of it, and it was the one in which the hon. Member said he was not afraid to trust the people, but that he is quite willing to grant an extended municipal franchise, not only to the inhabitants of Belfast, but to the people of every other borough in Ireland. If that be really so, I ask him why he does not take the present available opportunity of doing so? I certainly think the Chief Secretary ought to listen to the appeal which has been made to him on this question. He put the case in this way—that if the hon. Member for Sligo (Mr. Sexton) will consent to withdraw the Resolution, the general measure for dealing with the municipal franchise in Ireland may be pushed on; the Government will use their influence to have it passed, and in that way the hon. Member will gain his point. May I put the matter in this way? The general measure may pass this Session or it may not. If it does not, then the hon. Member by passing this Resolution will secure an object which we all, both Liberals and Tories, admit to be necessary and just. If, on the other hand, the General Bill does pass this Session, of which I entertain some doubt, then this clause will become merged in the general law, so that I do not see what inconvenience would arise from inserting it at the present moment. For this reason, without troubling the House further, I, at any rate, intend to vote for the clause which has been moved by my hon. Friend.

Mr. SCLATER - BOOTH (Hants, Basingstoke): The hon. Member who moved this clause cast no imputation upon the Committee which considered the merits of this Bill, and over which I had the honour of presiding. I will not, therefore, take up the time of the House by defending the action of the Committee. I will merely say that the plan of main drainage proposed by the Bill is a reasonable one, that it will be carried out in the usual way, and that it has received the approval of the most eminent authorities upon the subject of main drainage who exist in the United Kingdom. Then what I desire to put to the House is this—the hon. Gentleman does not go so far as to say that this plan is a bad one, or that it is not required in the interests of the inhabitants of the town of Belfast.

Mr. SEXTON: I said nothing at all about the plan.

Mr. SCLATER-BOOTH: I am aware of that; but if the hon. Gentleman's Motion is carried, it may have the effect of prejudicing the future progress of the Bill. The hon. Member takes it as a matter of course that the new constituency which he proposes to create will take the line carved out for them by their predecessors; but I do not see that that would at all follow. By assenting to such a clause, I think that the House would be not only setting a very inconvenient precedent, and one that is entirely unknown, but would be doing something calculated to bring the whole conduct of Public and Private Business into confusion. It might also inflict a serious evil upon the town of Belfast by delaying for an indefinite period the prosecution of this main drainage scheme. It is said that the House of Lords will throw out the Bill, or that, at any rate, they will throw out this clause. Undoubtedly, they would have very good reason for doing so, if they found that advantage was taken of the peculiar privileges afforded by our system of Private Bill legislation to prejudge a question which ought to be dealt with by a general measure, and which is, in fact, dealt with by a Bill now before the House which has already received a second reading, and in regard to which it simply rests with the Government to say whether it shall pass into law this Session or not. I therefore trust that the hon. Member for Sligo (Mr. Sexton) will accept the invitation of the Chief Secretary, and will consent to withdraw the Motion. It might really seem, from some of the language which has been used in the debate, that it was the duty of the Corporation of Belfast to propose, in a Private Bill, an extension of the municipal franchise. Not only was it not their duty to do so, but they would have laid themselves open to serious comment if they had endeavoured, by Private Bill legislation, to anticipate the views of Parliament on the general subject. That is a very important question of principle in regard to which, I imagine, there will be very little dispute. I certainly do not know what anomalies might not be introduced into the provisions of a Private Bill, if this clause dealing with the municipal franchise in Ireland is to pass. Then, again, it is quite possible that the question of the municipal franchise may eventually be dealt with in the General Bill in a very different manner. I really think that the House would be taking an unprecedented step if it were to accept the proposal of the hon. Member, and I hope on reconsideration that the hon. Member himself will accept the advice of the Chief Secretary.

Mr. BRADLAUGH (Northampton): If I could feel sure that the right hon. Gentleman who has just sat down is correct in the statement he has made to the House, I should not feel it necessary to rise. He has told us that it only depends on the Government whether the General Bill which is to extend the municipal franchise throughout Ireland shall become law this Session. If I could feel sure that he was authorized to speak for his Party in the other House, or if he will give any intimation that he is so authorized, I will not detain the House for one second further with any remarks of mine. I presume that the silence of the right hon. Gentleman must be taken to mean that while he desires to see the general measure pass, he is not quite sure that his Friends in "another place" would give the same aid in carrying out his wishes that he would himself. Now, I quite feel that the Chief Secretary for Ireland has made a very generous offer to the Irish Members; but if the hon. Member who moved the clause goes to a division upon it, I certainly intend to go into the Lobby with him. I therefore deem it necessary to say why I so intend. I do not believe that the Government are strong enough to carry the General Bill in the other House. I do believe that the general disposition of the other House is to throw out Bills of this nature, and to prevent any kind of extension of the suffrage. They would, therefore, delay the passing of this Bill; and I feel that the right hon. Gentleman who has just sat down, if he does not agree with me in opinion, will, at any rate, agree with me in the result. I am going to vote for the clause, because it is one which embodies, as I understand it, a principle which has been repeatedly affirmed in this House, and repeatedly rejected in the other. Although, therefore, I agree with the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary that it is undesirable to get by a side wind that which ought to be asserted in a general Act of Parliament, yet when the broad proposition cannot be obtained, but has been rejected over and over again, I am in favour of obtaining a recognition of the principle in the best way I can. I submit that that is not an unconstitutional course; and I think it will be within the memory of some of the Members of this House that there have been occasions when desirable legislation on the part of this House has been rejected in "another place." I will not go into the wider matter, but some hon. Members will recollect that a clause securing the repeal of the taxes on knowledge found its place into a particular Bill, simply because a more direct measure had been rejected by the House of Lords, and it was known that they would not reject the entire Bill, however reluctant they might be to assent to this one part of it. But, if I understand rightly, there has already been one Private Bill passed in the House of Lords in which the Suffrage Question has been dealt with; and I intend to vote for this clause in the hope that, if a general measure does not pass, at any rate this Bill may pass, and it will be an assertion of the Radicals to allow no opportunity to slip by which an extension of the municipal franchise can be secured.

Mr. DILLON (Mayo, E.): The right hon. Gentleman who spoke from the Front Bench on this side of the House (Mr. John Morley) made an appeal to us not to proceed with this Motion, as there is every reason to suppose that it may be settled on the broader questions involved in the general Bill. But we have the best evidence, and I need not go further than the Paper circulated by the Corporation of Belfast against this Motion, to show that they will oppose to the very utmost the settlement of the question on the broader basis; for what do they say? They say that they will be content to allow the Bill to drop, and the population of Belfast to suffer from all the evils they propose to remove by their Bill, rather than allow the working men of Belfast to have the municipal franchise extended. They know perfectly well that the moment an extension of the municipal franchise is secured, the supreme influence of the Tory Party in the Town Council will be destroyed, and the insertion of this clause in the present Bill will be quite sufficient for the purpose. Therefore, in the event of the withdrawal of this clause, all their influence, and that of the Tory Party generally, would be brought to bear upon the other House of Parliament to reject the general measure which the Chief Secretary has kindly offered to push through this House. When the Bill reached the other House it would be immediately dealt with as it has repeatedly been before. Now, what are the facts of the case in regard to the proposal to settle the Irish municipal franchise on a wider basis? We are told that the Bill has been read a second time in this House. How many times has it been already read a second time in the House of Commons and not passed? Will hon. Members be surprised to hear that it has passed the House of Commons four or five times; that it was read a second time 10 years ago, and that it has not yet succeeded in passing the House of Lords? The hon. Member for West Belfast (Mr. Haslett) has political Friends in the House of Lords, who have slaughtered the Bill over and over again, and we have listened to the latest *apologia* from the Corporation of the City of Belfast for not accepting the extension of the franchise which my hon. Friend the Member for Sligo (Mr. Sexton) proposes in his clause. The hon. Member for West Belfast has succeeded in demonstrating to the House his extraordinary ignorance of the state of Irish municipal law, and of the custom and procedure of this House. He said that the term of occupation in Dublin is three years, whereas that provision has been repealed by an Act which became law last year, and it is now enacted that the period shall be 12 months' occupation. That is a specimen of how careful the hon. Member has been in acquiring a knowledge of the law of the subject. Then he also said that under the Municipal Bill the boundaries of Belfast will be extended, whereas there is no such proposal in the Bill at all. That shows the great interest he takes in the general scheme for dealing with the question on a broad basis. We know that there is very little chance of extending the franchise in the borough of Belfast so as to give the ratepayers a voice in the spending of the money, and what we want is that the general body of the people of Belfast should have a voice in the execution of this great work, so that it shall no longer be possible for the richer parts of the town to be well drained, while the poorer parts are badly drained and altogether neglected. The right hon. Member for Basingstoke (Mr. Sclater-Booth) said that nobody before the Committee complained of the scheme or of any of its details. We make no complaint of the plan; but what we desire is that the plan, which will take six or seven years to bring to a conclusion, shall be executed under control of the people who are directly interested in its execution. The execution of the plan is far more important to the people of Belfast than many hon. Members seem to suppose, and we want that they should have full control not only over the execution of the work, but over the expenditure connected with it and the raising of the money. We know, further, that this is our only chance of bringing about a change; if we let this Bill go without this clause we shall have no chance whatever. I come now to the offer which has been made by the Chief Secretary. That offer looked a tempting and plausible offer; but I maintain that the right hon. Gentleman has made an offer which he has no power to carry out. He made the offer to pass the Municipal Franchise Bill through this House. So far so good. He has the power to do that; but he has no power to secure that the Bill shall pass through in "another place." We, however, have the power to secure that this clause shall become law; and what we are invited to do is to abandon that which we have power to do for the sake of another measure, the fate of which is extremely doubtful. The offer of the Chief Secretary cannot secure for us the extension of the municipal franchise in the borough of Belfast; but we believe that the passing of this clause would carry out that object, because, in spite of the braggadocia of hon. Members on the other side, I think the House of Lords would pause before they sacrificed the whole of the Bill, and the expense which the promoters have already incurred in connection with it, for the sake of rejecting this provision. Therefore, if this clause is insisted upon and inserted in the Bill, it will result in one of two things—it will either appear in this Private Bill, or the General Bill, dealing with the question on a wider basis, will be allowed to go through the House of Lords. However, by way of a compromise, what I propose to do is this—to move the adjourment of this debate, and that it should be adjourned to such a period as will enable the House to test the power of the Chief Secretary to settle the question on a broad basis. If the General Bill goes through the House of Lords and becomes law, I need hardly say that my hon. Friend will withdraw his clause and any further opposition to the Private Bill; and I have no doubt, if the hon. Members for Belfast are sincere in their professions, they can assist the Chief Secretary very materially in securing that the General Bill shall become law. I will, therefore, move that the debate be adjourned to this day four weeks, so as to give a reasonable time to see if the Chief Secretary can carry out his offer; and then, if the General Bill becomes law, we will withdraw our opposition; but if that Bill is slaughtered by the House of Lords, every Member of this House will recognize the reasonableness, the justice, and the necessity of the Motion of my hon. Friend as the only mode by which we can achieve the object we have in view.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Debate be now adjourned." —(*Mr. Dillon.*)

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT) (Derby): I think the hon. Member has made a very reasonable proposal, and I hope the House will agree to it without a division. There are two points which are quite clear as far as we are concerned. We think it is a very objectionable proceeding to deal with general questions in a Private Bill. On the other hand, there is no doubt—no one has risen in this debate to deny—that the municipal franchise in Belfast is in a most unsatisfactory state. Even the hon. Member for West Belfast (Mr. Haslett) has admitted that fact. The Government are prepared to give facilities for pomoting the general measure for putting that matter on a proper footing, and I may assume that we may count on the support of the Members on that side of the House. After the speech of the hon. Member for West Belfast I presume they are prepared to do their best in getting the Bill through. It would not, under those circumstances, take very long to pass through this House. It would then have to go to "another place." We have heard predictions made on both sides of the House as to what may happen to the Bill there. The right hon. Gentleman opposite (Mr. Sclater-Booth) is confident that it will pass. I do not know whether that will be so or not; but if the Bill did not pass hon. Members sitting below the Gangway will have acquired the strongest and most convincing argument in favour of Home Rule they can possibly desire. If the House of Lords were to refuse a Municipal Franchise Bill—to refuse that which the hon. Member for West Belfast (Mr. Haslett) declares to be a proper Bill—an argument would be provided in favour of Home Rule such as could not be answered. I therefore assume, with the right hon. Gentleman, that the Bill will succeed. That being so, before the period to which the hon. Member proposes to adjourn the debate arrives, we shall probably have reached the object desired in an unobjectionable manner. I, therefore, trust that that course will be adopted.

SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH (Bristol, W.): I do not know what course the hon. Gentlemen who represent Belfast in this House may feel it necessary to take on this subject; but it appears to me that if the proposal of the hon. Member for East Mayo (Mr. Dillon) is accepted, the town of Belfast may find itself in a somewhat remarkable and awkward position. It is admitted—at least I have not heard it denied—that this Bill is in itself a necessary and a proper Bill; that it contains powers which the Corporation of Belfast ought to possess, and which, indeed, it is necessary for them to have for the proper government of the town. But, Sir, this debate is now proposed to be adjourned until such time as Parliament shall have decided upon a general proposal to reduce the municipal franchise in boroughs throughout Ireland to the point at which hon. Members below the Gangway desire it to stand. Now, I do not imagine that this is the proper moment for discussing whether the municipal franchise of Belfast or of Ireland should be reduced. For myself, I do not think that this franchise is in a satisfactory condition; and it is a matter which may fairly claim to receive full discussion and consideration in this House. I hope the result may be satisfactory, not merely in reference to the municipal franchise in Belfast, but in the other municipal towns of Ireland. Every matter affecting the municipal government of the towns of Ireland will be found exhaustively dealt with in the Report of a Committee over which I had the honour to preside some time ago. But if the course now proposed is taken, what may happen, as it seems to me, to the City of Belfast is this—Supposing that it is found impossible for the general reform of the municipal franchise to be effected even in this House during the present Session, is Belfast on that account to be deprived of those rights and powers which the Corporation think necessary for the proper government of the town, and even for the health of the inhabitants? That is the suggestion. The health of the people is surely of primary importance. It certainly would be most unfair if the postponement of this stage of a Private Bill, until a general measure can be passed, should have the effect of depriving Belfast of the advantages she would obtain under the provisions of this Private Bill. I do not object to an arrangement for the discussion of the larger measure, nor, I imagine, do the hon. Members for Belfast. But I do trust that hon. Members, in whatever part of the House they may sit, and however anxious they may be to deal with the Irish municipal franchise, will also remember that the powers of this Bill are of great importance, because they materially affect the health of a large population. If I am correctly informed, under a Standing Order of the House of Lords, the 25th of June is the last day for receiving Private Bills from this House; and as the adjournment of the debate has now been moved until the 26th, there is considerable danger of the present Bill being lost for this Session. I cannot, therefore, agree to the proposal for adjournment.

Mr. DWYER GRAY (Dublin, St. Stephen's Green): The right hon. Baronet seems to be unaware that the general question has been discussed and settled, as far as the principle is concerned, by passing the second reading. What the opponents of the proposal of my hon. Friend are evidently anxious to secure is that this Bill shall pass through the House without any assurance that the general measure should be dealt with at all. We do not wish to stop this Bill; but what we want to do, in order to meet the objection of the right Gentleman the Chief Secretary—an objection, I think, very much to be regretted, and one which certainly very much astonished me—is to secure, by some means, either by means of the General Bill or otherwise, the extension in Belfast of the franchise so as to assimilate it with that of all the great English towns before Belfast is permitted to incur this enormous expense. It has been suggested on all sides that this is a matter of very great and extreme urgency; but that is really not the view of the authorities in Belfast, and that argument does not hold water for a moment, seeing that the Bill has reference to a subject that has been under discussion for 15 or 20 years, and therefore manifestly is not a matter which must be dealt with instantly. A main drainage scheme, no doubt, is very desirable; but the carrying out of it is not a matter that vitally affects the town of Belfast. In trying to fix on my hon. Friend the responsibility of delay in the event of the House of Lords throwing out the Bill, or the clause we seek to insist on, the Chief Secretary is putting the saddle on the wrong horse. It is completely within the power of the promoters of the Bill to secure the passage of the Bill if they will consent to this clause being inserted. The House of Lords is not at all likely to throw it out of their own Motion. It would be only when entreated to do so by the promoters of the Bill that they would dream of throwing it out if this House is determined to insert it. It is, therefore, unfair to endeavour to fix on us the responsibility of throwing it out. The responsibility must rest solely upon the promoters. But I can assure the right hon. Gentleman that he need not have the slightest fear on that account. If the promoters abandon the Bill, they must pay the costs out of their own pockets. They may bluster and threaten to withdraw the Bill; but it is absolutely certain they will do nothing of the kind, because the members of the Town Council of Belfast have as good an appreciation of their own pecuniary interests as any Gentlemen in or out of this House. The right hon. Baronet alluded to the Standing Order. He thinks that by hanging up the Bill until the 28th of June its passage may be endangered; but surely he is aware that, although the 25th of June is fixed as the last day on which the House of Lords will receive a Private Bill from this House, it is perfectly easy to secure the suspension of the Standing Order. The extension of the franchise is a matter of great importance. I certainly have been under the impression that it was the Orange Members for Belfast who have been the Gentlemen to propose this extension of the municipal franchise; and yet I have observed with surprise that they have taken no part in this discussion.

MR. SPEAKER: Order, order! The hon. Gentleman is now travelling beyond the reasons to be urged for the adjournment of the debate.

MR. DWYER GRAY: I will only say, in conclusion, that the sole reason which I have heard urged against the Amendment is the suggestion that the Standing Order of the House of Lords would interfere with the progress of the Bill. The Lords would, I believe, suspend their Standing Order. I would urge that there should be a postponement of this Bill for, say, four or five weeks, until we have an assurance that the Municipal Franchise Bill will be passed in the other House. In the meantime, we ought not to lose the opportunity of asserting the principle in the present Bill.

MR. DE COBAIN (Belfast, E.): The hon. Member who has just sat down has taunted the Belfast Members with having maintained an attitude of silence during this debate. I had, however, risen three or four times when the Speaker called upon hon. Gentlemen sitting below the Gangway. As regards the principle of the clause introduced by the hon. Member for Sligo (Mr. Sexton)——

MR. SPEAKER: Order, order! The hon. Gentleman is, perhaps, not aware that the Question now before the House is the Question of the Adjournment, and to that Question the hon. Member must confine himself.

MR. DE COBAIN: I bow, Sir, to your ruling. As regards the Question of Adjournment, I am not a believer in the adjournment of either Imperial or local questions—questions which may more or less seriously affect the interests of the nation. I think this adjournment would present no new phase of the question; and, therefore, I think the Chief Secretary for Ireland has made a very fair proposition, and I entirely agree with it. I am thoroughly in favour of the principle which he has presented of the extension of local influence in municipal matters; but I cannot understand the new phase of the question introduced by the Chancellor of the Exchequer.

MR. SPEAKER: Order, order! The hon. Gentleman must confine himself to the Question of Adjournment.

MR. DE COBAIN: I only wish to point out that the Chancellor of the Exchequer has supported the views of hon. Gentlemen below the Gangway who have spoken in favour of the adjournment; and I thought that I might be permitted to say that I disagree with the right hon. Gentleman without being out of Order. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, in that respect, is at variance, as I understand him, with the Chief Secretary, who preceded him in this discussion, and who I understood to be in favour of giving facilities for the progress of the Bill. I think that a question of this kind should not be postponed, and I hope the House will reject the Motion for Adjournment.

SIR JAMES CORRY (Armagh, Mid): I have only a few words to say on the Question of Adjournment, and they are these—If the House refuses now to come to a conclusion in the matter, and if we defer it too long, it will be difficult, if not impossible, for the Corporation to get the Bill through the obstacles which would be interposed to its progress in the other House. I may say that, if the House agrees to an adjournment for a fortnight or three weeks, we should not be opposed to that, if it is not now agreed to take the sense of the House upon it. The question is a very serious and important one for Belfast; and I hope that if this question of the municipal franchise is taken up it will be dealt with by the Government, and not by a Private Bill. Therefore, if the Government will agree to take the matter up, I have no objection, so far as I am concerned, to an adjournment of the Belfast Bill for three weeks in the meantime.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Debate be adjourned till Monday, the twenty-eighth day of June next."—(*Mr. Sexton.*)

Amendment proposed, to leave out the word "twenty-eighth," in order to insert the word "twenty-first,"—(*Sir James Corry,*)—instead thereof.

Question proposed, "That the word 'twenty-eighth' stand part of the Question."

THE CHIEF SECRETARY FOR IRELAND (Mr. JOHN MORLEY) (Newcastle-on-Tyne): I am prepared to accept the hon. Baronet's Amendment.

MR. T. M. HEALY (Londonderry, S.): I would like to ask the Government upon what day they will be able to take the broader Bill, as that must govern the view of the Irish Members as to date? We do not think the House of Lords would have an opportunity of considering this Bill for at least four weeks; and if they were asked to do so in a shorter period, their Lordships are very fond of complaining that they have not been allowed sufficient time to consider Bills of this sort. The General Bill now stands for Wednesday next; but it stands very low down on the Paper, and cannot be reached on that day. It is the last of 20 or 30 Orders. On Thursday we have the Home Rule Bill, and on Friday the ordinary Motions. Therefore, the first day on which it can be taken is Monday, so that there will have been one week gone. I would, therefore, ask what facilities will be given to press forward the other Bill at once?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT) (Derby): I think it can be taken on Friday. I would suggest to hon. Members that they should accept the suggestion made by those who represent Belfast. If it comes on, and there is nothing to delay its further progress, it can pass; if anything does happen to prevent the Bill being gone on with, they can propose a further adjournment. We will do all we can to further the Bill here, and send it up to "another place," and if it is accepted before the 21st this Bill can be dealt with. If a further adjournment is required, the matter can be duly considered. I think it would be of great advantage, not only to this Bill, but to the General Bill, that as far as possible we should come to an agreement.

MR. SEXTON (Sligo, S.): Allow me to say, Sir, that I accept the suggestion of the Chancellor of the Exchequer; but if the other Bill be not passed, I will reserve to myself the right of making a further proposal until the Lords have declared how they intend to deal with the question. The distinct understanding is, that this Bill is to wait until the Municipal Franchise Bill has passed in the House of Lords.

MR. SPEAKER: Does the hon. Member withdraw the 28th?

MR. SEXTON: Yes.

Question put, and *negatived.*

Question, "That the word 'twenty-first' be there inserted," put, and *agreed to.*

Main Question, as amended, put, and *agreed to.*

Debate *adjourned* till *Monday* 21st June.

## *QUESTIONS.*

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### CONTAGIOUS DISEASES OF CATTLE—M. PASTEUR'S DISCOVERIES.

SIR RICHARD PAGET (Somerset, Wells) asked the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, Whether the attention of the Agricultural Department of the Privy Council has been directed to the discoveries of M. Pasteur, with regard to the possibility of protecting cattle, sheep, and pigs from certain contagious diseases by inoculation with attenuated virus; whether, in view of the National importance of this question, the Department are prepared to undertake a series of careful experiments to determine the value of the discoveries referred to; and, whether, with the object of at once dealing with one prevalent form of contagious disease, they will be good enough to commence, without delay, the requisite experiments in relation to swine fever?

THE CHANCELLOR (Sir UGHTRED KAY-SHUTTLEWORTH) (Lancashire, Clitheroe): The attention of the Agricultural Department has been called to M. Pasteur's investigations regarding the contagious diseases of cattle; and, by way of a first step in the direction suggested by the hon. Baronet, instructions have been given to Professor Brown to undertake a series of experiments with the virus of swine fever.

### POST OFFICE (IRELAND)—PAY OF LETTER CARRIERS.

MR. GILHOOLY (Cork, W.) asked the Secretary to the Treasury, Whether it is a fact that Daniel Hartigan, a rural postman, who delivers letters and parcels at Dunns and Dunbacon, has a salary of only six shillings per week; whether he has to walk eight miles each day, including Sunday; and if his case will be inquired into with a view to grant him fair remuneration for the performance of his duties?

THE SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY (Mr. HENRY H. FOWLER) (Wolverhampton, E.): Inquiry is being made respecting this case, and as soon as the Report is received the result will be communicated to the hon. Member.

## SALMON FISHERIES (IRELAND)—THE RIVER SHANNON.

MR. JORDAN (Clare, W.) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If the Inspectors of Fisheries called a meeting by public notice to be held at Kilrush, county Clare, on November 27th 1885, to inquire into complaints against fixed nets in the River Shannon, for infraction of the Law; if two of the Inspectors, Messrs. Hayes and Hornsby, attended that meeting; if Mr. John Burns, of Labasheeda, in pursuance of a notice and letter from the Secretary to the Inspectors, travelled a distance of over ten miles to attend that meeting; if, notwithstanding the letter stating that the Inspectors would be glad to hear Mr. Burns' evidence, the question was not satisfactorily gone into, and Mr. Burns only partially heard; if Mr. Burns wrote to ask what decision had been arrived at by the Inspectors, and no reply has been sent to his communication; and, if steps would now be taken to cause the said Inspectors to make a report on the proceedings, and also to state what decision has been given on the subjects complained of?

THE CHIEF SECRETARY (Mr. JOHN MORLEY) (Newcastle-on-Tyne): On the date in question two Inspectors of Fisheries held an inquiry at Kilrush into four different subjects, in one of which Mr. Burns was interested. When the case came on it was found that the complainants, who were fishermen, had no professional assistance, and no one to conduct their case, whereas there were three professional representatives on the other side. The Inspectors, nevertheless, gave the fishermen every assistance, and the inquiry was opened. It was soon, however, manifest that neither the ends of justice nor the interests of the fishermen themselves could be served by allowing the inquiry to go on, and the Inspectors accordingly adjourned it, at the same time intimating their willingness to resume it when the complainants were in a better state of preparation to put their case before the Court. Mr. Burns was in Court at the time, and the decision was made known to him as well as the other complainants. The receipt of the letter referred to in the latter part of the Question was acknowledged, and it will be, as he was told, laid before the Board. Owing to local engagements, however, in the country this has not yet been done; but it will be shortly.

## CUSTOMS DEPARTMENT—REDUNDANT CLERKS.

MR. M'CULLOCH (Glasgow, St. Rollox) (for Mr. MACDONALD CAMERON) asked the Secretary to the Treasury, Whether, in a Treasury Order dated 12th March 1880, granting "certain measures of relief to the redundant clerks" of the Customs, the measures of relief were subject to four specified conditions; whether one of the conditions was that, when any redundant clerks were in receipt of more than £300 per annum, every fourth vacancy on the Upper Division should not be filled up; whether the gradual reduction of the Upper Division clerkships then contemplated has been upset by the reorganizations effected since the date of the Treasury Order, so that many more Upper Division Clerkships have been dropped than those provided for in the Treasury stipulations, whereby the prospects of the redundant clerks have been seriously injured; and, whether, by way of compensation, the maximum salary of the redundant clerks could not be raised to that of Upper Division clerks, without entailing extra cost upon the Exchequer for several years to come, if it would do so at all?

THE SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY (Mr. HENRY H. FOWLER) (Wolverhampton, E.): The Treasury Order of March 12, 1880, granting certain measures of relief was subject to four conditions. One of these conditions was that every fourth vacancy in the Upper Division should not be filled up so long as any redundant clerk was in receipt of more than £300 a-year. The gradual reduction of the Upper Division clerkships then contemplated has been upset by the re-organizations effected since the date of the Treasury Order; but this gradual reduction of the Upper Division clerkships has been accompanied by a gradual reduction in the number of the redundant clerks who had the prospect of promotion to them, so that the proportions of the two classes are as nearly as possible the same as they were in 1880. The prospects of the redundant clerks are thus, apparently, the same as in 1880; but, practically, they are not as favourable, because the proportion in the redundant class should be smaller, owing to the promotions made since 1880, and because, in the reductions made in the Upper Division, the older men have been selected for retirement. The result is that the ages of the men in the two classes are now practically much the same, and the prospect of promotion is not good. There are 53 redundant clerks to be considered. If the Treasury agree to raise their maximum salary from £340 to £400, the present maximum salary of the Upper Division, the increased cost to the public would not commence till February, 1889; but no estimate could well be given of the cost, as it would depend upon the question whether men were promoted before they attained the existing maximum of £340, which at present none have reached.

## WAR DEPARTMENT—THE STEAMERS ON THE NILE.

Mr. W. H. SMITH (Strand, Westminster) asked the Secretary of State for War, If the light draught steamers which were sent out to Egypt by the War Department for service on the Nile have been withdrawn in safety below Wady Halfa; and, whether it is proposed to hand over any of them to the Egyptian Government?

The SECRETARY of STATE (Mr. Campbell-Bannerman) (Stirling, &c.): The three Thornycroft stern-wheel steamers, which I presume are those to which my right hon. Friend refers, have never been south of the First Cataract. They are at present at, or north of, Assouan. These boats are officered, manned, and properly cared for. I am not aware of any intention of handing them over to the Egyptian Government.

## REPUBLIC OF HAYTI—IMPRISONMENT OF A BRITISH SUBJECT.

Sir HENRY HOLLAND (Hampstead) asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether the attention of the Secretary of State has been drawn to the case of a Mr. Coles, a British subject, who was, as he alleges, unlawfully tried and sentenced to imprisonment at Port au Prince; and, whether any steps have been or will be taken to investigate the facts of the case, and, if his statement be correct, to obtain redress for Mr. Coles?

The UNDER SECRETARY of STATE (Mr. Bryce) (Aberdeen, S.): Her Majesty's Government are fully acquainted with the details of the trial, which led to a sentence of three years' imprisonment being passed on Mr. Coles by the Haytian Court of Assize. In their opinion, that trial was a gross miscarriage of justice. Her Majesty's Government have made vigorous representations to the Haytian Government on this subject, but so far without effect. Her Majesty's Government are consequently sending, as Commissioner to Port au Prince, Mr. Clement Hill, of the Foreign Office, who will be instructed to call the serious attention of the Haytian Government to this case, as well as to the complaints received from other British subjects resident in Hayti, of acts of oppression and denial of justice to which they had been subjected by the Haytian Authorities.

## THE CURRENCY—CIRCULATION OF FOREIGN COPPER COIN.

Mr. MONTAGU (Tower Hamlets, Whitechapel) asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Whether he is aware that Foreign copper coins circulate in increased quantities, reaching in the East of London to one-fifth of the copper coins current; and, whether the Government intend to take steps to prevent loss from falling upon the working classes?

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER (Sir William Harcourt) (Derby), in reply, said, that, while not accepting the statement of the hon. Member as to the amount of the coins in question in circulation, it was the intention of the Government to introduce legislation on this subject in the Revenue Bill.

## PUBLIC PETITIONS — PETITIONS AGAINST HOME RULE.

Mr. BIGGAR (Cavan, W.) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If his attention has been drawn to the fact that the officials of the Cork Spinning and Weaving Company, and of the Ulster Spinning and Weaving Company, have been urging their employés to sign Petitions against Home Rule; and, whether there is any means by which such conduct can be punished? The hon. Member said, he wished to point out that there had been a typographical error in the printing of the Question. "Cork Spinning Company" should be "York Street Spinning Company."

The CHIEF SECRETARY (Mr. John Morley) (Newcastle - on - Tyne): I thought it was. We have found, so far as we could learn in regard to the Ulster Spinning Company, that it is said that the movement originated amongst the workers themselves. I cannot speak as to the other Company, because I was not quite sure what it meant; but I may say that these are matters in which the Government cannot well interfere.

## ARMY CONTRACTS—REGIMENTAL SUPPLIES.

Mr. HOOPER (Cork, S.E.) asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether he is aware that the contract for supplying the canteen of the 11th Hussars at Ballincollig Barracks was by order of the Colonel transferred from a local contractor to one of the Army Supply Associations, against the expressed wish of the sergeants of the regiment; whether he is aware that Colonel Kelly-Kenny, of the 1st Battalion Queen's Royal West Surrey Regiment, while stationed at Cork Barracks, took means to ascertain the feeling of the sergeants of his regiment as to dealing locally or otherwise for the regimental supplies, and that they unanimously decided in favour of local dealing; and, whether, under all the circumstances, he will consider whether it is desirable that measures should be taken for ensuring that these contracts for regiments should only be conferred under an open system of competition by tender?

The SECRETARY of STATE (Mr. Campbell-Bannerman) (Stirling, &c.): Sir, I am informed that, in consequence of some irregularity in the payment to the sergeants' mess of the 11th Hussars, the officer commanding directed that through a committee payments would have to be made weekly. This had the effect of diverting the custom from the local contractor. In the 1st Battalion Surrey Regiment, the sergeants, on being asked, expressed an opinion in favour of local dealing. I agree with the hon. Member that the best method for obtaining supplies is by open competition; but the regulation for a committee of sergeants' messing and of leaving a large discretion to their committees of management works very well, and gives satisfaction to the Army, and I do not think it is desirable that the management should be interfered with by any directions on the subject.

## POOR LAW (IRELAND)—THE CLAREMORRIS UNION—DESTITUTION.

Mr. JAMES O'BRIEN (Mayo, S.) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether it is the fact that the medical officer of the Claremorris Union has, after an inspection of the poorer parts of his district, reported to the Board of Guardians that—

> "Destitution prevails to a large extent. Many of these poor people are suffering severely from the want of, and inability to procure, the necessary amount of food to sustain them in health. I therefore apprehend that, unless assistance can be had for them, fever and other low and debilitating diseases will be the result;"

and, seeing that, in a resolution of the Board of Guardians of that Union, it is stated that—

> "Relief from the rates would be entirely inadequate, and would impoverish the ratepayers,"

what is to be done to meet this state of distress?

The CHIEF SECRETARY (Mr. John Morley) (Newcastle-on-Tyne): Mr. Speaker, the Report of the medical officer has been before the Local Government Board. They have written to the Guardians calling attention to the provisions of the recent Relief Act, and expressing their willingness, if so desired, to order an extension of the scope of outdoor relief. But there is no means by which the Guardians could be afforded extraneous assistance. They must provide out of their own resources support for the poor of their own Union.

## CONTAGIOUS DISEASES (ANIMALS) ACTS — ABORTION AMONG CATTLE.

Mr. AINSLIE (Lancashire, N. Lonsdale) asked the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, If he is aware that abortion in cattle is contagious, and is rapidly on the increase, and annually responsible for the premature death of thousands of calves; and, if he will consider the advisableness of scheduling abortion in cattle under the Contagious Diseases (Animals) Act?

The CHANCELLOR (Sir Ughtred Kay-Shuttleworth) (Lancashire, Clitheroe): Abortion among cattle is, doubtless, a cause of heavy losses; but there is no evidence that it is rapidly on the increase. The recurrence of such cases is due to a variety of causes, including insufficient precautions in cleansing places where it has occurred. But abortion is not a contagious disease, and does not call for the intervention of an Inspector, or the slaughter of cattle, and cannot, therefore, be included among the diseases to which the Act applies.

## ARMY DISCIPLINE ACT—REDRESS OF WRONG—APPEALS.

Mr. R. POWER (Waterford) asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether, when officers applied to the Duke of Cambridge, under the "Redress of Wrong, Army Discipline Act," he will make it compulsory on Generals commanding districts to forward the letters within eight days to the War Office; whether it is true that a case has lately occurred in the northern district of an officer of rank and service in the battlefield appealing to the Duke of Cambridge under the "Army Discipline Act;" and, whether his letters were not only delayed for several weeks, but strong measures applied to induce him to withdraw them and to leave the Army?

The SECRETARY of STATE (Mr. Campbell-Bannerman) (Stirling, &c.): In answer to the hon. Member, I have to say that General Officers are bound to forward appeals without delay; but there are many advantages in allowing them some discretion as to time. With regard to the particular case referred to, I cannot answer the Question without knowing the name of the officer concerned. If I am furnished with that information I will cause inquiry to be made.

## WAR DEPARTMENT—THE 43-TON GUNS.

Sir HENRY TYLER (Great Yarmouth) asked the Secretary of State for War, What steps have been taken to prevent risk from the firing of guns of similar construction to the 43-ton gun which recently failed, pending inquiry into the cause of failure, and the best means of strengthening such guns; also to state the names of any members of the Committee appointed to inquire into the recent failure of the 43-ton gun who have not been directly or indirectly concerned in the design, construction, consideration, or approval of guns of this description; and how many guns have been constructed, and how many guns have been issued and are in service, of similar construction to the 43-ton gun which recently failed, and at what cost per gun?

The SECRETARY of STATE (Mr. Campbell-Bannerman) (Stirling, &c.): The guns will not be fired again, under ordinary circumstances, until strengthened by being chase-hooped, an operation which can be easily and rapidly effected. Fourteen guns of this class have been constructed. Three have been appropriated to the land service, and 11 to the Navy. The cost per gun is about £6,000. The Members of the Committee who have not been directly concerned in any previous consideration of questions affecting this gun are the President, Lieutenant General Sir Michael Biddulph, the Vice President, Admiral Ward, Captain Hammill, R.N., General Fraser, Colonel Baylay, Colonel Davies, Major Colquhoun, and Mr. Gledhill.

## WESTMINSTER ABBEY—RESTORATION.

Mr. W. H. SMITH (Strand, Westminster) asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, If Her Majesty's Government are now prepared to take steps to provide in some way the necessary funds for the maintenance of the fabric of Westminster Abbey, for which the existing provision has been found to be wholly inadequate?

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER (Sir William Harcourt) (Derby) (who replied) said, that his right hon. Friend had requested him to say that he hoped to introduce within a few days the Dean and Chapter Bill of last Session, with certain Amendments, which would arrest the hostility which the Bill had encountered last Session. This Bill would provide for the case of Westminster Abbey.

## SALE OF CROWN LANDS (IRELAND)— THE FORT OF CULMORE.

Mr. T. M. HEALY (Londonderry, S.) asked the Secretary to the Treasury, Does any record exist as to the terms and conditions on which the Fort and lands of Culmore, county Derry, were sold by Government to the Irish Society of London about twenty-five years ago?

The SECRETARY to the TREASURY (Mr. Henry H. Fowler) (Wolverhampton, E.): The fort of Culmore and the lands held with it were granted by the Crown to the Irish Society in fee in the Reign of Charles II., the Crown retaining the right to appoint a Governor of the fort, who was not only to enjoy the rents of the lands annexed to it, but also to receive an annuity of £200, Irish currency, from the Society. The legal interest in both the fort and the lands was, however, vested absolutely in the Society. The fort itself not being necessary for defensive purposes, and the Governorship being a sinecure, Her Majesty's Government determined, on the death of the last Governor of the fort, Field Marshal the Earl of Strafford, in 1859, to come to an arrangement with the Society, and it was finally agreed in 1861 that the Society should pay to the Treasury the sum of £12,000, in return for which the Crown gave up in favour of the Society all claims in respect of the lands and fort, and surrendered its right of appointing a Governor of the fort. In consequence of the arrangement, the lands became the entire property of the Society, and the liability of the Society to pay the annuity of £200 was extinguished.

Mr. T. M. HEALY asked whether any provision had been taken in the arrangement that there should be no increases of rents on the tenants' improvements?

Mr. HENRY H. FOWLER: I can hardly answer a Question without Notice which relates to what took place in 1859.

## PRISONS (IRELAND)—IMPRISONMENT OF MAURICE MOLONY AND OTHERS.

Mr. LALOR (Queen's Co., Leix) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, with regard to the case of Maurice Molony, Michael Galvin, Cornelius M'Auliffe, and James Quinlan, who were tried and convicted before Mr. Justice Fitzgerald, at the Cork Winter Assizes of 1881, and sentenced to penal servitude for five years, If it be true that there is a prison regulation by which $12\frac{3}{4}$ months are allowed to a prisoner sentenced to a term of five years, provided he does not violate the prison rules; whether Maurice Molony or Michael Galvin ever broke the prison rules; were Maurice Molony and Michael Galvin entitled to their discharge on or about the 6th of November last, and are they still in prison; does a prisoner for every breach of the prison rules receive some days' punishment, and are those days deducted from the $12\frac{3}{4}$ months which he would otherwise have a claim to as a reduction of his term of imprisonment; were Cornelius M'Auliffe and James Quinlan, who suffered a loss of one month from their claim to a reduction of $12\frac{3}{4}$ months in consequence of having broken the prison rules, entitled to their discharge on or about the 6th day of December last, and are they still in prison; and will the Chief Secretary order the release of the said Maurice Molony, Michael Galvin, Cornelius M'Auliffe, and James Quinlan from prison?

The CHIEF SECRETARY (Mr. John Morley) (Newcastle-on-Tyne): Sir, the facts are substantially, I believe, as stated in the hon. Member's Question. The release of convicts on licence before the expiration of their sentence is frequently delayed by the Crown in the exercise of statutory authority for special reasons. In these cases the release has been delayed in consequence of the disturbed state of the part of the country from which the prisoners came. The time has now, I think, arrived when the case of these men may be submitted to the Lord Lieutenant with a view to their release on licence, and I will give instructions accordingly.

### NATIONAL EDUCATION (IRELAND)—SCIENCE AND ART DEPARTMENT—THE MAY EXAMINATIONS—ELIGIBILITY OF PUPILS IN NATIONAL SCHOOLS TO EARN PAYMENTS.

MR. PATRICK O'BRIEN (Monaghan, N.) asked the Vice President of the Committee of Council, What has been the result of his communication with the Commissioners of National Education in Ireland with regard to the elegibility of pupils enrolled in the sixth class in Irish National Schools to earn payments under the Science and Art Department at the May examinations?

THE VICE PRESIDENT (Sir LYON PLAYFAIR) (Leeds, S.): Sir, in answer to the hon. Member I have to say that, owing to a misapprehension, the letter to the Commissioners of National Education in Ireland was only sent about 10 days ago, and we have not yet received an answer. The teachers in Ireland will not suffer, however, on account of this delay, as no change in the rules can be made until the new Directory or Code of the Science and Art Department has been issued, which will be in about six weeks. Before then, the matter will be fully inquired into.

### LAW AND POLICE (IRELAND)—RIOTING AT DOWNPATRICK.

MR. SHIRLEY (Yorkshire, W.R., Doncaster) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether it is true (as stated in *The Sheffield and Rotherham Independent* of May 28th) that at Downpatrick, on May 27th, four lads were charged under an Act of Edward III. with disorderly conduct, by shouting and cheering for Home Rule after ten o'clock at night, and were each sentenced to three months' imprisonment; and, if true, whether he will state to the House what this Act of Edward III. is; and, whether it is really intended that these boys should be kept in prison for three months?

MR. SMALL (Down, S.): Before the right hon. Gentleman answers the Question, might I ask if it is not also a fact that the magistrates only allowed one hour to obtain bail, and thereby increased the difficulty of finding bail?

THE CHIEF SECRETARY (Mr. JOHN MORLEY) (Newcastle-on-Tyne): I cannot answer as to details. The hon. Gentleman has just brought before the House a question of bail which I cannot answer. There are three Questions on this subject on the Paper to-day, which, with the permission of the House, I will answer together. The four young men referred to were not exactly boys, all but one being over age, and that one over 20. They were brought before the Downpatrick Bench for disorderly conduct at night in the public streets, cursing, and using violent Party expressions. Three local magistrates presided. The defendants were ordered to give moderate security for their future good behaviour, or, in default, to be imprisoned; and, as a matter of fact, were all released on bail the next day. As the Towns Improvement Act—under which proceedings of this nature are an offence—is not in force in Downpatrick, the prosecution was under 34 *Edward* III., c. 1, and the Justices' Commission. The Statute of Edward enables magistrates to take security of persons for their good behaviour, when their conduct is likely to lead to a breach of the peace, and I understand that prosecutions under it are by no means uncommon.

MR. T. M. HEALY (Londonderry, S.) asked who were the magistrates, and also how many Catholics were on the Downpatrick Bench? He would also ask whether the Statute of Edward III. only applied to marauders and murderers?

MR. JOHN MORLEY said, he was obliged to point out that he had answered the paragraph in question. He was unable to say how many Catholics were on the Downpatrick Bench.

### THE MAGISTRACY (IRELAND)—THE CORONERSHIP OF NORTH ANTRIM.

MR. T. M. HEALY (Londonderry, S.) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Is it the fact that, although in accordance with his suggestion, a memorial of five Justices has been sent to the Viceroy to appoint additional polling places for the Coroner's election in North Antrim, the High Sheriff has fixed the nomination for Monday (to-day) and the polling for Wednesday; and, will the Government take any steps to secure proper facilities to the voters in the district for recording their votes?

THE CHIEF SECRETARY (Mr. JOHN MORLEY) (Newcastle-on-Tyne): I received, on the 28th of this month, a copy of the original memorial sent to the Lord Lieutenant in regard to this matter. I find, upon inquiry, that it was received in Dublin yesterday. The writ having been issued, and the dates of nomination and the polling having been fixed, there is, I am advised, no power to deal with the matter before the coming Election. I should explain that these fixtures were made before the Question of the hon. and learned Member, some days ago, was put.

In reply to a further Question,

Mr. JOHN MORLEY said, he had every reason to believe that the arrangements had been made in perfect good faith.

### DEVONPORT DOCKYARD—THE QUEEN'S BIRTHDAY.

Captain PRICE (Devonport) asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether it is the usual custom to close the gun wharves at Devonport on Friday afternoon, when Her Majesty's Birthday is kept on a Saturday; and, why the usual course has not been followed this year?

The SECRETARY of STATE (Mr. Campbell-Bannerman) (Stirling, &c.): I find that it was through inadvertence that the half-holiday was not granted on Friday. The men will be allowed the time on another day.

### POST OFFICE—POSTAGE TO AUSTRALIA.

Mr. HENNIKER HEATON (Canterbury) asked the Secretary to the Treasury, Is the Postmaster General aware that the Government of Germany has made arrangements to send letters from Germany to Australia for 2½*d.* each; and, will the Postmaster General at once take measures to reduce the cost of postage on letters from England to Australia from 6*d.* to 2½*d.* per letter to protect the revenue and encourage trade?

The SECRETARY to the TREASURY (Mr. Henry H. Fowler) (Wolverhampton, E.): The Postmaster General is not aware of any such arrangements. Moreover, there is every reason to believe that the Australian Colonies, which, on fiscal grounds, have always declined to join the Postal Union, would object to any reduction of the present postage rates.

### STATE OF IRELAND—MOCK FUNERAL AT WOODFORD, CO. GALWAY.

Captain M'CALMONT (Antrim, E.) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether a mock funeral was recently held in Woodford, county Galway, at which a large number of persons were present, who marched up and down the town with a band playing, preceded by a coffin bearing the inscription "Death to Orangemen and Freemasons;" whether the coffin was set fire to and burnt, amidst great public exultation and delight, within a few yards of where Finlay was brutally murdered last March; whether the police were confined to barracks during these proceedings; whether in Lurgan, a short time since, a number of Orangemen were accompanying the funeral of a member of the Orange Institution, and were ordered by the police to take off their colours when going through the town; and, whether he can give any reason for the apparently different course pursued by the police on these occasions?

The CHIEF SECRETARY (Mr. John Morley) (Newcastle-on-Tyne): The reasons for the apparently different courses pursued by the police on these two occasions is, that in the case of Lurgan there was sworn information that a serious collision would take place if the procession attempted to pass through the Catholic portion of the town wearing Party colours. In the case of the Woodford procession no such collision was to be feared.

Mr. JOHNSTON (Belfast, S.) said, he would remind the right hon. Gentleman that he had not answered the first and second paragraphs of the Question.

Mr. JOHN MORLEY said, he believed that those paragraphs gave a fairly correct description of what occurred.

### ECCLESIASTICAL COMMISSIONERS — EVICTIONS NEAR BREAM'S BUILDINGS, CHANCERY LANE.

Mr. INCE (Islington, E.) asked the honourable Member for Launceston, as an Ecclesiastical Commissioner, Whether the order for the eviction of 1,000 poor people, in 1874, from land near Bream's Buildings, Chancery Lane, by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, was actually given by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners themselves, or by the Church

Estates Commission, and, if by the latter, whether the Ecclesiastical Commissioners had not the power to make rules to restrain wholesale evictions; what were the names of the Commissioners who were present at the meeting when the above order for eviction was given, or who were otherwise responsible for it; whether the Ecclesiastical Commissioners would undertake that, before any order for the giving of notice to quit, or for evicting more than fifteen persons of the labouring classes in any one locality was made by them, precautions should be taken that notice of such intended order, specifying number of persons to be evicted, locality in which they lived, and reasons for eviction, should be given to each member of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, and the like notice should be laid for one month upon the Tables of both Houses of Parliament; whether the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, after having evicted the 1,000 poor people, were now sanctioning the destruction of their church, viz. St. Thomas in the Liberty of the Rolls, on the alleged ground that there was now no population; whether it is a fact that, at present, there is a large day population in the parish or district belonging to the church, comprising large numbers of young men, among whom a clergyman might usefully work, and that this will be greatly increased when the Ecclesiastical Commissioners let the land which has now stood vacant for many years; and, whether the Ecclesiastical Commissioners will give a Return of the sums which they deduct for "commission" on money which passes through their hands and the rates of commission which they charge, and to whom eventually such sums are paid, and also the amount charged during the past year to donors of land by them or their solicitor for the legal expenses, exclusive of stamps?

THE SECRETARY TO THE BOARD OF TRADE (Mr. C. T. D. ACLAND) (Cornwall, Launceston): In reply to the first paragraph of the Question of my hon. Friend, I have to state that the order for clearing the ground alluded to was given by the Estates Committee. The removal of the inhabitants took place gradually. There was no wholesale eviction. Any regulations made by the General Board have by law to be laid on the Table of the House; but none have hitherto been required. I am not prepared to give the names asked for in the second paragraph; nor am I prepared to make any such undertaking on behalf of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners as is asked for in the 3rd paragraph. The contemplated removal of the church named in the Question was initiated by the late Bishop of the diocese, and is entirely approved by his successor, who is fully aware of the circumstances of the case after careful inquiry. The Commissioners do not agree in the opinion conveyed in the 5th paragraph; but the resident population is not likely to increase. With regard to the 6th paragraph, the Commissioners are at a loss to understand to what the first part of it refers; but if it relates to receivership, the figures appear in the Appendix to the Commissioners' annual Parliamentary Report. The amount charged for the legal expenses mentioned was, I believe, £309 7*s.* 7*d.*

## NATIONAL EDUCATION (IRELAND) —DISMISSAL OF THE SCHOOLMISTRESS OF BALLYCAREW, CO. WEXFORD.

MR. JOHN REDMOND (Wexford, N.) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether his attention has been called to the recent dismissal from the office of National Schoolmistress at Ballycarew, county Wexford, of Miss Hanlon, by the Rector of the parish, the Rev. Mr. Gerrard; whether the reason for this dismissal was alleged to be the fact that Miss Hanlon had attended a special service at the local Methodist Church; and, whether she had in any way contravened the Rules of the National Education Board; and, if not, whether steps will be taken to reinstate her in her position?

THE CHIEF SECRETARY (Mr. JOHN MORLEY) (Newcastle-on-Tyne): Mr. Speaker, the Commissioners of National Education have heard nothing of this matter, beyond receiving an intimation from the teacher of the school that the teacher's resignation will take place about the end of next month. An Inspector visited the school a few days ago, and in his Report he makes no reference to any exceptional circumstances. We may therefore presume that, if any injustice was contemplated, some sort of representation would have been made by the teacher herself to the Department.

### MERCHANDIZE MARKS ACT, 1862.

MR. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT (Sheffield, Ecclesall) asked, What were the intentions of the Government as to their promised legislation on this subject?

THE SECRETARY TO THE BOARD OF TRADE (Mr. C. T. D. ACLAND) (Cornwall, Launceston): My right hon. Friend the President answered this same Question on May 6, to the hon. Member for the Central Division of Sheffield (Mr. Howard Vincent). He then stated:—

> "We had prepared a measure before Easter for the amendment of the Merchandize Marks Act, 1862; but, after conferring with our Representatives at the International Conference at Rome, including the Master Cutler, it was deemed advisable not to introduce a measure until after the Conference had completed its labours."—(3 *Hansard*, [305] 365.)

I may now add that the Delegates to the Industrial Property Convention have returned from Rome, and their official Report is in course of preparation. The Amendments to the Bill rendered necessary to carry out the Resolutions of the Convention are in the hands of the draftsman, and the Bill will be introduced when they are finally settled.

### THE GOVERNMENT OF IRELAND AND THE LAND PURCHASE BILLS.

MR. HENEAGE (Great Grimsby) asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether, in view of his declaration that the two questions of Land and Irish Government were closely and inseparably connected, and has since stated that

> "The position of the Government is simply this. . . . to establish by a vote on the Second Reading the principle of the Government of Ireland Bill,"

he can now inform the House whether the Government still regard the Land Bill as an essential portion of their policy, and the two Bills as still inseparable the one to the other; and, whether it is the intention of the Government to establish by a vote on the Second Reading the principle of the Land Purchase Bill?

THE FIRST LORD (Mr. W. E. GLADSTONE) (Edinburgh, MidLothian): With regard to the first portion of his Question, I am not able to give any answer to my right hon. Friend beyond what I gave to an hon. Gentleman opposite three or four days ago—that is to say, I have no new declaration to make on the subject of the relation existing between the Government of Ireland Bill and the Land Purchase Bill. With respect to the second portion of the Question, I can give an answer to my right hon. Friend. I do not think that the Government could ask the House to pass any judgment upon the Land Purchase Bill, excepting at a time when what I may call the principal Bill is on the Orders of the Day with a view to its prompt or immediate prosecution through its stages. That being so, it is not our intention to ask for any vote upon the Land Purchase Bill after the determination of the House has been given upon the second reading of the Government of Ireland Bill. I may say that I think when the first Question was put to me as to the Government of Ireland what I announced was that we did not intend to take any proceedings upon the Bill or on the subject after the second reading.

## *ORDERS OF THE DAY.*

### GOVERNMENT OF IRELAND BILL.—[BILL 181.]

(*Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Secretary Childers, Mr. John Morley, Mr. Attorney General.*)

SECOND READING. [ADJOURNED DEBATE.]

[EIGHTH NIGHT.]

Order read, for resuming Adjourned Debate on Amendment proposed to Question [10th May], "That the Bill be now read a second time."

And which Amendment was, to leave out the word "now," and at the end of the Question to add the words "upon this day six months."—(*The Marquess of Hartington.*)

Question again proposed, "That the word 'now' stand part of the Question."

SIR HENRY TYLER (Great Yarmouth) said, that before the debate was resumed he wished to ask a question on a point of Order—one of the most important that was ever brought before the Speaker to decide. That question referred to the proceedings which took place in the House on Friday night last. It would be remembered that there was a very interesting discussion on that evening between the noble Marquess

The hon. and learned Gentleman also took the objection that under the provisions of the Bill the Imperial Parliament would be restricted in its action by the decisions of the Privy Council. To that objection he replied that the duty of the Privy Council was to interpret Acts of Parliament, and not to legislate. With regard to the veto of the Crown, it was quite clear that under the Bill the Lord Lieutenant would act upon the advice of the Irish Executive, subject, of course, to an appeal to the Privy Council. But, if the Irish Parliament attempted to legislate on any Imperial subject, that veto would be subject to any instructions which might from time to time be given him by Her Majesty. In that event, he wanted to ask the hon. and learned Gentleman upon whose advice such instructions would be given? Why, they would be given upon the advice of the Ministry possessing the confidence of, and responsible to, the Imperial Parliament. A great many very able speeches had been delivered in that debate in opposition to the Bill; but he had noticed that one marked characteristic which had distinguished the great bulk of those speeches was a total want of recognition of the present political difficulties arising out of the condition of Ireland, and its relations to this country. The speeches seemed to him, to use a popular simile, to relegate the present political condition of Ireland to Jupiter and Saturn. But they had to deal, not with a legal, but with a practical question. They had to confront, not abstract theories, but a living people, alive to all the susceptibilities and sentiments, and he might say prejudices, of national feeling; and, at the same time, they had to deal with a Constitutional difficulty of the gravest magnitude and of immeasurable importance. An hon. Member, speaking on Friday night, said that the Government, while putting forward their measure as a remedy for the state of Ireland, had not told the House the evil which it was intended to cure. He (Mr. Henry H. Fowler) would endeavour to approach the question from the point of view of the evil which they had to cure, and the political remedy which they wanted to apply. But, first, he wished to express his strong objection to the assumption which had pervaded a good many speeches on the Ministerial side of the House, in opposition to the Government, that the opponents of the measure were the exclusive friends and champions of the Union, and that those who advocated the Bill were Disunionists, Disloyalists, and Separatists. [*Opposition cheers.*] Hon. Gentlemen opposite cheered that observation, but he frankly conceded to them what he claimed for himself. He thought that those who called upon them to retain the Legislative Union between Great Britain and Ireland at any cost were bound to point out to them how that Union had stood the test of experience. He might be deluded; he might be pursuing a wrong course; but he claimed, equally with others, that his own desire was to promote a true and permanent Union between the two countries; but that was entirely different from the Legislative Union. It must be understood that he was now arguing the question from the Unionist standpoint, and that those Gentlemen who defended a Legislative Union were bound to tell them, not what the Union was intended to be, not what it ought to be, not what it might have been, but what it had been and what it was. Had that Act, in the defence of which such great political force and great political intelligence were rallying, had that, as they called it, fundamental Act stood the test of time? It had been tried under every conceivable political circumstance, by every variety of Administration, by both political Parties, with Constitutional liberty and Constitutional law, with exceptional, arbitrary, coercive legislation, under sectarian ascendancy, and with religious equality, accompanied by agrarian legislation of the worst kind, and agrarian legislation of the best kind, by competent and incompetent Chief Secretaries and Lord Lieutenants. They could suggest no political situation, no political difficulty, no political advantage, with which this Union had not been familiar. And what had been the dreary, monotonous, unvarying result? Hopeless, absolute, and irretrievable failure. Had it fulfilled the anticipations of any of those who were active in promoting it? In order to show how little it had done in that direction, he would give one or two quotations from the principal authors of the Union. The first was King George III. His Majesty, in a private and confidential letter to Mr. Pitt, dated February 1, 1801, indicated not only his own private opinion, but the public action he took apparently without the advice of responsible Ministers, when addressing a deputation from both Houses of Parliament. The King said—

> "When the Irish propositions were transmitted to me by a Joint Message from both Houses of the British Parliament, I told the Lords and Gentlemen sent on that occasion, that I would with pleasure and without delay forward them to Ireland. But I could not help acquainting them that my inclination to Union with Ireland was principally founded on the trust that the union of the Established Churches of the Two Kingdoms would for ever shut the doors to any further measures with respect to the Roman Catholics."

The King spoke not only as a Sovereign, but as the Head of a political Party existing in those days, and known as the "King's Friends," which was so powerful as to be able to displace Mr. Pitt. They had here the honest, transparent views of the King, in which he declared the Union to him was a barrier against the concession of civil rights to the Roman Catholics. And the King was right. If Ireland had retained her own Parliament, that humiliating chapter of their history would never have been written, which told of the broken pledges to the Roman Catholics, of their long struggle for political freedom, and of the final surrender of the Duke of Wellington, not to reason or justice, but to the dread of civil war. It was the legislation of 1829, and of 1869, that had swept away the principle on which the King and a large portion of the Tory Party desired Legislative Union between England and Ireland. Then, again, Mr. Pitt, in a confidential letter to the King, stated what was his intention in promoting the Union. He said—

> "The great object of the Union is the tranquillizing of Ireland and attaching it to this country."

Had either of those objects been attained? Whatever else the Union might have achieved, it had absolutely, signally failed in securing the objects at which Mr. Pitt aimed, and for which he lavished the gold, the titles, and all the other mess of pottage for which the Irish Parliament sold its birthright. If Mr. Pitt could come back to this House, he would find that, at the expiration of nearly a century, the tranquillity of Ireland, and the attachment of Ireland to this country, were just the two things which mocked their legislation, and eluded their grasp. After 86 years' experience of the Union, with the extended franchise in Ireland, under which the population were in possession of electoral rights of which Mr. Pitt had never dreamed, they had in that House—and he did not wish to be offensive, he wished to call a spade a spade—a solid, organized body of Irish Representatives acting in a manner unique in the history of Parliament. Many of those hon. Members differed among themselves on social and political questions; but every difference of opinion on other points was dominated by the one desire to obtain an independent political existence for their country—the object for which the Irish people had sent them to Parliament. The attachment of Ireland to Great Britain, for which the Union was promoted, was now demonstrated by the presence in that House of a body of Members from Ireland, who avowed that they treated Imperial questions entirely in the light in which they thought they would best advance the one object of Irish interest and Irish sentiment. In the last Parliament many Votes of Censure were proposed on the policy of the Government. In the most crucial Vote, the hon. Member for the Scotland Division of Liverpool said that the Irish section, in determining to walk into the Lobby to censure the Government, were not thinking so much of Egypt, but were thinking of Ireland.

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR: The hon. Gentleman will doubtless excuse me for interrupting him. I said that hon. Members from Ireland thought more of Ireland than of Egypt.

MR. HENRY H. FOWLER, said, he was quite willing to accept the qualification of the hon. Member. The right hon. Gentleman opposite (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach) succeeded in defeating Her Majesty's Government by the aid of men who had no sympathy with his policy and who repudiated his finance, but who helped him to turn out the Government because they thought that by putting the Tory Party in power they would further the cause which they had at heart. The same considerations operated in the constituencies. With the knowledge of what he would call that deplorable, if not dangerous, feature of their political life, he could not understand how it could be desired to defend, or to perpetuate, legislation from which such disastrous results had followed. He maintained that the Act of Union had really destroyed the Union. It had created ceaseless internecine strife. They had destroyed the Irish Parliament; and now, by a singular Nemesis, the Irish were paralyzing their Parliament. The hon. Member for Bedford (Mr. Whitbread) had truly said we could not remedy that state of things by any alteration of the Rules of Procedure of that House. They might surrender their Parliamentary freedom and their Parliamentary life; but they could not, while the presence of that organized force remained, prevent the weakening of their Parliamentary power, and the arrest of their Constitutional and Parliamentary progress. With reference to the tranquillity of Ireland. In 1886, as in 1800, the main consideration of British statesmen was the preservation of peace and order in Ireland. This present Administration, as well as every other Administration, had found themselves incapable of discharging the elementary duties of government without the assistance of an armed Constabulary unknown in any other part of the Empire, supplemented by a Military Force greater than that by which we defeated Napoleon. Not only that, but these enormous armed forces, as they were told by hon. Gentlemen opposite, must be strengthened and supported by the aid of a coercive legislation utterly unknown in any other part of the Queen's Dominions. Sir Robert Peel, in the zenith of his power, uttered the mournful but memorable words—"Ireland is my difficulty." It was the difficulty of every one of his Predecessors and of every one of his Successors. It was the difficulty of the present Prime Minister; and it would be the difficulty of right hon. Gentlemen opposite if they exchanged sides in the House. And yet, with this accumulated evidence, which no man could gainsay or evade, they were asked by the Representatives of the great Whig Party to rally round the Legislative Union as the essence and kernel of the British Constitution, and the glory of the British Empire. He yielded to no man, not even to his right hon. Friend the Member for East Edinburgh (Mr. Goschen), in his belief in the wisdom, the advantage, and the necessity of a Union between Great Britain and Ireland; but he objected to be denounced as a Disunionist, and to be classed as a Disloyalist, because he raised his voice and gave his vote against a hideous failure which had kindled and fanned the spirit of separation, which had aroused the criminality and the folly of outrage and insurrection, and which, even to-day, calmly contemplated the horrible prospect of civil war. To the arguments which had been used the unanswerable reply was the inexorable logic of facts. The Union had been tried in the balance, and the verdict of English and Irish history, and of the civilized world, was that that Union had been found wanting. Under those circumstances, he asked the House, if the Union was to be preserved, what was desirable, and what was practicable? He agreed with much that had been said as to the intermittent policy which had been pursued. However, the time had now passed for Laodicean lukewarmness. They must either concede frankly, freely, fearlessly, or they must coerce vigorously, sternly, and unflinchingly. The two panaceas could not be combined. They could not walk down both sides of the street at the same time. And in making their choice, forgetting the sad history of the past, and dealing exclusively with the problem as it stood to-day, they had to consider the enormous alteration that had taken place in the condition of Ireland, not only since the Union, but during the last quarter of a century. The legislation of that House had indirectly destroyed the social forces by which the local government in Ireland was previously carried on. The political power of the classes who ruled in Ireland was neutralized, if not swept away, by the disestablishment of the Church and by the two Land Acts. The ascendancy of faith and the ascendancy of property had had their day. They might, indeed, show some fitful ebullitions of their former spirit; but, as a practical power in Irish politics, their day was past and gone. He called that a social revolution. Side by side with that revolution Ireland, as an agricultural country, had been passing through an economic crisis. Land Acts and Land Commissioners might adjust excessive rents caused by the abnormal demand for the occupation of the soil; but no legislation could arrest or alleviate the depreciation in the value of the products of the soil. In addition to this economic change, there had been an organic change. During the last year they had practically effected in Ireland a political revolution by extending the franchise to the people. All these were conditions which were utterly unknown to those statesmen of the 18th century who had been quoted in this debate as authorities binding upon us at the present day. And not only had the conditions in Ireland changed, but the conditions beyond the sea had changed. In the United States, and in Canada, Australia, and almost every other great British Colony, there were many Irishmen and sons of Irishmen whose longest and whose latest memory was the story of the wrongs they themselves and their forefathers had endured on their native soil. [*Laughter.*] They might laugh; but those Irish people were a numerical, a moral, and a political power, which no American or Colonial statesman, and which, therefore, no British statesman, could afford to despise. Political wisdom and patriotic loyalty must recognize those conditions. He did not wish to indulge in any threats; but these were facts which were confronting this Empire with weakness, danger, and disruption; and he considered that every Englishman was bound, if he could, to put this question entirely outside Party consideration, for it was one of the gravest crises in the history of the British Empire. The Government, in order to effect that, had in the Bill submitted to the House a plan and a principle. At all events, there was this peculiarity about the principle which the Government asked the House to accept. The Irish people perfectly understood it, and they must try in due course to induce the English people also to understand it. That principle was the creation of a Representative Body sitting in Dublin, elected by the people of Ireland for the exclusive control of specifically Irish affairs. If the principle were unsound, no perfection of the machinery could justify its acceptance. On the other hand, if the principle were sound, it claimed acceptance totally irrespective of the details of the measure. The principle was subject to three conditions—the supremacy of the Crown, the unity of the Empire, and the final authority of the Imperial Parliament. As to the first of these conditions, he apprehended there would be little difference of opinion. The Crown was an integral part of the Legislative Body. Its prerogatives were the same with respect to that Body as with respect either to the Imperial Parliament or to any other Legislative Body in the Empire. The controversy raged round the second of these conditions—the unity of the Empire—with which he also associated the authority of the Imperial Parliament. That unity might be disturbed in two ways—either by allowing two separate Legislative Bodies to deal separately with questions of a character with regard to which all the citizens of the Empire had equal rights; or, secondly, by so dividing the Supreme Authority, or, rather, by so subtracting from its influence and power, that it could not utter that united voice and exercise that united action which were the instruments and the symbols of national unity and strength. He had already dealt with the first of these difficulties at the commencement of his speech; and he apprehended that the second objection was met by the reservations and restrictions affecting the Irish Legislative Body. What were the subjects which were specifically reserved, and which the Legislative Body could not touch? They were matters in which Great Britain and Ireland were jointly interested—matters which were of the essence of Imperial existence and Imperial policy—the dignity, the prerogatives, and succession to the Crown; the foreign policy of the Empire, with all its cognate questions of International Law and Political or Commercial Treaties, what, in other words, the Americans called "the Treaty-making power;" the Military Forces of the Empire, land, sea, Volunteers; the control of all arsenals, fortifications, and materials of war; the Colonial policy of the Empire in all its ramifications; the commercial policy of the Empire, comprising not only the items of trade and shipping, and the levying of duties on exports or imports, but the control of the coinage, and protection of copyright and patent property; the Criminal Law of the Empire, so far as it affected the Sovereign Authority, or any attempt to assail its supremacy. These were what were rightly termed Imperial affairs. They constituted the rights and the duties of the Empire; their control admitted of no divided authority; and it was their unity which made and guarded the "One Life, one Flag, one Fleet, one Throne." So long as the Imperial Parliament retained all authority, all legislation, all expenditure affecting these matters in its own hands, the unity of the Empire could no more be touched by the legislation of an Irish Legislative Body on exclusively Irish affairs than it could be touched by the creation of one Municipality for that Metropolis. There was no doubt but that anxiety was felt with respect to the working of the measure involving certain risks or dangers. One danger arose from the unhappy cleavage which divided the Christianity of Ireland into two hostile camps, and which separated the owners of the soil from those who occupied it. It was too late in the day to waste time in idle recrimination as to who was to blame in these unhappy contests. They existed, and any settlement of Ireland which claimed to be complete or final must recognize their existence; and while it might anticipate a time when those animosities would cease, it must provide for equal justice and protection. The professors of any faith must not, wherever the Queen ruled, be placed at the mercy of the majority. If this principle had been maintained in Ireland, the blackest pages of its history would never have been written. Protestant ascendancy, as embodied in the Irish Establishment—perhaps the saddest parody of Christianity which the history of the Church recorded—had left scars on the social, moral, and national life of Ireland which it would take generations to efface, and the Liberal Party, who swept away that masterpiece of ecclesiastical injustice were bound to prevent any of Her Majesty's subjects being placed at any disadvantage or subjected to any disability on account of their religious faith. This Bill recognized the rights of the minority who held the Protestant faith, and the minority who represented the property and capital of Ireland. If that recognition was incomplete, if the machinery for defending those rights was inadequate, if there was danger, or the possibility of danger, to any man in Ireland on account of what he believed or what he possessed, then those deficiencies must be supplied. His right hon. Friend the Member for the Border Burghs (Mr. Trevelyan) had referred to the financial question, which he (Mr. Henry H. Fowler) ventured to say his right hon. Friend had entirely misconceived. His right hon. Friend had stated the net Revenue of Ireland as £7,500,000, and out of that he estimated £4,600,000 as the contribution to the Imperial Exchequer under the present Bill. The actual amount now paid the right hon. Gentleman put at £2,300,000, and even that hon. Members from Ireland considered to be too much, as they contended that their country was over-taxed. Now, in fact, the present Revenue was £8,350,000, and not £7,500,000. Out of that, Ireland cost this country, in Collection and working the Post Office, £834,000. The Irish Civil Charges were £4,010,000. Thus the total Expenditure was £4,844,000, and apparently a balance was left of £3,506,000 as the payment by Ireland to the British Exchequer; but there was to be deducted £1,400,000 paid in Ireland in the first instance, but really paid by the English and Scotch consumers of beer, whisky, and tobacco. Deducting that sum, the real contribution was reduced to £2,106,000. Now, under the new plan how did the figures appear? The gross Revenue appeared as £8,350,000; contribution to the Army, Navy, and other Imperial Charges, £3,242,000, leaving a balance of £5,108,000. Deducting from that £1,000,000 for the Constabulary, he found the spendable income to be £4,108,000. Then the Civil Charges were £2,510,000; the Post Office and Collection, £834,000; and the net balance, £764,000. Out of this had to be provided Ireland's share of the Sinking Fund—namely, £360,000, which brought the surplus down to £404,000; but, again, Ireland was credited with the £1,400,000 really paid by the English and Scotch consumers; thus her net contribution to the Imperial Exchequer was £3,242,000, less £1,400,000, or only £1,842,000, or less than she paid at present—or, putting it in another form, the real tax payment of Ireland, after deducting the £1,400,000, the cost of Collection and the Post Office was £6,116,000. This would be appropriated as follows:—Irish Expenditure—including £1,000,000 for Constabulary—£3,510,000; Imperial "tribute," £1,842,000; Sinking Fund, £360,000; surplus, £404,000—£6,116,000. That financial position was exceedingly good—better than that which we occupied ourselves, and better than any State in Europe and than many English Colonies—and the surplus of £404,000, as compared with the total Revenue, was a very handsome one, and equivalent to a surplus of £4,000,000 or £5,000,000 on our own total Budget of £80,000,000 or £90,000,000. The financial position seemed therefore to be, as he had said, an exceedingly good one, and if expenditure was reduced, as it well might and ought to be, the taxation might also be reduced, and the financial condition of Ireland might become the envy of this country. The other danger was that Irish autonomy was a step towards separation, that it was but an instalment of a demand that would never be satisfied until separation was accomplished, and that it would afford a leverage for advancing and enforcing that demand. That was the argument used against every reform; but he could never see the force of it, and he would not refuse to do a just thing today, because he might be asked to do an unjust one to-morrow. He thought the instalment theory was played out; but he told those who believed in it that there were two safeguards and guarantees against separation, which this Bill did not create, and could not destroy. These guarantees were the material interests of Ireland, and the material forces of England. They would have to regard the Irish people as idiots in the last hopeless stage of imbecility if they precipitated that wholesale destruction of property which any attempt at separation would involve. Ireland was exclusively an exporting country. She exported about £20,000,000 worth annually, and of that we took £19,250,000. To destroy her best if not her only customer, she would have to create a Navy, towards which she did not possess—and under this Bill could not obtain one single ship—ready to meet and conquer the greatest Naval Power on the globe. With her barracks and arsenals occupied by the armed Forces of Great Britain, she would have to create an Army, the first step towards which would be a violation of the law, which English force could and would at once put down. There was more than that. Ireland would have to raise a loan, and he wondered what the Stock Exchanges of England and America would say to the security—he was not saying anything derogatory of the Irish people—but with Ireland in conflict with England, what would they say to the security? If Ireland ever contemplated separation from England, she would bring about what John Stuart Mill had said would be a disaster to Ireland, and a disgrace to England. The assent of Ireland to separation as an alternative would be an assent to national suicide, and the question, whenever raised, would not be settled by Acts of Parliament, or by Customs' regulations, but—which God forbid!—by the supreme arbitrament of force. He would conclude by asking hon. Members who objected to the Bill, as practical men, to face the realities of the case and say what they meant to do. English legislation for Ireland had been bad, the people of Ireland detested it and rejected it. The conflict might be continued, for it was in the power of the House to do that; but for how long? Every man in the House must know what would be the sure and certain end. The greatest speech perhaps ever delivered in that House—a speech which Mr. Fox said every man should read, and re-read, until it was imprinted on his heart—was the speech of Mr. Burke on conciliation with America. In that superb combination of genius and eloquence and wisdom, the principles for which the Government were now contending were defended with masterly power. Every argument which had been urged against the present concession, and which was then urged against concession to America, was demolished with resistless force. The loyal and patriotic Unions of that day, the advocates of the integrity of the Empire and the supremacy of the Crown, triumphed, and Mr. Burke was defeated by a majority of over 200; but what was the consequence? Why, nine years after that division, England, humiliated and disgraced, assented to a settlement such as Mr. Burke had never contemplated. He (Mr. Henry H. Fowler) had thought that Englishmen had grown wiser since 1775. They had in their treatment of their own Colonies, in their advice to other European Powers, in their extension of their own electoral limits, declared their belief in Representative Institutions. As a Party, they had emblazoned on their banner, "Trust in the people." Was the Sister Kingdom to have no part or lot in the matter? Were they to be told that Ireland alone of all the Dominions of the Crown, and of all the States of Europe, was not fit for independent self-government? Ireland was, no doubt, in comparison with England, a poor country, poor in minerals, in manufactures, and in commerce; but she was rich in genius, wit, and eloquence, and in her splendid contribution of some of the most illustrious names to the Bede Roll of English history. Irishmen had been sent three times to rule the great India Empire. Some of their foremost Prime Ministers, their most distinguished Lord Chancellors, their most brilliant soldiers, and most accomplished diplomatists, had been Irishmen; and yet there were men of light and leading who laughed to scorn the idea of a Cabinet of Irishmen. They wanted to con-concentrate and invest the intellectual wealth of Ireland in the Administration of Ireland, and by so doing to weld that nation into closer, deeper, more lasting harmony with their own. His hon. and learned Friend the Attorney General had said he was a Unionist. He (Mr. Henry H. Fowler) himself reiterated that remark. He was a Unionist; but he was not a believer in a Union which united the Parliaments while dividing the peoples, but rather in one which, while it might divide the Parliaments, would unite the nations. He was not a believer in a Union founded on fraud and maintained by force; but in a Union based on mutual rights, on mutual interests, on mutual respect, and mutual confidence. From such a Union he believed would spring not only the tranquillity of Ireland, but the uniting and knitting together of all hearts, not only in Great Britain and Ireland, but in the Greater Britain and Greater Ireland beyond the seas, in unswerving allegiance to that united Empire which was at once the home and the citadel of those great principles of Constitutional freedom which were the proud and inalienable inheritance of all the subjects of the Queen.

**Lord JOHN MANNERS** (Leicestershire, E.) said, the eloquent speech of the hon. Member who had just sat down was one which, he was sure, they were all pleased to hear. The hon. Gentleman did not seek refuge in any vague generalities. With regard to the Bill, he advocated its second reading, and gave the House his reasons why he should support the leading characteristics of the Bill. He said that the House should vote for the second reading of the Bill in order to insure the pacification and improvement of Ireland. The hon. Gentleman, in the latter part of his speech, asked the House what it was prepared to do? He (Lord John Manners) ventured to think that the majority were prepared to reject this measure on the second reading. The hon. Gentleman had wound up his speech by a panegyric on Irish statesmen, generals, and Irishmen of light and leading, of whom the hon. Gentleman said all Englishmen were proud. Doubtless all Englishmen were proud of them; but would the hon. Gentleman allow him to ask him what side did they take on this momentous question? Were they in heart and soul with us, or with the right hon. Gentleman opposite? Were these Irishmen who had distinguished themselves in every one of those lines of life to which the hon. Gentleman alluded—were they in his favour on this Home Rule Question or against him and the Government to which he belonged? Let the hon. Gentleman claim, if he could, any one great distinguished living Irishman who was in favour of such a measure as this. At the commencement of his speech the hon. Gentleman contended that the precedent which the Prime Minister had produced the other day for his conduct in asking the House of Commons to give a second reading to a Bill which he intended to withdraw immediately was not a new precedent nor one of a startling character. The hon. Gentleman said that in 1867 the Leader of the Tory Party in the House of Commons introduced a Reform Bill, and on the second reading of that Bill was supported by the right hon. Gentleman the present Prime Minister on the ground that, although he might not agree with all the principal characteristics of that measure, as it would go into Committee and afterwards to a third reading, he saw no reason why he should not support the Bill on the second reading. What a precedent! Did the Government intend to subject this Bill to the ordeal of Committee, and then, if it did not emerge in a satisfactory condition, to give the House of Commons the opportunity of rejecting it on the third reading? The precedent told directly against the hon. Gentleman and not in favour of the position he had assumed. The right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister had said that in 1870 Mr.

Disraeli, as Leader of the Opposition, voted for the second reading of the Irish Land Bill, although he objected to certain portions of it. Undoubtedly, Mr. Disraeli did support the second reading of that Bill; but why? He gave the reason to the House, and a very remarkable reason it was, and he would direct the attention of the House to it. Mr. Disraeli said—

> "Now, Sir, let me remind the House of what they have probably forgotten—namely, what was proposed in reference to this subject by the Government of 1852, with which I had the honour to be connected. We laid upon the Table of the House four Bills, forming a complete code as regards the land of Ireland. I can describe those four Bills in a sentence. They adopted every recommendation of the Devon Commission. Sir, if those Bills had passed we should not now have been discussing the measure of the right hon. Gentleman. Circumstances, however, occurred which prevented those Bills from passing. There was a change of Government."

How was that change of Government brought about, and by whom? Mr. Disraeli had laid those four Bills for the reform of land tenure in Ireland in all its principal branches in accordance with the four great recommendations of the Devon Commission, on the Table of the House of Commons; a few months afterwards he had to introduce his Budget. There was great debate on that Budget, and amongst those who took the most vehement and violent part in opposing the Budget, and turning out the Government over it, was the right hon. Gentleman the present Prime Minister. But he did more than that, he not only turned out that Government, but he brought himself into Office. Now, he wanted to ask this question, What steps from 1852, when the right hon. Gentleman came into Office, up to 1870 did he ever take in the direction of reforming the Land Laws of Ireland? The right hon. Gentleman not only prevented the Government that was anxious to do so, and had formulated a great scheme for the reform of the Land Laws, from proceeding with it, but during the whole of that time, in the course of which he was many years in Office, he never stirred hand or foot in the matter till 1870. That was the second precedent which the hon. Gentleman had adduced to justify the unprecedented course of asking the House of Commons to read so momentous a Bill and then withdrawing it; but he (Lord John Manners) ventured to say that it formed no precedent for such a proceeding. They came next to consider, as the hon. Gentleman did very frankly, the main features, objects, and provisions of the Bill. After the answer of the Prime Minister this evening they might assume that if this Bill were read a second time it undoubtedly carried with it, in the mind and intention of the Government, the prosecution of the second great measure dealing with the land of Ireland. He hoped the House of Commons would not forget, when it came to decide the second reading of this Bill, that it was virtually deciding the second reading of the Land Purchase Bill as well. Now what, without any circumlocution, was the general purpose and intention of these Bills? The object of the first unquestionably was to hand over the lives, the property, and the liberty of Her Majesty's subjects in Ireland to this new Representative Body, and still more, perhaps, to the new Executive in Ireland. That being so, if the Government showed a want of confidence of the manner in which this new Government in Ireland would deal with one great class of the Queen's subjects, as they unquestionably did by the introduction of the Land Purchase Bill, he had to ask what were the provisions and the safeguards in the measure guarding and protecting the other classes who were not to be expropriated or expatriated? The Prime Minister had dealt in the vaguest generalities when speaking of those safeguards. The first safeguard, it appeared, lay in the constitution of the new Legislative Body. Was ever such a constitution invented since the days of the Abbé Siéyès? Twenty-eight Representative Peers, who, as they died out, were to be supplanted by gentlemen who were possessed of £200 a-year. [Mr. Gladstone dissented.] They hoped Her Majesty's Government would take care that, at any rate, they would be preserved for the purpose of maintaining the rights and vindicating the liberties of the 1,400,000 people who would be left to the protection of the new Parliament. It was perfectly clear that after 30 years the Irish Representative Peers would cease to exist. Whether, in view of their ultimate extinction, the Irish Representative Peers would be found willing to undergo the frightful ordeal of being cooped up in a Chamber absolutely powerless, and subject to all the amenities of debate to which they in that House were not infrequently subject, he left for the House to consider. It was clear that the intention of the Government was that, on the formation of this Legislative and Electoral Body, the Irish Peers should be excluded after a lapse of a certain number of years. What was to be the constitution of the popular Body? Two hundred and four Members were to be elected in accordance with the views of the hon. Gentlemen below the Gangway, and they were to be kept in order by the 28 Peers, *plus* the gentlemen who were elected on the £200 a-year qualification. The scheme was altogether too absurd. The Prime Minister wanted to hear as much as possible of Mr. Burke's views. Just fancy what Burke would have said if he had had to criticize the right hon. Gentleman's proposal to constitute in one Chamber these two marvellous "Orders," who were to form by their junction a protection to the minority in Ireland. Now the scheme of bringing differing Orders together in one Chamber received a very practical illustration in the year 1789 in Paris. They all knew the result of the junction of the Orders in one Chamber at the time of the French Revolution. Mr. Burke had to comment upon the melancholy result of that frightful experiment, and this was what he said—

> "In the calling of the States-General of France the first thing that struck me was a great departure from the ancient course. I found the representation for the third estate composed of 600 persons. The were equal in number to the representatives of both the other Orders. If the Orders were to act separately, the number would not, beyond the consideration of the expense, be of much moment. But when it became apparent that the three Orders were to be melted into one the policy and necessary effect of this numerous representation became obvious. A very small desertion from either of the other two Orders must throw the power of both into the hands of the third. In fact, the whole power of the State was soon resolved into that body."

From that they could judge what would be the result of making the two Orders in the Irish Parliament meet in one Chamber. Another of the safeguards on which the supporters of the Bill relied was the agreeable speeches delivered by two or three Members of the Irish Party below the Gangway. He contended that for men responsible for the life, property, and liberty of their fellow-subjects in Ireland to rely upon two or three sugary speeches from those Benches, and to profess unmitigated confidence in those who delivered them, was one of the most lamentable signs of the times. The Gentlemen who made these declarations of confidence seemed to forget the last five years of outrage and violence, which had rendered the history of Ireland a scandal. They appeared to forget that they themselves, good, easy men, were not exposing their own persons, families, or property to those frightful risks. They said—"Look at our noble confidence; see how generous we are; mark the trust we repose in the gallant Irish people." But not one of them, so far as he knew, was risking anything dear to himself; therefore they could afford to play that magnanimous part, and to expose to the risks and hazards of this novel Parliamentary creation the rights and liberties of their Irish fellow-subjects. It was very remarkable that since the first night when the Prime Minister occupied three hours and a-half in explaining the provisions of the measure not a single word with reference to Ulster had fallen from any Member of the Government. Was Ulster to remain in the Bill or was Ulster to be excluded from it? On April 8 the right hon. Gentleman at the head of the Government said—

> "There is a counter voice: and I wish to know what is the claim of those by whom that counter voice is spoken, and how much is the scope and allowance we can give them. Certainly, Sir, I cannot allow it to be said that a Protestant minority in Ulster or elsewhere is to rule the question at large for Ireland. I am aware of no Constitutional doctrine tolerable on which such a conclusion could be adopted or justified. But I think that the Protestant minority should have its wishes considered to the utmost practicable extent in any form which they may assume. Various schemes, short of refusing the demand of Ireland at large, have been proposed on behalf of Ulster. One scheme is that Ulster itself, or, perhaps with more appearance of reason, a portion of Ulster, should be excluded from the operation of the Bill we are about to introduce. Another scheme is that a separate autonomy should be provided for Ulster, or for a portion of Ulster. Another scheme is that certain rights with regard to certain subjects—such, for example, as education, and some other subjects—should be reserved and should be placed to a certain extent under the control of the Provincial Councils."

It was plain, therefore, that the right hon. Gentleman himself realized the enormous difficulties presented by the position of Ulster. Was any one of the schemes referred to by him to be embodied in the Bill next autumn? If not, what was the position of Ulster to be? If included in the Bill, Ulster would be treated as a conquered Province. So far as Ulster was concerned, this Bill was one of penalties, disabilities, and privations. At the present moment there was no subject discussed in the Imperial Parliament with reference to which the views of Belfast and Ulster could not make itself heard and felt. He referred to such subjects as Commercial Treaties, Conventions like the Suez Canal Convention, the Transvaal War, and the Egyptian Expedition. If the Bill should pass in its present form Ulster would be unable to discuss these questions in the Irish Parliament, and could not discuss them in the Imperial Parliament. The House was told that in the new Bill of next autumn an attempt would be made to open the door a little wider to Irishmen who should wish to take part in the discussion of such questions on this side of the Channel. Well, he understood that a door could be shut or open without causing inconvenience. The Bill as it stood represented the shut door; the Bill, as the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham (Mr. J. Chamberlain) would remodel and reconstruct it, would represent the open door; but the new scheme, so far as it had been developed by the Prime Minister, represented the door ajar. Most Gentlemen would have a very distinct recollection of the inconvenience resulting from a door that was continually ajar. There was a terrible creaking, and very unhealthy and disagreeable draughts blew in upon the unfortunate occupants of the apartment. Arguing by analogy, he could not help coming to the conclusion that equally undesirable consequences would follow the right hon. Gentleman's scheme for enabling Irishmen to return to the House of Commons whenever great questions affecting the Empire at large might be under consideration. He was very sceptical about the possibility of drawing a dividing line between those questions which were completely Irish and those which were partly or wholly Imperial. At the commencement of these debates the Prime Minister had said that he had laboured at it, and to invent such a scheme passed the wit of man. Yet now he said a scheme had been framed. As the wit of man had failed, one might assume that the wit of the other sex had found the mode of accomplishing this object, and that some Egeria had come to the assistance of our bewildered and perplexed Numa. He, for one, would await with the greatest anxiety the further development of this new scheme in the Autumn Session. According to the Bill, at the end of 30 years the Irish Peers would not be good enough to send to the Irish Parliament; they were to become extinct; but, then, although not good enough to legislate upon purely Irish matters in Ireland, they were to be kept alive for the purpose of legislating upon Imperial affairs in the English Parliament. Could absurdity go further than that? But how could the scheme work? They were told that the 28 Representative Peers were to come over from Dublin on great Imperial occasions, and that 103 Irish Representatives were to be selected by the Parliament in Dublin to accompany them. Let them imagine the strife and tumult which would arise in the Dublin Assembly when the 204 Gentlemen comprising it should proceed to elect 103 of their number to represent them in the House of Commons. A great deal had been said of late about Grattan's Parliament, and the hon. Member for Cork (Mr. Parnell) had declared in a memorable speech that he would only accept a similar Parliament. But this mongrel Assembly which it was proposed to establish in Dublin lacked all the first elements of Grattan's Institution, which was based on the principles of the Resolution passed at Dungannon. That Resolution declared that—

> "A claim of any body of men other than the King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland to make laws to bind this Kingdom is unconstitutional, illegal, and a grievance."

Grattan, therefore, insisted on the importance of the "Lords and Commons" of Ireland. But what would be the position of the Lords in the proposed new Parliament? Why, 28 Peers, shut up in a Chamber, were to be outvoted and bullied on every conceivable occasion for 30 years, at the end of which period they would finally disappear. He maintained that the proposed Assembly would bear no real resemblance to Grattan's Parliament, either in its constitution or its functions. If Grattan's

Parliament, constituted of all the ablest men in Ireland, had not succeeded, what hope could the House of Commons entertain that that Body would perform the great functions which the right hon. Gentlemen on the Treasury Bench were so satisfied that it would perform? He had had access to some interesting letters which passed between his Grandfather and Mr. Pitt, soon after Grattan's Parliament was established. His Grandfather went to Dublin as Lord Lieutenant in 1784. Here was an extract from a letter dated August 15, 1784—

> "This city is in a great measure under the dominion and tyranny of the mob. Persons are daily marked out for the operation of tarring and feathering; the magistrates neglect their duty, and none of the rioters (till to-day, when one man was seized in the act) have been taken, while the corps of Volunteers in the neighbourhood seem, as it were, to countenance these outrages."

In June of the same year—he should have read this first—his Grandfather wrote—

> "The Northern newspapers take notice of an intention in some of the corps (Volunteers) to address the French King, which they recommend as a very proper and spirited measure. No meeting for such a laudable purpose has yet taken place. I can scarcely believe it, though the madness of some of these armed legislators might go to anything. Were I to indulge a distant speculation I should say that without a union Ireland will not be connected with Great Britain in 20 years longer."

That was a remarkable prophecy, and strictly fulfilled. Grattan's Parliament died of its inherent weakness and its faults. After eight years' experience of his own Parliament, Mr. Grattan said this—

> "What has our renewed Constitution as yet produced? A Place Bill? No. A Pension Bill? No. Any great or good measure? No. But a City Police Bill, a Press Bill, a Riot Act, great increase of pensions, 14 new places for Members of Parliament, and a most notorious and corrupt sale of Peerages. Where will all this end?"

That was Mr. Grattan on his own Parliament. Let them carry that a little further. The House of Commons was actually set fire to by the mob in 1793; it was invaded by a tumultuous mob in 1794; it had to suspend the Habeas Corpus Act in 1796; it passed the Convention Act in 1797, and Mr. Grattan got so tired of it that he retired from public life for a year or two. Then came the Rebellion of 1798, and exit Grattan's Parliament. That was a short but true history, he believed, of Grattan's Parliament. The hon. Gentleman who had preceded him uttered a very confident prophecy that if the Parliament had continued to exist it would have passed Roman Catholic Emancipation. That was easy to say, but it was impossible to prove anything of the sort. All they knew was, that Grattan's Parliament went on until it was extinguished after the great and cruel Rebellion of 1798. With respect to the intense eagerness of the Irish people for a repeal of the Union and the passing of this Bill, he could not help thinking that it was a remarkable fact that, so far as they knew, not one single outrage during the last five years on man, woman, or beast, had been perpetrated for the purpose of obtaining repeal of the Union. Every one of those atrocious outrages was committed for the purpose of obtaining somebody else's property, or wreaking personal revenge on somebody who in the exercise of his undoubted civil freedom had committed some act or abstained from some act, and had so brought upon him the vengeance of the murderers and Moonlighters in the country districts. That being so, and the Bill having, as he ventured to think, all the inconveniences, incongruities, and absurdities he and others had ascribed to it, they were asked to go to the second reading. They were told that it was to be a sort of an abstract Resolution to which no effect was to be given this Session, but that in due course there would be a new Bill which they would be called upon to pass. He ventured to think this—that if the House of Commons were beguiled by any considerations of that sort into passing that measure in its present shape, if those Members who objected to all its leading details were beguiled into giving it a second reading, they would find when the autumn came that their position was one of increased difficulty and embarrassment. He alluded to the second Bill, which was inseparably connected with this. His belief was that when the autumn came those Members who voted for the second reading of this Bill—who disliked one Bill and abominated the other—would find when they came into the House that those Bills would be tied round their necks by the autocrat of the Treasury, and that they would very much resemble the condition of the unfortunate burghers of Calais, and it would be more than the ingenuity of Members could effect to extricate themselves from the coil they would find round their legislative necks. No! Those Members of that Imperial House of Commons who believed the principle upon which the Bill was founded to be erroneous, who disliked and condemned many of the leading provisions by which the principle was endeavoured to be put into action, had now an opportunity of expressing that opinion. Surely now was the time for the House of Commons to act. Let the House of Commons rise to the dignity, responsibility, and duty of its position. Let the House of Commons, by refusing the second reading, save Great Britain from shame, humiliation, and disgrace, and Ireland from ruin, confusion, intestine strife, and, it might be, civil war and reconquest.

Mr. F. S. STEVENSON (Suffolk, Eye) said, that in deciding this question existing facts must form the basis. They could not revert to the methods of Cromwell and of William III.; Grattan's Parliament was now remote, and they had to consider, not the opinions of Mr. Pitt, but the facts of the case, and it was with facts that they had to deal. They were confronted now with three general propositions under which the problem of Ireland had to be faced. In the first place, there existed in Ireland that sentiment of race which formed an important factor in the settlement of any question of this nature. Secondly, in a country where the land formed the principal means of subsistence, the system of land tenure was an unjust one; and, in the third place, millions of Irishmen had emigrated to the New World, animated by a sense of the wrongs which their country had suffered, and carrying with them a sense of the miseries that had resulted from the British connection. That feeling had not died away under new conditions in the New World, but was handed down to their descendants. In addition, they were now confronted with certain special conditions at the present juncture. In former times Parliament had been composed to a very great extent of landowners or the Representatives of the landowning class; but under the extension of the franchise matters were now very different. Now the actual cultivators of the soil had a direct voice in the management of their own affairs; and, in his opinion, it would be inconsistent and illogical to give them that power and not to take their wishes into account. Among the rural population, and in large towns as well, there was a strong feeling in favour of giving to Ireland those rights to which she was justly entitled, and a feeling that if they acted under the promptings of a sense of justice they would not go far wrong. It was felt that this Irish problem could not be delayed, but must be faced; that it could not be shirked or shelved, but must be settled in one way or another. It was perfectly clear that a step had been taken from which it would be impossible to recede. Under these conditions, it would, in his opinion, be absolutely fatal to delay any further settlement of this question. The Irish people could not be educated into a sense of responsibility until they had the control of their own affairs, and 20 years of coercion would not do that. They had heard much on the subject of guarantees and safeguards in connection with that measure; but he held that the truest guarantee they could have was not one which rested on mere paper or parchment, but which was inscribed on the tablets of the heart of the Irish people, and which would spring from their consciousness that the greatness and the unity of the Empire were indispensable not to Great Britain only, but also to Ireland. They had been told over and over again that if legislative powers were conferred on an Irish Parliament that Parliament would at once proceed to enact a series of confiscations, spoliations, and what not. Those who brought that charge against the Irish Parliament now sought to be established forgot that this was not borne out by history. It was for the opponents of the measure to show that in times past regularly constituted Governments had resorted to spoliation. History, on the contrary, showed that when settled Governments were set up a sense of responsibility induced them to refrain from adopting any such course; and there was no good reason for supposing that an Irish Parliament when created would form any exception to the general rule in that respect. They had been told that the supremacy of the Imperial Parliament, and what was called the unity of the Empire, must be carefully maintained. Members in all parts of the

House were agreed upon those points; and until a few days ago Gentlemen sitting on his (the Ministerial side) thought that the supremacy of the Imperial Parliament was put in some jeopardy by the Bill. Although the power to be given to the Irish Legislative Body would be a delegated power, it was pointed out that there would be a practical difficulty in the way of the Imperial Parliament at any time resuming those powers. It was felt that if they were resumed in the absence of the Irish Members it would be grossly unfair towards Ireland; while if they could be resumed only with the consent of the Irish Parliament, then, as the right hon. and learned Member for Bury (Sir Henry James) had shown, the Imperial Parliament would have parted with a portion of its supremacy so far as one part of the Kingdom was concerned, thus introducing into the Constitution an element of rigidity that was alien to its spirit. Now, however, that dilemma no longer confronted them, but had been completely removed by what had taken place at the Foreign Office last Thursday. They were told that the Irish Members were to be retained at Westminster not only for fiscal but for Imperial purposes. The problem to be solved, when that measure was reintroduced by the Prime Minister, resembled that which was presented by the existing relations between Hungary and Crotia. The Crotians had a separate Body which dealt with questions that were specifically and exclusively Croatian, and yet they sent Members to the Hungarian Diet who voted only on matters of common interest. Those matters of common interest were reserved, and formed the subject of debate either at the beginning or the end of each Session. There, therefore, we had a case in which the difficulty that we had to meet had been faced, and to a great extent to the satisfaction of all concerned. Acting in accordance with what he conceived to be the dictates of justice, and also of that expediency which the House never lost sight of, he heartily supported the second reading of that measure.

Colonel **HUGHES-HALLETT** (Rochester) said, that there had not been a sufficient *raison d'être* shown for the Bill. Three points stood out clearly from the mass of arguments for and against that Bill to which they had listened. The first was the justification for the Bill involving motives which had led to its introduction; the second was the security for its provisions, if they were passed, ever being fulfilled; and the third related to whether or not it came up to the final demands of the Irish people. He assured Irish Members below the Gangway that he desired to treat that question in a thoroughly calm and dispassionate spirit. With regard to the justification for that Bill or the motives which had produced it, he had been struck by the fact that the Prime Minister throughout the debates upon it had avoided making any allusion to that powerful organization, the National League, which had been described as the apostolical successor of the Land League. That organization had been the cause of the effect now exhibited in the Bill before the House. He maintained that the movement which had set this scheme in motion had come into existence not from any feeling that justice had to be done to Ireland in order to remedy grievous wrongs that were supposed to have been committed in the past, not from a feeling that the Irish people were entitled to make their own laws, but it was the outcome of the stern necessity imposed upon the country by the voice and the action of the National League. The mandate against the payment of rent and the raising up of the terrible system of "Boycotting" had terrorized, not only the masses in Ireland, but had succeeded in terrorizing the mind of the Prime Minister of England, and had forced him to lay a scheme of legislation before Parliament which must prove dangerous, if not destructive, to the interests of the British Empire. But was it really the case that Ireland was in favour of Home Rule? Was the demand for a Legislative Assembly in Dublin the free and unfettered expression of the Irish people? It was maintained by the advocates of the scheme that the answer was to be found in the fact that 86 out of the 103 Irish Members were returned to Parliament on distinctly Nationalist grounds. But was this result a natural or an artificial one? He did not say that it was artificial, but certainly he did not hesitate to say that it was not entirely natural. If the power of the National League had not hung over every Irish elector at the Election, it was probable that he would not have voted as he did, and that if he had been entirely free no doubt he would have voted otherwise. The uneducated Irish peasant seemed to have voted as he was told by the parish priest and under the domination of the National League. He had been a great deal in Ireland, and had conversed with Irishmen of all classes, and he believed that there was not a man in Ireland who by his industry had become possessed of an independence, however small, and who had anything to lose, who, in his heart, was desirous of Home Rule. He granted that the proletariat and the small mechanic were in favour of Home Rule, and that the small shopkeepers in many cases might cry out for it; but he questioned whether the cry was genuine, and whether it was not the result of a feeling that by opposing the movement their interests might be ruined by the action of the National League. The farmers in Ireland made no cry for Home Rule. All they wanted was to get the land cheap. A great deal had been said in disparagement of Coercion Acts, and of the futility of this kind of legislation; but he wished to point out that coercion was nothing more than the simple insistence of a British Government for the maintenance of law and order in all parts of the United Kingdom alike. As a matter of fact, however, certain classes in Ireland found that agitation paid better than honest industry, and rebellion paid better than both. In order to remedy this state of things, Parliament was asked to establish a Parliament in College Green, or what the Irish Members called the restoration of Grattan's Parliament. He was inclined, however, to think that it would be much more like Tyrconnel's Parliament, which, to the best of his recollection, passed Acts of attainder against Protestants and English landowners. Supposing the Parliament proposed by this Bill were established in Dublin, it seemed to him that the Representatives of the Nationalist Party now or in the future would be subject to wire-pulling by a Council sitting in Chicago or New York. But, assuming that the Irish Nationalist Party were able to cut themselves adrift from the influence of the Party in America, what guarantee had they if the Bill passed that no further concessions would be demanded? The conditions under which the Irish Parliament would be called into existence furnished no adequate guarantees that the authority of the British Parliament would not be impaired. There was no stipulation provided which would be of any practical value; and it must not be forgotten that the forces which sent the hon. Member for Cork (Mr. Parnell) into Parliament, when the time came for him to bring forward measures of Home Rule for his countrymen, might and would confront him in such a manner as to defy the passing of any laws which civilized communities must require in order to preserve their social and Constitutional existence. He asked whether this scheme of autonomy for Ireland was brought forward by the Prime Minister in the honest conviction that it would cut the Gordian knot of the Irish difficulty, or to suit the exigencies of Party? Was it founded upon the honest conviction that it would restore prosperity to that country, or was it extorted by fear? Was it honestly introduced with the object of preserving law and order in Ireland, or was it a mere capitulation entered into with the object of retaining place and power in England? It had been declared that the Prime Minister entertained no idea of the ultimate separation of the two countries; but who could insure us against the time when it might suit the convenience of the Leaders of the National Party to demand such a separation? In such a case, until that separation was obtained, Ireland might become the camping ground for hostile nations, and the Business of the Imperial Parliament might be brought to a deadlock by the votes of Irish Members. The Irish Party had obtained as their breakfast the disestablishment of the Irish Church. They had now got this Bill for their dinner; and they might demand Separation for their supper. Lord Beaconsfield had declared, many years ago, that Home Rule meant the dismemberment of the United Kingdom, and that those who favoured such a policy were false to their Sovereign and to the country, and might live to lament the disasters which their policy had brought upon the nation. The Prime Minister had held similar language; while in 1873 the Chancellor of the Exchequer had warned the House that governing Ireland according to Irish ideas meant our not governing Ireland at all. The old proverb said that it was only the first step which cost; and that freely translated into Latin meant *facilis est descensus Averni.* And if they once lent themselves to carrying this Bill it was impossible to predict where they would finally find themselves landed. If Ireland suffered under any real grievances, by all means let them endeavour to remove them; but let them cease to treat her as though she were a nation of children, to be first coerced and then coddled. If Ireland were to be treated on the same lines as England, Scotland, and Wales were, she could have no real cause of complaint. If they were to adopt the wise and prudent policy towards Ireland that he had suggested they might yet see the murky clouds that now environed her lifted and the sun of prosperity and contentment shine over her and illumine with its beneficent rays those who, if left alone, were a warm-hearted and a loyal people.

MR. STOREY (Sunderland): I am not one who has taken up the cry of Home Rule recently; but one who, since I have had a beard on my chin, have advocated the right for the Irish people which I, as an Englishman, claim for my own country—the right of self-government. There may have been sudden conversions on the side of the House from which I speak; but you must remember that sudden conversions are not necessarily false ones. St. Paul was converted suddenly, but his conversion was real; and it is idle to suppose that, before he saw the light from above, he had not many searchings of heart. Although there have been sudden conversions on this side of the House—the conversion, for instance, of the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who, doubtless, by-the-bye, will be able to explain the process by which he has arrived at his present position of mind—I want hon. Gentlemen opposite, in fairness, to believe that there are a very large number of Members in this quarter of the House, some who were in the last Parliament, but, notably, many who have come into this Parliament, who hold the Democratic view, and believe that peoples everywhere have the Divine right to govern themselves, and to shape their own destinies. If I have been struck with one thing in this debate more than by another, it has not been with the change of opinion I have heard expressed by some hon. Gentlemen on the Ministerial side of the House. I admit that it is rather remarkable; but more remarkable still has been the reticence of right hon. Gentlemen on the Opposition side of the House. Some here may have changed their views; but my difficulty is to know what is the real opinion of those who lead the Tory Party? I think the noble Lord the Member for Paddington (Lord Randolph Churchill) especially might be called upon to state in this debate what his views are. I notice that he seems to look on and observe the duel on this side of the House. If I might do so without offence, I would compare him to Iago, and recall a very remarkable scene in the play of *Othello.* I can imagine the noble Lord peeping from behind the Speaker's Chair, and, whilst he observes the Roderigo of West Birmingham proceeding to make his onslaught upon the Cassio of Mid Lothian, saying to himself—

> "Now, whether he kill Cassio,
> Or Cassio him, or each do kill the other,
> Every way makes my gain."

[*Cheers.*] I beseech hon. Members who sit behind the noble Lord to be chary with their cheers when he addresses the House. They will make a mistake if they bestow too much confidence upon him. You tell us on this side of the House that the Prime Minister converts us, and leads us in ways we do not wish to go; but I have no complaint with hon. Gentlemen opposite. I am not going to say a single word that will give offence to one of them, because, if the Prime Minister and my right hon. Friend the Chief Secretary do not carry this Home Rule Bill, as is very likely, owing to the action of Roderigo, the noble Lord is the man in whom I place my confidence. The Tory Party is the Party which will do the great thing the Liberals failed to do. Therefore, it is with especial regret I look upon the action of the noble Marquess the Member for Rossendale (the Marquess of Hartington). I would not in this House say one word disrespectful to the views and the character and the conduct of the noble Marquess. He is a Whig of the pure type. I am a Radical of the dangerous type; but I respect the noble Marquess. I have honoured him ever since I entered this House; and, although I can seldom follow him, I commend the dignity and honesty with which he supports every view he puts before the House. I deplore the position in which he is about to be put in regard to this Home Rule Bill. I know what is going to happen. There have been so many prophets that I venture to prophesy. I prophesy that if the acts of the right hon. Member for West Birmingham (Mr. J. Chamberlain), the Radical Member, result in the defeat of the Bill which contains the very essential principle of Radicalism, the noble Marquess the Member for Rossendale and his Whig Friends will see, as we have seen three or four times in this century, the Tory Party allied to the Radical Party, and reinforced by the Irish Party, carrying a Bill after all. Now, as the question has been approached in half-a-dozen different ways, I should like the House to permit me to put before it in 20 or 30 sentences the point of view from which a Radical looks at this question of Home Rule. I was particularly struck by the generous words in which the Prime Minister excepted the people of Scotland from any charge that they were concerned in the evil government of Ireland in the past. I freely admit it; but I wish the right hon. Gentleman had gone a little further. I wish he had generously added—as I think he would if he had thought of it—that the English people neither have a right to be charged with complicity in the nefarious Acts by which Ireland was bound to England in this unholy union, and by which she has been mismanaged for so many years. If any part of this Kingdom is to be charged with the evils of the past, it cannot be the common people. They had no power until 1867. In 1867 half of them gained power, and the first use they made of their power was to hold out the right hand of fellowship to the people of Ireland. Since 1885 the whole people of the country have had power; and as they have had no complicity in the misgovernment of the past, so I, one of themselves, the Representative of a Democratic constituency, say that the people of England—the common people—have no will, no inclination, no interest in perpetuating a state of things under which Ireland feels bound to act in antagonism to England; but, on the government for the people; Turkey coercing Bulgaria, the Divine right of self-contrary, as Englishmen, believing that they would resist to the death every attempt to misgovern them, or to govern them against their will, so they will give to another nation—their brothers in blood and in heart—the same right to govern themselves as they enjoy. Why is it I propound this Radical doctrine? For three reasons. First of all, because I admit that we have misgoverned Ireland in the past. Nobody denies it. There is not a Member who dare rise on that side of the House and say that we have governed Ireland well. We have mismanaged Ireland. There are people who look with a light heart at the matter; but, in my opinion, the historian, the impartial historian—not the historians who write nowadays in the daily newspapers, but the impartial historian of the future—who comes to write the history of the connection between England and Ireland in the 19th century, will not point out the petty details which hon. Members opposite occupy themselves with, but will write in broad characters this damning accusation against England—"A diminished population, languishing industries, ruined agriculture, the people in heart and soul opposed to yourselves," he will say; "this is the record the English have made in 86 years of government." That, Sir, will be our condemnation. But it is not merely when I look at Ireland I claim for her this right to self-government. Common shame makes me do it. Common shame ought to make every Radical do it, and it ought to make the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham do it. I do not speak to the Conservatives in the House, or the Whigs either. ["Hear, hear!"] I hope hon. Members will not think I mean to be disrespectful. If I am to speak to anyone at all, I would rather speak to those who, I think, are going astray, than to those who are, I think, consistently following their own principles. I admit hon. Members opposite are consistently following their own principles, and I would rather speak to erring brothers on this side of the House. Now, look at what we have done. There is not a country in Europe, where the people have sought this right of self-government, but we Radicals have supported it. If it was Russia coercing Poland, the Divine right of self-government for the people; Austria coercing Italy, the Divine right of self-government for the people; but when it comes to England governing Ireland, not as Ireland wants, but as England wants, then we seem to forget our principles and deal out to the Irish people a very different meed to what we deal to those at a distance. There has been one exception to this; I allude, of course, to the case of America. I have never heard during the course of this debate the case of America fairly quoted; but I will put before the House my case if you, Sir, will permit me. In the case of America the argument was this. The people of the Northern States, by force, compelled the people in the Southern States to remain in the Union. What I want to know is, What was the Union? What is the Union between England and Ireland? What was the Union between England and America? Thirteen Sovereign States met, and after solemn argument and prayer bound themselves in solemn bond that they would stand together. But how did we obtain the Union with Ireland? Not with prayer, but bribes; not with argument, but base corruption. If the Irish people wish to withdraw from that Union, we have no moral right—we may have the right of force—to stop them. If these people make a solemn bond with us, binding themselves and the two nations, then, but not till then, our moral right exists. I have heard in this House declarations that we can compel the people of Ireland to stand to this Union. I say as an Englishman, knowing my own people in the North—hard-headed, clear-minded men—that although they would hold the Irish to any bond they might enter into, they entirely revolt against the idea that they should use the sword to compel the carrying out of the present Union. It is no Union of which we can be proud. It is no Union in the eyes of the civilized world; and, therefore, I say it is time that this base and unworthy Union should be done away with, and that there should be substituted for it a Union which, in my judgment, will bind the two nations together more closely than they have been bound together before. I do not object to hon. and right hon. Gentlemen opposite opposing this measure; but I should like to ask the House, how can any Radical oppose it? The very essence of the Radical creed is that a country should be allowed to govern itself; and yet we have Radicals in this House opposing this measure, and proposing some sort of plans of their own. I have not yet ascertained positively what those plans are; but, whatever they are, they seem to err in one particular point; they never seem to consider the Irish people as a people, or to imagine that Irishmen have hearts and souls of their own. The Radical Leader, as he is called, does not seem to think that Irishmen are to be treated as men of flesh and blood. He seems to think that they are so many manufactured articles, to be disposed of at so much a dozen, a heavy discount being allowed if the business be intrusted to him; and, therefore, he objects to the plan put forward by the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister, and I understand he is going into the Lobby against him. I have got a quotation here, and I am sorry the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham is not here to enjoy it, for I should like him to recollect what he said in September, 1885. He said—

> "Two million voters, hitherto silent and unheard, will now demand attention, and the claims which they make, and the rights upon which they insist, will be an important factor in our future legislation. The programme which satisfied a limited electorate is much too restricted for the new constituencies. This has even attracted the attention of the 'Stupid Party.'"

I beg hon. Gentlemen opposite to understand that these are not my words. I should address them much more respectfully. These are the words of their trusted ally. Let me resume the quotation—

> "They based their hopes—that is the Tory Party—on the expectation of differences in our ranks, of a great secession from the Liberal camp. I do not think there are any of us who will be tempted to desert our old camp in order to make new political allies with that heterogeneous combination which includes Free Traders and Protectionists, Ulster Orangemen and English Roman Catholics, Licensed Victuallers and Established Churchmen, Tory Democrats and Fossil Reactionaries, all uniting their discordant voices in order to form a mutual protection society, and for assuring to each other place, privilege, and power."

Sir, after that quotation, I do not wonder that the noble Marquess at the head of the Tory Party (the Marquess of Salisbury) said he would use the right hon. Gentleman, but he would not trust him.

I do not want to say any more about the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham; but I wish him to consider—no doubt he has considered, he does nothing without consideration—to consider what he is going to defeat this Bill for, in support of what policy is he going to give his vote? I am not going to explain that policy at any length. Twenty years of coercion the noble Marquess promised us. ["No, no!"] Well, then, I will substitute an Elizabethan euphemism, and say a Government firm and stable—a firm Government by those who, in the face of a General Election, dare not renew the Coercion Act. I have been in the House only some four or five years; but I have seen enough sitting here, and seldom speaking, watching hon. Gentlemen, and especially right hon. Gentlemen on the Front Bench, long enough to know that whatever else we may look for—and I look for many things from them—I do not look for a Government firm and stable. Nor do I look for it from any Government on that side of the House or this. No; not till we get a Radical Government. Hon. Members entirely misapprehend the Radicals of this country; they are firm, and they will find that out when the Radicals come into power. The noble Marquess, if he did not ask for 20 years of coercion, at any rate proposed that £150,000,000 should be spent in deporting 1,000,000 Irishmen. ["No, no!"] Well, I am unfortunate. I cannot please hon. Members when I quote what was said. I will put it in another way. He said he would not propose it, yet the money would be better spent in that way. ["Hear, hear!"] Oh, I am glad I am right this time. Then here it is I join issue with hon. Gentlemen and with the noble Marquess. I would rather spend £150,000,000 in any way in the world than in deporting the sons of toil from either this country or Ireland. I deplore the aristocratic offensiveness of the proposal. Speaking as a son of the poor, there is nothing I object to more than that any one Marquess, or anyone else, should make the deportation of 1,000,000 of men from their native country a high question of State. If there must be deportation, I can tell you a much better way of spending the money. A shipload of Marquesses, a few Earls thrown in, as many Baronets, especially the newly-made ones. In that way if we spent £150,000,000 we might get a good return; but of the men who work and make the wealth of the country, I tell the noble Marquess and all those who agree with him, we will keep as many in the country as possible. I have very little more to say; I thank the House for listening to me so long. I want hon. Members opposite just to realize the fact that what we feel, what I feel, speaking for myself and my constituents—and I feel I can speak on this matter for my constituents—I only wish that all my hon. Friends on this side of the House could honestly say the same—speaking for myself and my constituency, we feel this—we do not want separation from Ireland; we do not want to injure by one jot or tittle the great fabric of the British Empire; but we want union with the Irish people by agreement and by affection. We deplore the circumstances of the past 86 years; we think they have brought harm to Ireland; we are sure they have brought shame to England. We say the time has come for a new state of things; and we believe that in the proposals of the Prime Minister for giving Irishmen the management of their own affairs we have proposals that will bring peace between the two countries. For 86 years Ireland has protested against this state of things. Up to 1829 inarticulately, from 1829 to 1885 semi-articulately, and since 1885 with the articulate voice of a great people. I say we are bound to listen to the voice of these Gentlemen, who represent Ireland. I know all the time I am speaking—at least, I think so—that when the division on this Bill is called, the right hon. Gentleman at the head of the Government and his supporters will be in a minority. ["No, no!"] I say I think so; and, Mr. Speaker, I cannot but recall the analogy between now and 100 years ago That analogy has been referred to in eloquent terms by the hon. Member for Wolverhampton (Mr. Henry H. Fowler) in his magnificent speech; but I will just refer to it again in a word or two. A hundred years ago there was a great Minister, venerable, venerated, potent—like the right hon. Gentleman who is at the head of the Government now; not even the voice of faction could say of that great Minister of 100 years ago that he was not patriotic, and did not love his country, for in the darkest days of her misery and degradation the elder Pitt took hold of her fortunes when her soldiers were flying from the enemy, when her ships were driven from the seas, and when her spirit failed within her. He, by the magic power of his patriotic soul, brought England to the height of her fortunes, and delivered her from all her enemies. He was a patriot, and he loved his country, did this great Minister. In his old age, and when tottering on the verge of the grave, there was a great question—as there is a great question now—of the right of an English-speaking people over the sea to govern themselves according to their own ideas; and this patriot Minister, the great-souled Chatham, in his old age proposed to Parliament some such measure of conciliation and justice as the Prime Minister proposes now. Then the Whigs and Tories—aye, not the Tories alone—the Whigs, ever faithful to their tradition of giving as little reform as will suit the petty circumstances of the time—the Whigs and Tories of the time united to defeat the Minister and his Bill. His Bill was defeated, and the Minister passed into his grave. Within a few brief years, the time for conciliation having passed, the English-speaking race over the sea asserted by arms its right to that self-government God means a people should have; their efforts succeeded, and England was degraded. It will be an evil omen if, after 100 years, the miserable experience of that time should be repeated by a British Parliament now. Happily, there is one difference between 1776 and 1886. In 1776 the common people of the country had no power; they were but carriages drawn by the power or will of their own politically. aristocratic steam engine; they had no Now it is different. If the verdict of this House—a verdict of a heterogeneous Party of Tories, Whigs, and so-called Radicals—if a verdict here should defeat the Bill, repeating the blinded course taken by Parliament 100 years ago, then I trust the Prime Minister will appeal from the House to the country; and sure I am—it may be not the first time nor the second time, it may not be by these hands, but at some time not far off, and by one Party or the other—the right of the Irish people to manage Irish affairs on their own soil will be conceded by the Parliament of Great Britain.

MR. MACNAGHTEN (Antrim, N.): I am sure that every Member of this House is desirous that this debate should close without unnecessary delay. The Bill is practically dead. [*Cries of* "No!"] Yes; it is dead, and buried too. The debate has sunk into a hollow discussion upon a measure which will never appear again in the same form; and even if it should re-appear it is very doubtful whether it would be accompanied by the measure which the Prime Minister has declared to be an inseparable part of his great scheme. Under these circumstances, I think that any ordinary Member who intrudes in the debate owes an apology to the House. My apology and my excuse are that the views of a large body of Irishmen, of whom I am one, have not been laid before the House, at any rate by one of themselves. I am not an Orangeman nor am I a Nationalist. And if I may venture to say so, I do not agree in the estimate which each of these Parties passes upon the action of the other. If I may say so without offence to Orangemen, I cannot deny to the Nationalists the possession of patriotic motives; and I am certainly unable to agree with the hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General (Sir Charles Russell) in the statement that the utterances of the Orangemen are mere bluster and brag, and that they are nothing but the tools of their superiors. The Orangemen are a very independent body, jealous, and properly jealous, of interference. They are, in fact, the democracy of the Protestant element, and are quite capable of directing their own actions. Still, I am bound to say that I do not agree with the violent language which some members of that Party have used; and I desire to avoid, as far as I can, giving offence either to the Orangemen or to the Nationalists. But I wish, as an Irishman, to state what my objections to this Bill are. I object to it on two grounds—in the first place, because it appears to me to place Ireland in a very degraded and humiliating position; and, secondly, because it opens the door to absolute separation and independence. These two arguments are contradictory, as the hon. and learned Attorney General said the other night; but that is not my fault.

The Bill itself is contradictory. I have tried to understand it as well as I could. I have read it over and over again; and I think I have listened to everything that has been said about it. Whether the Government have thrown as much light upon it as they could I do not know. I rather think they have not, because I observe that, at the historic meeting held at the Foreign Office, a young and artless Member of the Party rose and begged the Prime Minister not to commit himself at that stage to any definite statement which might hamper him later on in the year in the framing of a new Bill. That seemed to me to be a most extraordinary request to make of the Prime Minister. I think the hon. Member cannot have studied the speeches of the Prime Minister with the same care that I have done. Did the Prime Minister ever commit himself to any statement? But the right hon. Gentleman was equal to the occasion. With admirable gravity, he thanked his youthful adviser and promised he would follow his advice. I think the most suspicious and most sceptical of the Tory Party will believe that the Prime Minister will religiously keep that promise. With the Bill before the House, and such statements as the Government have vouchsafed—definite or indefinite—in regard to it, one thing is clear. It has been said over and over again. This is a Parliamentary contract, or a Parliamentary compact. Now, I am not aware that there is any difference between a contract and a compact; but I have always thought it was essential in any contract or compact that the terms should be clear, precise, and definite. That is not the belief of hon. Gentlemen opposite. The Chief Secretary said that this was not a "cast iron Bill;" and what he prided himself most of all on in the measure is its adaptability. His words were that he prided himself most of all on its "flexibility of adaptation." That notion of flexibility of adaptation is greatly in favour with some of the Party opposite. I think the House was very much enlightened the other day by a speech from the Treasury Bench, in which a Member of the Government said that he had always thought that in advocating Liberal politics he was supporting a Party who were prepared to alter their policy "as frequently as circumstances demanded." That was the language of a young Member of the Government; but you do not learn the secrets of the Party from "an old Parliamentary hand." I think the Chief Secretary was right in claiming "flexibility," the governing principle of the Liberal Party opposite, as the leading feature of this Bill. To my mind it is a very novel and very dangerous idea to have a compact vague and flexible. I think I can retort on the Chief Secretary that we in Ireland are not fools or children, and I say—"Tell us exactly what you are binding us to." Nothing is so dangerous, and so likely to lead to quarrels and bickerings, as a vague and flexible compact. I have said that I object to the Bill, because it is likely to lead to the degradation of Ireland. Let me leave out for a moment the flexible quality of the Bill, and let us see what it is the Bill really purports to concede to Ireland. We have often heard hon. Gentlemen below the Gangway say that they would not be satisfied with anything less than Grattan's Parliament. We all know what Grattan's Parliament was. It was as near independence as it could possibly be. But does this Bill concede Grattan's Parliament, or anything like Grattan's Parliament? What is more, does it concede a Parliament at all? Why, we were told that the other night in the speech which the Secretary to the Treasury praised so deservedly to-night. The hon. and learned Member for Wisbech (Mr. Rigby) is a great Constitutional lawyer, and he told us that this Body the Government propose to create is not a Parliament; that there cannot be two Parliaments; and this is not a Parliament at all, but a Legislative Body, just like a Local Board, or a parcel of Judges meeting to devise rules under the Judicature Act. The hon. and learned Member for Wisbech went on to combat the very admirable arguments of the hon. and learned Member for the Inverness Burghs (Mr. Finlay), and, commenting on some of his observations with regard to the omission of the clauses in the Colonial and Indian Acts which had been referred to, said that there was nothing in it, but that the clause, if not expressed in the Bill, was plainly understood. Well, I do not venture to differ from the hon. and learned Member. He is a Member of my own Profession, and a great Constitutional authority. Hon.

Members opposite, commenting on the arguments of hon. Gentlemen on this side of the House, always say that there is nothing in them; and here they say that, although that clause is not in the Bill, it is plainly understood. But do hon. Members below the Gangway know what the clause is. Let me read it to them. It is this, only substituting "Ireland" for "the Colonies," and "Irish" for "Colonial"—

> "Any Irish law which is or shall in any respect be repugnant to the provisions of any Act of Parliament extending to Ireland shall be read subject to such Act, and shall to the extent of such repugnance, but not otherwise, be and remain absolutely void and inoperative."

["Hear, hear!"] Hon. Members below the Gangway say "Hear, hear!" Do they know where they are? The Act of George I., which has been before referred to, contained two clauses, and two clauses only—one was, that the Kingdom of Ireland should be subordinate to the Kingdom of Great Britain, and that the King and Parliament of Great Britain could make laws which were to bind Ireland; and the other was to the effect that the English House of Lords should be supreme over all actions at law in Ireland. That Act was so obnoxious, so hateful, to the Irish people that they almost rose in rebellion, and Grattan's Parliament was the result; and yet this Bill is actually re-enacting both of those clauses—one you will find in Clause 36, and the other the hon. and learned Member for Wisbech tells us is understood, though not expressed. That I think is a very degrading and humiliating position. But it does not stop there. Irishmen are forbidden to legislate about many things—for instance, about trade. But trade is the one thing which, if Ireland has a Parliament of her own, we are told she will try to revive. They are forbidden to legislate about foreign politics. The hon. and learned Member for the Inverness Burghs (Mr. Finlay) says that in a certain class of foreign politics which create difficulties with England the people of Ireland have always taken a deep interest; and he instanced the exploits of the Mahdi. I will make a more pleasing reference. I have myself a clear recollection that one or two hon. Members sitting below the Gangway have taken a very lively interest in the affairs of India, and their interference has been of public service. But all that is to be changed. I was astonished to hear the Secretary to the Treasury say to-night that Irishmen may not even discuss these matters. I do not find that in the Bill. Why, these matters are discussed at almost every Board of Poor Law Guardians in Ireland; and yet the Legislative Body of Ireland is to sit mute, and if an hon. Member happens to rise and refer to any of them, I suppose the Irish Speaker would call him to Order, and say that he was trespassing on very dangerous ground. I say that that is a degrading and humiliating position, and while you are pretending and making believe to concede Grattan's Parliament, what you are really doing is to restore the state of things which Grattan's Parliament was intended to do away with. You are creating a Body which will be more fettered and hampered than the Irish Parliament which preceded Grattan's Parliament, and which was restricted by Poyning's Act and the Statute of George I. That is my first objection to the Bill. My second objection to the Bill is that it opens the door to separation. That is due to this very element of flexibility. I have shown, I think, how different this Bill is from what the Irish people have been led to expect. The result will be that when these limitations and restrictions are recognized, and thoroughly understood in Ireland, the feeling of discontent created by the Act of George I. will be produced by this Act. And then some new Leader may arise—possibly one of the hon. Members who sit below the Gangway, or, if they find themselves so fettered by the declarations they have made, it may be some other and some younger patriot, who will say, in words we all remember, that "No man has a right to fix the boundary to the march of a nation." And then he will try to evade the Act, and for a time he will be the most popular man in Ireland. Will it be difficult to evade this Act? I am prepared to say that any man could easily drive a coach and six through almost every section of this Bill. Take one case—take the case of the Volunteers. Ireland would be prohibited from legislating on that subject. But there may be Volunteers without any legal enactment. As far as I know, the old Irish Volunteers did not owe their existence to statute; and what has been before may be again. If troublous times come, and there was a war with France or America, a body of Volunteers would be an awkward factor if the Irish people became dissatisfied with this Act.. It is said there may be Volunteers; but how are you to pay them, and how are you to arm them? I do not think there would be much difficulty about that. We all know what enormous subscriptions have come within the last few years from America to Ireland to forward the cause of Irish independence, and I cannot help thinking that what has happened already may happen again. But I take leave to say that over and above that there is nothing whatever in the Bill which would prevent the Irish Legislature from devoting taxes raised in Ireland to the payment and equipment of Volunteers. And so it is with regard to trade. The new Body is to be forbidden to legislate upon, or even, if the Secretary of the Treasury is right, to discuss, questions of trade. I cannot think he is right about that, but it may be so. But I do say there is nothing in the Bill which would prevent the Irish Parliament from giving bounties to Irish industries, if they desired to drive English trade from the country. It is said that Ireland would be bound by the statutory contract into which by this Bill she would enter, or England should recall the boon. That might be so, if we knew what the terms of the contract really were; but that is the very thing we do not know. If the terms of the contract were definite and found within the four corners of the Bill, I could understand a person saying—"You have overstepped the limit, and must take care what you do." But what this Bill does is this—it says —"You must not legislate with regard to certain things; but with regard to all the rest you may be as free as air." If that is so—if it is so flexible—where are you to draw the line, or to say that an Irish patriot is overstepping due limits? I can understand what the Chancellor of the Exchequer said, that the time may come when it would be necessary to reconquer the country with "the unanimous voice of a united people, and the consenting conscience of the civilized world." I think we should have some difficulty in getting the unanimous voice of a united people, or the consenting conscience of the civilized world. I can understand that, however; but I cannot understand how the abiding sense of England's greatness can keep Ireland within the strict limits of its duty. It has never done so yet. The Prime Minister once said to Lord Spencer, and Lord Spencer has repeated the observation, that England could do what she liked with Ireland—that she could drag Ireland behind her as a mighty man-of-war drags through the sea a little eight-oared boat.

THE FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY (Mr. W. E. GLADSTONE) (Edinburgh, Mid Lothian): Meaning, if England were in the right.

MR. MACNAGHTEN: Yes; but who is to be the judge of that? It would be all very well if there were a supreme arbitrator to whom we could have recourse. The Prime Minister may depend upon this—that a very different view of what is right would be taken in Ireland from that taken in England. For the last 86 years England had been doing what she thought right in Ireland; but during a great part of that time, and certainly during the last few years, Ireland has said that England has been doing wrong. Who is to decide between the two? Even now, at the last moment, the Prime Minister comes forward and says that Ireland has been right and England wrong. That is not what he said a few years ago. I have heard him in this very House say that he was pursuing the path of justice, and that in the end what was just would prevail. [Mr. W. E. GLADSTONE: Hear, hear!] I am glad the right hon. Gentleman agrees to that. But has it turned out so? Has the path which the right hon. Gentleman has pursued pacified Ireland; if so, what is the meaning of this Bill? Upon that ground, and upon these two points, I object to the Bill as an Irishman; but, as an Ulster man, I have a special objection to it. I have a special objection to the inclusion of Ulster in the Bill. Whether, in the result, the Prime Minister has determined to include Ulster or not I do not know. As far as I could gather from his speech when he introduced the Bill, he left somewhat uncertain the question whether or not Ulster is to be included; but the recent utterances of the Treasury Bench lead me to the conclusion that the Bill is to include Ulster. We have heard the subject discussed with rather a light heart by my hon. and learned

Friend the Attorney General, who has said that he is an Ulster man himself —and so he is, and in Ulster we are very proud of him, and whether we agree with him in political views or not we are all delighted at the success which he has obtained at the English Bar and in this House; but there is one thing for which I do pity the Attorney General, and it is this—that in ignorance of this Bill and of the blessing which it will confer upon Ireland, and upon Ulster in particular, he should have transferred his home and his fortunes to England. That is an error which I am sure the hon. and learned Attorney General will be anxious to repair; and if this Bill were to pass I think the only difficulty the hon. and learned Gentleman would have would arise from the profusion of choice at his disposal in selecting a residence in Ireland. I must say, however, that, in the meantime, the opinion of the Attorney General would have had more weight with me had he selected for his home—as I have done—Antrim instead of Surrey. The hon. and learned Gentleman greatly amused the House by reading certain foolish speeches which were delivered by Irishmen at the time of the Disestablishment of the Irish Church. Whether that was worthy of the hon. and learned Gentleman I do not care to inquire; but he read some extracts with great dramatic power, and made very amusing comments upon them. As to threatening to die, that, I am sorry to say, is in Ireland a common form. The Irish Volunteers were always threatening to die in the field; and I can assure the House that the Orangemen have no monopoly whatever of this noble desire for death. The desire is equally common, and, perhaps, even more wholesale, among hon. Members below the Gangway. I find that the hon. Member for North Fermanagh (Mr. W. Redmond) has used the most alarming expressions. The hon. Member has said that he

> "would never raise his voice upon any platform except to proclaim that Constitutional means might fail, and if they did fail it was the duty of every Irishman to look into his heart and see whether he was prepared to do and die under the green flag."

Mr. WILLIAM REDMOND (Fermanagh, N.): I beg the hon. and learned Gentleman's pardon; but I should like to know the date of that speech, in order that I may know whether that was the occasion on which I was referring to the doctrine laid down by the noble Lord the Member for South Paddington (Lord Randolph Churchill).

Mr. MACNAGHTEN: I think I can satisfy the hon. Gentleman. The date of the speech was the 24th of May, 1885, which was before the noble Lord had spoken upon the subject; and, therefore, the hon. Member must have been the original.

Mr. WILLIAM REDMOND: Then the noble Lord appears to have followed me.

Mr. MACNAGHTEN: It may be that it was in order to prevent such a general catastrophe that the Prime Minister has brought in this Bill. Returning to the speech of my hon. and learned Friend the Attorney General, that hon. and learned Gentleman proceeded to argue that the opposition to the Bill in Ulster was not serious, inasmuch as similar expressions had been used by Ulstermen at the time of the Disestablishment of the Irish Church, and nothing came of them. But, Sir, the two cases are not parallel in the slightest degree. At that time the Presbyterians, who have been justly called the right arm of Protestantism in Ireland, supported the Prime Minister in his proposal for disestablishing the Irish Church. At that time the only persons who felt any deep resentment at the proposal were the members of the Established Church. The Presbyterians, who form the largest body of Protestants in Ireland, either stood aloof or supported the measure, and the Dissenters were altogether indifferent. Now, however, things are entirely changed. Now the Presbyterians of the North of Ireland are united with the members of the Disestablished Church. [Mr. W. E. Gladstone dissented.] The right hon. Gentleman shakes his head; but I can assure him that, with some very trifling exceptions, which really are not worth mentioning, the whole Protestant Body of the North of Ireland are united against this measure. Well, I think the consequences may therefore be very serious, and in this way—If this Bill is passed, capital will, undoubtedly, to a very large extent, be withdrawn from Belfast, and a large number of persons will necessarily be thrown out of work; and if those persons feel that their want of employment is due to this measure, and if the whole Protestant Body in that part of Ireland are found to be united, I venture to think that the consequences may be very serious indeed. I do not think that it is consistent with either the highest form of statesmanship, or with good sense, to argue that because nothing followed upon the foolish things which were said under one set of circumstances, therefore nothing would follow upon things said now, when the circumstances are entirely and absolutely different. Those who take the optimist view of the matter have asserted that this measure will not affect Belfast. But are hon. Members aware how it has affected Belfast already? The fear of the passing of this measure has already so affected that city, that trade and business have come to a standstill; no man buys goods unless he sees exactly when and to whom he can sell them; and I have been informed by a gentleman on whom I can entirely rely that the absolute loss, in the depreciation of local securities, has already reached £1,000,000 sterling. Now, I should like to know why Ulster should be included in this measure? It is said that the measure has been brought in because the people of Ireland decline to be bound by laws which come to them with a foreign aspect and in a foreign garb. But the Imperial laws have never worn a foreign garb or aspect in the eyes of the people of Ulster; whereas, if our laws are to be made by the Nationalist Party in Dublin, they will most certainly come in a foreign garb and aspect to us. Belfast has nothing in common with Dublin. Belfast is bound up with Liverpool and the thriving Lancashire towns, and also with Glasgow; but with Dublin it has little or no concern. Now, there is one thing which has rather pleased me in the course of this debate, and that is that hon. Members below the Gangway are beginning to disparage us very much. They say that Ulster is neither prosperous nor well-conducted; that Belfast has not increased since the Union; and that, in point of fact, they can get on well without us. Then why do they want to include us in this measure? Somebody has said that the sober common sense with which we are sometimes credited might be of use; but the hon. and learned Member for South Londonderry (Mr. T. M. Healy) has, I think, disposed entirely of that argument. I heard him the other night challenge comparison between the Members who sit on those Benches and the Conservative Members for Ireland; and I am bound to say, with the unanimous applause of those who sit beside him, he decided the issue entirely in his own favour. I am not going to quarrel with the hon. and learned Member for that; I should be very sorry to place myself in any comparison with him. I am very glad to find that even that reason for the Bill has been cut away. We have, certainly, the gravest apprehensions, and are those apprehensions without foundation? In the first place, I should like to know what the Government are going to do with the Land Bill, which they say is an inseparable part of this measure? I can only make a passing allusion to it. As it is referred to in the Bill I suppose I may say one word about it. Now, the Members of the Government who have spoken upon that subject are Lord Spencer, Lord Ripon, and the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant, and what they say is remarkable. Lord Spencer says that all the Members of the Cabinet are agreed upon it, and that it was a mistake to suppose that he had any peculiarly strong views upon the subject himself. The noble Lord said further that for the peace of Ireland, for the good government of Ireland, this question must be settled by the Imperial Parliament, and not left to the new Body; that it would be too great a strain upon them; that it is too enormous a burden to throw upon the legislation of a young and untried Legislature that will have enormous difficulties of its own to cope with. Lord Spencer added—"There will be no peace in Ireland if the Land Question is not settled." After that declaration—that there will be no peace till the Land Question is settled—are you going to leave that question out? If these views of the Government are correct, are there not some grounds of apprehension? Then there is another matter, and I think a very serious matter to all persons who have property, and to all persons who are engaged in business, and that is the way in which the Government have dealt with the Judges of Ireland. Certainly, this is the oddest thing I ever came across. The Prime Minister said—

> "Some of these Judges, by no fault of their own, have been placed in relations more or less uneasy, with peculiar influences, and what, under the new Constitution, will in all probability be the dominating influence in that country."

And then the proposal is made for hustling the Judges out of the country. That proposal is so grotesque and so extraordinary that, for my part, I may be pardoned for thinking the Prime Minister was not serious about it. My own mind turned to a Chief Justice who, in *Shakespere*, had placed himself in uneasy relations with the coming Sovereign; and I could not help thinking that this was a piece of by-play arranged between the Prime Minister and his new allies for the purpose of inaugurating this new era of peace and conciliation with proper dramatic effect. The Prime Minister's words, speaking on behalf of his Parnellite allies, are almost a copy of the words used in regard to the Chief Justice to whom I have alluded—

> What! rate, rebuke, and roughly sent to prison
> The immediate heir of Ireland! Was this easy?
> May this be wash'd in Lethe, and forgotten?"

And then I thought the hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell), or, perhaps, the hon. and learned Member for South Londonderry (Mr. T. M. Healy), would take up his part, and would consider what these Judges had really done, and would be able to say—

> "You are right;
> Therefore still bear the balance and the sword.
> With this remembrance,—that you use the same
> With the like bold, just, and impartial spirit,
> As you have done 'gainst us."

If the hon. and learned Member had taken up the Prime Minister's challenge in that spirit he might have gone on to say they had come—

> "To mock the expectation of the world;
> To frustrate prophecies; and to raze out
> Rotten opinion, who hath writ us down
> After my seeming."

But the hon. and learned Member was not equal to the occasion. The hon. and learned Member the other day received the Prime Minister into his favour as a father welcomes back a prodigal son. He greeted him with the homage of lips unaccustomed to flatter and the choicest passages of the Hebrew Prophets. He has forgiven the people of England centuries of wrong; but the hon. and learned Member draws the line at the Irish Judges. He has no forgiveness for them.

Mr. T. M. HEALY: I did not say a word about them.

Mr. MACNAGHTEN: I beg the hon. and learned Member's pardon. I am in the recollection of the House. I heard him—and I heard him with deep regret—only the other night, refer in very uncomplimentary terms to Mr. Justice Lawson, and I must say that I was much surprised that no Member of the Treasury Bench rose to repudiate the hon. and learned Member's allegations. I know that Mr. Justice Lawson is a good lawyer, and I believe him to be an honest and upright Judge. I do say that it is a very alarming thing to us that the Judges of Ireland, in whom we have confidence, and who have acted fairly, justly, and impartially, although they may have given offence to some persons in the exercise of their duty, should be replaced by a completely new set of officials open to new influences. Passing from that, we are told that we ought to trust the Irish people. Well, I would trust them as far as a man may. It is said that a sense of responsibility will make them just and considerate, and endow them with every virtue under Heaven. I should have more confidence in the success of the experiment if those who recommend it were themselves about to undergo it. And I must say, also, that I should have more confidence in its success if it could be proved that in any one single instance—I do not say they have not—if it could be proved that in any one single instance up to the present time hon. Members below the Gangway had interfered to suppress outrage and "Boycotting." I do not say that they have not done so; but there is no proof that they have. I can understand that, when their power was growing, it might have been too much to hope that they would interfere to suppress and put down and destroy that which was the very source of their power; but why did they not interfere when their power was established? There is one case which has created a very painful feeling in the North of Ireland—that of the City of Cork Steam Packet Company. The "Boycotting" of that Company is one of the most alarming incidents, so far as trade and commerce are concerned, that has occurred in recent years. The war—if I may call it war—with that Company began on October 7, when the power of hon. Members below the Gangway was completely established; and no one could doubt that they were about to come back to this House with at least 80 or 90 Members. They might then have interfered; and I am sure that the slightest word from them would have stopped the outrage at the outset. The Steam Packet Company were subject to the laws which regulate the rights and duties of common carriers, and were bound to convey anybody's goods. Unfortunately for themselves, they carried the goods of some persons who had made themselves obnoxious to the National League. [Mr. T. M. Healy: How?] The hon. and learned Member asks me how. I did not try the case. Let the hon. and learned Member, who is in the secrets of that Court, say how it was that the Company gave offence to the National League.

Mr. PYNE (Waterford, W.): I rise to Order. I wish to know whether the hon. and learned Member is in Order in saying that the Company, in which I am a shareholder—namely, the Cattle Association—had not the right, as well as any other trading Association, to start a Company to carry cattle if they so desire?

Mr. MACNAGHTEN: I think the hon. Member is a little mixed. Whether the hon. Member belongs to the Company that was "Boycotted," or to the Company started with the object of ruining it, I do not know. I do not wish to go further into the case than to say that the fact remains that the Cork Steam Packet Company were "Boycotted," and that their trade was ruined through the influence of the National League. Then what did they do? They employed their vessels to carry coals. But the National League sent out bands of music to the wharves, and forbade the landing of the cargoes. A peace has now been patched up, but upon what terms? For two months the Cork Steam Packet Company have to carry free cargoes for the persons who have done their best to ruin them, and then at half rates for two months more.

Mr. T. C. HARRINGTON (Dublin, Harbour): Perhaps the hon. and learned Member will allow me to interrupt him. [*Cries of* "Order!"] I wish to say that for the last three or four years I have been intimately associated with the National League as its Secretary, and I never had a word to say as to the dispute between the cattle trade and the Cork Steam Packet Company. It was purely a question between the Cattle Trade Association and the Cork Steam Packet Company. The National League never interfered in the matter.

Mr. MACNAGHTEN: If the National League never interfered actively, these things were done under its cover and sanction. ["No, no!"] Then, am I to understand that things have come to this pass in Cork, that, even where the League does not interfere, persons are afraid to carry on their legitimate business? Sir, I will pass from that. I have said nothing about the religious question involved, and I desire to say nothing on that subject; but, as everybody knows, there is a strong feeling in Ulster. It may be wholly unfounded. Perhaps the Catholics never did persecute; but I say there is a strong feeling on the subject in Ulster, and I do not think it can be entirely disregarded, and especially when we bear in mind that this Bill is founded on sentiment and sentiment only. Is it too much to expect that you should pay some regard to the feelings of the people of Ulster, even though they be sentimental, and not founded on good reasons as you think? There is one other argument, and only one, to which I will refer. It is said that we ought to have faith, and that we ought to have confidence in the declarations of public men. One hon. Member said—and said, I have no doubt, with truth—that the words which the hon. and learned Member for South Londonderry used on a late occasion came from the heart. I do not doubt it for a moment. I am not questioning the sincerity of hon. Members below the Gangway. I give them absolute credit for sincerity; but I am bound to say—and I say it with something like shame—that recent events in this country have done a great deal to shake confidence in the permanence of the declarations of public men. I am not going into particular cases;

but I am perfectly certain that, in their own hearts, both the Secretary of State for War and the Chancellor of the Exchequer will agree with me. I am deeply obliged to the House for the kindness and attention with which it has listened to me, and I have only one or two words more to say. I would ask hon. Members now, before this Bill passes, to look forward and to consider what may happen supposing that it does pass. What will be the first thing that will occur in Ireland? Why, it will be welcomed with extravagant joy. There will be a delirium of excitement; and the humblest Member who may have assisted in passing it will be welcomed with the homage denied to the Heir to the Throne. What will be the next thing? After that will come the distribution of the spoil; and the spoil will be greater than any spoil that was ever at the disposal of the Executive of any civilized country at one and the same time. To the victors, of course, the spoil will belong. Next, after that, will be a measure to provide for the payment of Members—I do not say that that would not be perfectly proper—and then the trade of the politician and the vocation of the patriot will be the most lucrative profession in Ireland. Well, you cannot get on in a profession if you sit still and do nothing. And these new patriots—I am quite satisfied the old ones will do nothing of the kind—but these new patriots will take Grattan's advice—and who can blame them?—they will go on, as Grattan said, knocking at the Union, or so much of the Union as is left, and they will recall all the wild and extravagant words used by hon. Members below the Gangway and their supporters during the last few years. They will recall those expressions I mentioned just now about fixing the boundary to the march of a nation, and dying under the green flag. They will begin by asking if these Gentlemen have acted on those principles, and if they have really given them Grattan's Parliament, and then there will come something like discontent; people will be surprised that credit does not grow up in one night like Aladdin's palace, and that trade has not revived as a matter of course. Then there may come a famine; famines recur in Ireland. Then there will be disturbances, rash words, and rash deeds. Then, possibly, the Chancellor of the Exchequer may interfere; but I think the end will be less tragic and more commonplace. I think the new Irish Constitution may end in universal bankruptcy and a regular smash. This is what you ask us—what the prosperous, law-abiding, and hard-working people of Ulster are asked to take part in—I assure you they desire nothing but to be left alone. You will not let us alone —is it too late to appeal to the common sense of the people, and to the teachings of history? Sir, I think it is not. We appeal to Scotland, and we appeal to England. Already one Scotch Member has given a response, and has in manly and eloquent terms declared that Scotland, Presbyterian Scotland, will never coerce Ulster men who are united to them in blood and religion. And, Sir, I do not despair of England. I trust the people of England—I trust the democracy of England. Surely this great nation is a wise and understanding people.

Mr. DWYER GRAY (Dublin, St. Stephen's Green): I am astonished that the hon. and learned Member for North Antrim (Mr. Macnaghten) in his speech, which otherwise, so far as we are concerned, was of an inoffensive character, should have thought it necessary to introduce into it the suggestion that we are advocating this measure for the sake of procuring payment for the Irish Members in the new Legislative Body. I take it that if we are actuated by any motive of that kind it would be a very much better speculation for us to remain where we are; because I imagine the question of the payment of Members is likely to arise as speedily in the Imperial Parliament as it is in an Irish Parliament, and the remuneration here is likely to be of a very much more substantial character. The hon. Member alluded to the speech of the hon. and learned Attorney General, and while paying to the hon. and learned Gentleman a tribute of praise, he expressed a hope that he would transfer his services and his residence to Ireland when the new Legislative Body is established; but, at the same time, to a certain extent, he sneered at what he called the lightness and levity with which he said the hon. and learned Attorney General had treated a serious subject. Perhaps I may be permitted to remind the hon. and learned

Gentleman, who himself occupies a distinguished position at the English Chancery Bar, that he can also transfer his exceedingly valuable services to the Irish Bar, when this change shall have been accomplished, and then the levity and light-heartedness of the hon. and learned Attorney General will be counterbalanced and prevented from assuming an undue preponderance by the solidity of the hon. and learned Gentleman who has just addressed the House. The hon. and learned Member has alluded to the Cork cattle trade dispute, and he has led the House to believe that the action of the Cork Cattle Association was instigated by the National League. Now, I think the hon. Member ought to have endeavoured to make himself master of the facts before he made a statement calculated to prejudice the National League, and a large number of Irish Members connected with that organization in the eyes of the House. The fact is that the dispute was of a purely local character. The National League not only had nothing to do with it, but refused to have anything to do with it. It was essentially a trade dispute, carried on with vigour on both sides; but not stained by any of those excesses which frequently accompany trade disputes both in England and Scotland. It was a dispute between those interested in the regular cattle trade on the one hand, and those who had endeavoured to set up a trade competition to the detriment of that trade on the other, and after a struggle of a few months an amicable compromise was arrived at, not on account of extreme compulsion on either side, but a compromise brought about by mutual friends, and arranged to the mutual satisfaction of all concerned. If that is the most formidable accusation the hon. and learned Member has to make against the popular organization in Ireland, and if that is his sole ground for apprehending that, by this Bill, trade will be destroyed in Ireland, and that there will be general bankruptcy and a universal smash, then I think all sensible men will say that there is very little ground for the exaggerated fears the hon. and learned Member has expressed—fears which I venture to think in his own secret heart he does not entertain. These accusations against the popular Party in Ireland, of their desire to destroy trade in Ireland, and drag down commercial enterprize, are not at all confined to the hon. and learned Member. I am glad to see the right hon. Gentleman the Member for East Edinburgh (Mr. Goschen) in his place, and I would scarcely have ventured to intervene in this debate if it were not that I desired to reply to an attack made by the right hon. Gentleman upon me in his speech on the first reading of this Bill. The right hon. Gentleman in that speech quoted an extract—an extract which I venture to say did not convey the true meaning of the article, but which, no doubt, was supplied to him probably by the agents of the Loyal and Patriotic Union—he quoted an extract from an article in a newspaper owned by me, *The Morning News*, published in Belfast—and he pointedly alluded to the fact that it was owned by me—which contained a suggestion inimical to the linen trade. That extract struck the House as being very extraordinary in a newspaper owned by me. I did not exactly recollect at the moment what that article could be, or how it could have got into any newspaper over which I had any control. I have since looked into the facts, and if the right hon. Gentleman desires to verify my statement, and wishes to allude to the subject in his speech, which I think I am almost entitled to ask him to do, I will forward him the series of articles on which he can form his judgment. In 1884 the linen trade of Ulster was in a state of extreme depression, and the Ulster Association, which represents all the manufacturing industry in flax in the North of Ireland, published a very lugubrious Report, pointing out the extreme depression of trade, and the fact that the area of flax under cultivation had been falling off from year to year, until it had reached a very low point indeed compared with what it was 10 or 20 years before. It had decreased from 380,000 acres in 1864 to something like 80,000 acres in 1884. I read the Report, and I was greatly struck with the figures it contained, and also with the fact that many of the flax mills were closed; that many limited companies had ceased to pay any dividends; and that their shares had ceased to be marketable, and were only quoted at nominal figures, although the shares were fully paid up. I was also struck by the fact that many of the gentlemen who had been interested in the flax trade had failed, and that their mills were closed. I thought it was a good thing to investigate for my newspaper the cause of this lamentable condition of affairs. I asked a gentleman interested in the linen trade of Belfast, whose sole means of livelihood was the linen trade, who was, 20 or 25 years ago, engaged in the trade, and who was extremely competent to deal with the subject, to write a series of articles in *The Belfast Morning News* on *The Decline in the Linen Trade: Its Cause and its Remedy.* These articles were not intended to depreciate the linen trade, but were rather an independent attempt to investigate the causes which have led to the depression in the trade, and to make suggestions which might help towards its revival. These articles were written in a very independent tone, which may have been liable to misinterpretation. The article to which the right hon. Member referred was an allusion made by the writer to a speech made by a gentleman in America regarding the fact that the Belfast merchants had "Boycotted" the Dublin Exhibition, and what an effect it might have on the resuscitation of the linen trade and on public opinion, and more especially on Irish public opinion. He warned the people of Belfast that such narrow-minded conduct was not calculated to enlist Irish support in America. I am speaking in the presence of many hon. Gentlemen in whose faces I saw indignation when the quotation was read. These are, however, the facts of the case. The article excited a certain amount of controversy, and did good. I venture to say that if the right hon. Gentleman will peruse the whole series of articles, which I will forward to him, I am sure, with that spirit of justice and impartiality which is his great characteristic, he will withdraw or qualify the most injurious suggestions he made, doubtless because he had only received a garbled extract from a long series of articles. The right hon. Gentleman staked his great authority in this House upon the financial aspect, founded, no doubt, on certain figures supplied to him, I presume, from the same tainted source. [Mr. GOSCHEN: No.] The right hon. Gentleman says "No." That only makes the matter worse; because, if he knew the whole of the facts, he only quoted a portion of them, and quoted figures calculated to mislead the House. Some of the figures may have been mentioned before in this debate; but in view of the emphasis which has been placed on the question of Ulster by the hon. and learned Member for North Antrim (Mr. Macnaghten) it is important to go into them again, and I crave the indulgence of the House while I do so. The right hon. Gentleman said that if Ulster were separated from the rest of Ireland, Ireland would be unable financially to carry on the work of Government. To prove this, he took Schedule D of the Income Tax, which deals alone with trade profit and professions. He compared, on that single Schedule, Ulster with the remainder of Ireland; but he said that from that calculation of the income from trades and professions the City of Dublin, the capital of Ireland, must be excluded. Upon that extraordinary calculation, he arrived at the conclusion that the Nationalist portion of Ulster only contributes some £300,000 under Schedule D of the Income Tax, while the non-Nationalist portion of Ulster contributes £2,500,000, I think. But will the right hon. Gentleman be astonished to hear that of that £2,500,000 he attributes to the non-Nationalist part of Ulster £2,100,000 comes from the town of Belfast. Therefore, if you exclude Dublin on the one hand, and Belfast on the other, this enormous preponderance under Schedule D disappears at once. Surely it is the merest folly to take the one great town in the South out of the calculation of the Income Tax derived from trades and professions, and to leave in the great town in the North, and then compare the two. There is a much fairer method of calculating the matter, and I will ask the House to consider it for a moment. I have taken the assessment for the Income Tax in an agricultural county not under the single Schedule of trades and professions, but under the whole four Schedules into which Income Tax is divided; and the result of that is that in the three Southern Provinces the assessment is £24,000,000, while in the Northern Province it is only £9,900,000. That is a very different comparison indeed from that which was made by the right hon. Gentleman; and I trust that when he comes to deal in his speech with the question of Ulster again, he will take some general statistics which will give him a fair notion of the comparative wealth of the different portions of the country, and that he will not take one particular Schedule, leaving out one portion of the trades and professions of the country and including another, by which means it is only possible to arrive at an erroneous conclusion. Now, the Income Tax per head for Leinster is £10 6*s*. 9*d*.; while in Ulster it is only £5 14*s*. 5*d*. per head. That gives a very different notion of the comparative wealth of the North and South from that given by the right hon. Gentleman. But even in despised Munster it is £6 0*s*. 7*d*. per head, as against £5 14*s*. 5*d*.; and these figures prove where the wealth, as well as the intelligence, of the country is concentrated. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for the Border Burghs (Mr. Trevelyan) procured a Return of the rateable value of property in Ireland, and this affords a fair criterion also. The result is exactly the same. Leinster stands valued at the rate of £3 13*s*. 5*d*. per head of the population; Munster £2 10*s*. 10*d*.; Ulster £2 9*s*. 11*d*.; and Connaught £1 15*s*. 2*d*.—that is to say, that Ulster stands lower than either Leinster or Munster. It is constantly dinned into our ears that Ulster is wealthy and prosperous, and that we represent the three impoverished Provinces, and want to seize upon Ulster because she is prosperous. But, as a matter of fact, so far as the rateable valuation is concerned, only one of the four Provinces stands lower than Ulster, and that is Connaught. The other two are rated at a higher figure. So that in neither the assessment for Income Tax, nor in the valuation for rateable property, does any Ulster county stand amongst the first 14 in Ireland. Therefore, no hon. Gentleman will, I think, venture to cite facts to bear out the assertion that it is because the other parts of Ireland are so impoverished and Ulster so prosperous that we want to have a central authority, instead of having the country cut up into districts. The Income Tax in Leinster, excluding Dublin, is £7 16*s*. 6*d*.; while if you leave Belfast out of the calculation for Ulster the valuation is only £5 1*s*. 0*d*. Turn the figures as you please, if you take them fairly you will find that the views so persistently put forward are fallacious. It will be found that Ulster does not occupy anything approaching the position of supremacy claimed for it by its friends. Another test by which the comparative wealth and prosperity of Ulster and the other portions of Ireland may be ascertained is the test of emigration. Emigration is the index of poverty and of discontent; and yet, as proved by the figures for 10 years, will the House be astonished to learn that emigration from Ulster has been higher than from any other part of Ireland? In 10 years down to 1881 the emigration from Ulster was 5·38 of the population; Munster, 5·26; Leinster, 4·68; and Connaught, 3·59. Thus the emigration from Ulster was not very far from double what it was from Connaught. I take it that there are fair methods of seeing if Ulster is contented and prosperous; but hon. Gentlemen who are always proclaiming the wealth, contentment, and loyalty of Ulster, never adduce facts and figures. I should like to know what right the hon. and learned Member for Antrim has to speak on behalf of Ulster at all? Hon. Members above the Gangway speak of themselves as Ulster Members; but why do not these Members remind the House that they are a minority even from Ulster? If the representation from Ulster is divided between the Nationalists and the so-called Loyalists, it will be found that the real Loyalists—the Nationalists—are in a considerable majority—a majority of some 20 or 25, and quite sufficient to constitute a working majority in regard to the Business of this House. Is it not astounding—I do not wish to be offensive—but is it not something approaching to impudence for hon. Members from what is called the "Imperial and Loyalist Province," although in a minority, to be perpetually telling us what Ulster will do and what Ulster thinks? If the House wants to know what Ulster will do and think, they will have to turn to these Benches to know, for we are the majority, expressing the Constitutionally - expressed opinion of Ulster. We are perpetually reminded of what the Protestants of Ulster will do, and what they will not do; of what yoke they will submit to, and what steps they will take to resist the edicts of this House by force of arms. They are continually speaking of Protestant Ulster as if Ulster is Protestant as a whole, The right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham (Mr. J. Chamberlain) seems always to have fixed in his head the notion that Ulster is essentially Protestant, and he is much concerned to defend Protestant Ulster against being put under the yoke of the Catholics. He was not always so concerned for them. It is worth while to examine with a little care the pretensions of Ulster to be called Protestant Ulster, and to see how little right there is to that claim. As a matter of fact, the Catholics of Ulster enormously outnumber any denomination of Protestants in Ulster; and it is only by combining the other denominations in Ulster that you can secure a small percentage of Protestants over the Catholics. Even with all these denominations—Episcopalians, Presbyterians, Unitarians, Independents, Moravians, and Jews—and bulking them as one, you only get 52 per cent of non-Catholics who are not homogeneous in any sense, and 48 per cent of Catholics. It is only in four counties in Ulster, out of nine, that Protestants are in a majority at all. In the majority of the counties of Ulster the Catholics are in a majority in returning Members to this House numerically in five out of nine counties; and when hon. Members, without any justification, speak on behalf of Ulster, they speak of the four counties of Armagh, Antrim, Down, and Londonderry, because in those counties alone are they in a majority. If you eliminate Belfast, the Catholics are in a majority in the remainder of Ulster over all other denominations combined. I take it that the warlike pronouncement of which we have heard so much, and to which an evening paper devoted five pages the other evening, is not so much to be afraid of, or to alarm hon. Members; but even if there was anything in these warlike sounds, the fact that, take Belfast away, there is a majority of Catholics over Protestants of some 80,000 over every other denomination may make us feel not quite so much alarm. The right hon. and learned Member for the University of Dublin (Mr. Plunket), in a speech which he made some time ago in England, said that Ulster, tried by every test of wealth, education, and the comfortable dwellings of the people, would not be found wanting. I have already examined the test of wealth and education; let me try the matter now by the test of the dwellings of the people, as we are challenged to do by the right hon. and learned Gentleman. Let me take the case of dwellings of £1 and under—the worst class of hovels to be found—we find in Ulster 152,499; Connaught 105,008; Munster 92,632, and Leinster 85,040—that is to say, that in wealthy Ulster, in regard to which the right hon. and learned Gentleman challenges this test of the dwellings of the people, there are more than one-third of the whole number of the worst class of houses valued at £1 and under, and nearly double as many as in Leinster or Munster, and 50,000 more than in Connaught. Therefore, I am afraid that, taken even by that standard, Ulster has very little to boast of. But let me go from the worst class of houses to those of the very best class—namely, those rated above £12, and what are the facts there? In Leinster there are 18,745; Ulster 11,950; Munster 6,598, and in Connaught 2,452; so that neither tested by the worst nor the best class of houses does Ulster reach that point of perfection which we are continually told she has long ago attained. I therefore hope that hon. Members above the Gangway who may continue this debate will cease to speak either of Ulster as essentially Protestant, or as monopolizing the wealth and intelligence of the country. These figures ought to be a lesson to those who still presume on the ignorance of English public opinion to talk in this manner of what they call "Loyal and Protestant Ulster." *The Dublin Evening Mail* is the ostensible organ of the Orange Party in Dublin and in the South of Ireland. It is an organ of the strongest and most pronounced Tory principles. It has always fearlessly advocated those principles; but it is not without a certain amount of intelligence, and, on occasions, a certain amount of frankness. Writing, within the last fortnight, of these statistics, which had been published in another Irish newspaper, it deprecated the practice of speaking of Ulster as a single homogeneous Province, and suggested that Ulster ought to be divided into what it says should be "Celtic Ulster" and "British Ulster." It gave a list of the nine Ulster counties, and went on to say—

"The first four of these counties—that is Down, Antrim, Armagh, and Derry—constitute what we call British Ulster; but the title of Derry to that name is precarious."

Therefore, the Orange Tory organ in Dublin acknowledges that only four of these nine counties have any pretension to be called "British Ulster," and that the title even of one of the four is precarious. The article goes on to say—

> "It is not merely in the interests of abstract truth or of convenience of nomenclature that we wish to discard the notion of Ulster being a homogeneous Province, a political unit, having as good a title as all Ireland to pronounce on its own political destiny. The pretended unity of Ulster is a danger to the cause of British Ulster. The Nationalists have the wit to see this, and are now parading the majority of one which their side obtained in Ulster at the late General Election as an argument for treating Ulster as a whole, and that whole Nationalist."

That is exactly what the right hon. Member for West Birmingham (Mr. J. Chamberlain) wants the House to do. But the Orange organ in Dublin tells us it would be dangerous to do what the right hon. Member for West Birmingham proposes to do. The writer goes on to say—

> "We apprehend that if Mr. Gladstone succeeds in kindling a civil war in Ireland, a good many counties in Ulster will stand in for the College Green Parliament, and their share of whatever plunder is going."

So that, whenever an appeal is made to the right hon. Gentleman to say what he will do for Ulster, and if he proposes to exclude Ulster from the Bill, the appeal must be made on behalf of three counties only which have a decided claim to be called Protestant; and I should like to know whether the right hon. Gentleman would seriously stand up in this House and propose that 29 counties should be included under one national Representative Body or Council and the three Orange counties left out? If hon. Members above the Gangway will study these figures, I think they will see that they altogether dispose of their right to speak on behalf of Ulster, or to talk of "Protestant Ulster." Not a single Member who has taken part in this debate has attempted to deny these facts, or the natural deductions to be drawn from them. I have many more figures; but I am aware that the reading of dry statistics is very irksome to hon. Members who have to listen to them. I have endeavoured to show that Ulster has no special claim to be called wealthy, as compared with the rest of Ireland, or to be called exclusively or mainly Protestant. But we are told that all the intelligence of Ireland is concentrated in Ulster—that it embodies not only the wealth but the intelligence of Ireland. [An hon. MEMBER: Hear, hear!] An hon. Member says "Hear, hear;" but I will leave the House to judge for itself. It would be most indecorous and presumptuous for me to express any opinion upon that subject, although I may have formed an opinion in my own mind. I will take a more legitimate test, the test of the percentage of persons able to read and write. I do not find that, judged even by that test, Ulster possesses that predominant position in regard to intelligence which is claimed for it, both in and out of this House. The number of persons who can neither read nor write were, according to the last Census Returns, in Leinster 58·5; Ulster 53·4; and Munster, where, of course, all the stupidity and ignorance are concentrated, 53·2, or practically the same as Ulster; and Connaught 41·5. Thus we have the fact that judged by the standard of education, Leinster is higher than Ulster. We have not been much astonished at the attitude taken by the noble Marquess the Member for Rossendale (the Marquess of Hartington). His action has been at least straightforward and open from the beginning. He has been a fair opponent, and we have towards him, although an opponent, nothing but feelings of respect. But I confess the attitude of the right hon. Member for West Birmingham (Mr. J. Chamberlain) has been a standing puzzle to me for some months. It is a matter of extreme difficulty to ascertain exactly what the opinions of the right hon. Gentleman are on this subject of Ireland on any given day. We know that, in 1874, he was a Home Ruler, and that he was then an advocate of the federal scheme of Mr. Butt; but more recently, in publications which, although not given to the world with his name, yet bear his *imprimatur*, and which, I think, he will not venture to repudiate, he discussed the system of federation, and had very strong faith in it as a settlement of the Irish Question. [Mr. CHAMBERLAIN dissented.] I see the right hon. Gentleman shakes his head.

MR. JOSEPH CHAMBERLAIN (Birmingham, W.): If the hon. Gentleman wishes to know why I shook my head I will tell him. I understood him to say that in some article supposed to have my approval, I spoke in favour of federation as a possible solution of the question. I assure him that he is mistaken. In that article I pointed out—in that article it was pointed out—[*Laughter and ironical cheers*]—hon. Members are really a little too hasty. As I have already stated in this House, that article was not written by me; but in that article, the general lines of which I am ready to say I approved, it was stated that federation would be a solution quite consistent with the unity of the Empire, and the attribution of large powers of local government to Ireland; but it was pointed out that it would involve so great a disturbance of the English Constitution that at that time it was outside the range of practical politics.

Mr. DWYER GRAY: I understand, then, from the right hon. Gentleman that although he did not write that article, he is willing to take the responsibility for it. [Mr. CHAMBERLAIN dissented.] At all events, the Press of the United Kingdom attributed it to the right hon. Gentleman. When it appeared to be a popular article, and perhaps when it was assumed that it might contain the germ of a solution of the Irish Question, the right hon. Gentleman was perfectly ready to take credit for it. There was not a newspaper in the Kingdom which did not publish a statement that the article was that of the right hon. Gentleman, and contained his plan; and it was published in the Radical programme, which, I believe, the right hon. Gentleman ignores also. Am I also to understand that the right hon. Gentleman repudiates the second article in *The Fortnightly Review?* I take the silence of the right hon. Gentleman with reference to the second article as his assent to my assumption that he is, at least, responsible for the second article. In the second article occurs this sentence—

> "In the first place, there is the proposal for National Councils, which was put forward with the authority of Mr. Chamberlain in the pages of this *Review*, July, 1885."

So now we have this condition of affairs—that in 1885 the article was published with the authority of the right hon. Gentleman.

Mr. JOSEPH CHAMBERLAIN: The statement that the proposal for National Councils was put forward with my authority is perfectly correct; but that does not make me responsible for the whole of the article, which was not written by me.

Mr. DWYER GRAY: The House will understand the explanation of the right hon. Gentleman. But we are in this position. The article was published in July, 1885, which contained a scheme for the solution of the Irish Question; every newspaper attributed it, if not to the pen, at least to the inspiration, of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham; during 18 months the right hon. Gentleman took every credit for that article; he never, in speech, or paper, or by any other means, denied that he was responsible for that article. He was responsible for an article published this year in the same magazine; the article published this year stated that the article of the previous year was published on the authority of Mr. Chamberlain. The right hon. Gentleman never denied that; but now he comes forward and says he is not responsible for it. The right hon. Gentleman, who has no difficulty in writing contradictions to the Press when it suits him, was in this case unable to write a letter of two lines to remove the belief, which we are now told is a misapprehension, that he was responsible for the article of last year containing a scheme for the solution of the Irish Question. I do not wonder that the right hon. Gentleman is willing to shift from himself a portion of the scheme of the article of July, 1885, because one of the strongest objections which he has to the scheme of the Prime Minister is on account of the two Orders, and the dual system of representation. The right hon. Gentleman alleged that this was not sufficiently Radical for him—it contains the principles of representation of property, and of the two Orders—but in the scheme of July, 1885, these principles were embodied. Whoever the mysterious and undiscoverable author of the article of July, 1885, was, he proposes that upon the County Boards there should be representatives of owners of property distinct from, and elected in a different manner from, the representatives of occupiers; and he proposed to carry on that dual system. Thus we have embodied in the scheme the principle of the two Orders, which we are now told is sufficiently Radical to be in the Radical programme. I hope the right hon. Gentleman will tell us when he makes his speech, which we are all looking forward to with so much interest, what is his present opinion upon this question of dual representation, and whether he withdraws now from that portion of the scheme in the article which he does not deny is his own, and which *The Fortnightly Review* referred to as being published last year on the authority of Mr. Chamberlain. Now the right hon. Gentleman interrupted me to say that in the authorized document of this year, in contradistinction from the unauthorized programme of last year, when he was criticizing the various proposals, including that of National Councils, he was not opposed to the principle of federalism, and that he thought there might be in it the foundation of a system which would grant to Ireland sufficient rights of self-government, while maintaining the unity of the Empire. I have nothing to say against the system of federalism; no one, however, has grappled with the argument of the Prime Minister, or has shown how the objections which the right hon. Gentleman urged against that scheme are to be met. But in view of the fact that the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham has no objection to federalism, and that he thought that in it might be found a solution of the Irish difficulty, it is a matter of some interest to know how he asserts that the principle of federalism would work. I do not know what are the opinions of the right hon. Gentleman upon the question of a Republic; but there was a time when he professed Republican principles. He has not, as far as I know, publicly repudiated his Republican doctrines; and he may, therefore, be assumed to have still certain Republican leanings or proclivities, modified possibly, to a certain extent, by the oath he has since taken; but, as I have said, he has never publicly withdrawn, or in any way repudiated, the notions of a Republican form of Government, of which, for years, he declared himself to be the advocate. Now, the article of this year shows the opinion of the right hon. Gentleman as to how the system of federalism would work. I will quote one sentence from it, which is very significant in face of the determination which he has announced to vote against this Bill, as showing the opinions which he held at that time, whether they were or were not acceptable to the people of Ireland. The right hon. Gentleman said in the article in *The Fortnightly Review* of February, 1886—

> "It would be useless to impose benefits which would be scornfully rejected by those for whose advantage they were intended. Once more, in the history of Irish politics, we have to register the verdict—'Too late.'"

I take it that the right hon. Gentleman is going to do his best next Thursday, or when the division is taken, to register another verdict of the kind. But the chief point to which I desire to direct the attention of the House is the way in which the system of federalism would work out. The right hon. Gentleman said it should be adopted not only with reference to Ireland, but with reference to the rest of the Kingdom; he suggested two Legislatures, one for the three Southern Provinces of Ireland and one for Ulster; he went on to suggest that there might be similar Legislative Bodies for England, Scotland, Wales, and the Isle of Man—at any rate, he made out there would be six Legislative Bodies. The article says—

> "There would be, therefore, six Legislatures, each with its separate Ministry, and it may be assumed with a single Chamber."

In this, perhaps, some Radicals may find a solution of the most extraordinary attitude which the right hon. Gentleman has taken up; it may be that he is far more Radical, and that his schemes are more far-reaching, than anyone has an idea of. "In any case," he goes on to say, "the House of Lords, as at present constituted, must be abolished." I commend that to the noble Marquess the Member for Rossendale, who has recently entered into an offensive and defensive alliance with the right hon. Gentleman, who, in former times, scarcely spoke of him with so much confidence as at present—

> "And it is hardly conceivable that even the nominal authority of the Crown could be long preserved."

That is the opinion of the right hon. Gentleman as to the ultimate effect of a scheme of federation, and in that, he servatives at the Elections. How sadly is my confidence in the noble Lord shaken! But, surely, he will scarcely venture to contradict or repudiate his responsibility for the circulation of these articles. Early in September, 1885, I was supplied with another article from the same source, in which the author says—

> "There is no half-way course, and the sooner British statesmen recognize the fact, so much the better."

She goes on to define a strong policy of concession, and says—

> "Of her own free will, Great Britain should hand back to Ireland the Parliament which she wrested from her in 1800."

She proceeds to glorify Grattan's Parliament, and tell the history of its overthrow—

> "It is for Great Britain seriously to ask herself whether it is practicable to restore to Ireland her undoubted right to have a Parliament of her own? I firmly believe it is the only policy which will establish friendly relations between Great Britain."

Lady Florence Dixie goes on to point to the noble Lord himself, who we know is extremely modest, and does not allow compliments to interfere with business—

> "Do I see arising amidst the Conservative ranks a young Leader who is facing the Irish problem, and recognizing the right of the Irish people to govern themselves? Shall it be from Conservative hands that Ireland will receive back her long-lost freedom? Something tells me that it will be so."

In a further article, just before the Elections in October, the writer argues in support of the practicability of Home Rule. This was also issued in the same way as the others. The writer says—

> "I think a Parliament at College Green is eminently practicable. A day will come when this will be acknowledged. Then why should everything be done too late? Is there no patriot British statesman who will arise and tell his countrymen the truth—who will wipe away this disgraceful stain of injustice, and give Ireland her just rights?

On November 13, immediately prior to the Election, to keep the system up, and keep the Irish vote true to the Conservative cause, we have this article—

> "Legislative independence far from its proving a source of separation and disintegration, as Mr. Chamberlain and others would have us believe"—

and now, I may say, we have the tables turned—we have the right hon. Member for West Birmingham going for federation, and the noble Lord the Member for Paddington going for I do not know what, but declining to go for Repeal of the Union—

> "as Mr. Chamberlain and others would have us believe, and would insure the true union of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland. In this course alone true unity is centred —any other must be productive of disunion and discontent."

And this Conservative News Agency not only circulated articles from the National League, but from other sources. *The St. Stephen's Review* of December 19th, 1885, also published an article from Mr. Bellingham, late M.P. for Louth, advocating Home Rule. What are we to think of the position taken up by the young Leaders of the Conservative Party in view of the Election? They established a large organization, subscribed large sums of money, and associated themselves with newspapers in England, Scotland, and Wales by a system of supplying articles to those newspapers, in order to secure that they all should speak with one voice on the question of the day. And this is the class of literature they supplied in order to educate the voters up to the point of Home Rule, or, if not that, to deliberately deceive the Irish voters, and lead them to believe that the young Leaders of the Conservative Party would use their best endeavours to secure for Ireland not only the Repeal of the Union, but Grattan's Parliament, if the Irish vote were cast for the Conservatives. I am glad that I happened to preserve these extracts I have read; it was only through an accident that I did so, for I scarcely, at the time, thought them worth drawing attention to. ["Hear, hear!"] I can understand the right hon. Gentleman saying "Hear, hear!" I can well understand that he would have preferred that I should not draw attention to these extracts. Perhaps he will tell us what the exact position of the Conservative News Agency (Limited) is at this moment, and whether the noble Lord (Lord Randolph Churchill) still occupies the honoured and trusted position of President of the Association. I feel I have already occupied the House too long, and I will say but a very few words in conclusion. We are told by some that by passing this Bill we shall drive capital out of Ireland. I do not believe that we shall do anything of the kind. We are told that we shall destroy the industry of the North. and that capital will leave Belfast. Why, Sir, capital at this moment could not leave Belfast. Capital is locked up in Belfast, as everyone who is interested knows, and it is as impossible to realize it now as it has been at any time during the past seven or eight years. There is not a Bank in Ireland that has not large sums locked up in mills in Belfast, and not one-tenth of this capital could be realized in the event of great capitalists endeavouring to transfer their capital from Ireland to England, or other countries. Therefore, these statements as to driving capital from Ireland are all bunkum. It is impossible for capital to leave the North, for the reason that it must hold on to an industry which, I am sorry to say, is in a very depressed condition—and that not in consequence of any agitation which has taken place. The same state of things has existed eight or 10 years in consequence of the undue development of the linen industry during the American War. We are told that capital will leave other parts of Ireland. What capital? What English capital is there in Ireland? I am not aware of any, save one class. If we could procure a Return of the names of the shareholders in Irish Limited Liability Companies, Irish Railway Companies, Irish Insurance Offices, and other industrial enterprizes of every kind, I venture to say that not 5 per cent of them would be found to be English. Not 5 per cent of the capital of Irish industrial enterprizes is held by Englishmen. I was, some three years ago, greatly struck by a speech made by the Chairman of the London and North-Western Railway Company at a meeting of the shareholders of that Company—so struck by it that it has never left my memory. At that time there was a bitter contest going on in regard to the mail contract between Holyhead and Dublin. The Irish Members desired that the contract should be in the hands of an Irish Company; but the London and North-Western had obtained it, and were struggling to maintain it. Well, Mr. Moon, the gentleman to whom I refer, met the shareholders, and made a speech on the subject which I never forgot. He stated that they had more Irish shareholders and a larger amount of Irish capital invested in the London and North-Western Railway Company—that English Company—than the whole capital of the City of Dublin Company, which was called an Irish Company. [An hon. Member: Than there was English capital in the Irish Company.] Not at all. There would be nothing at all in the assertion that there was more Irish money in the London and North-Western Railway Company than there was English money in the Irish Company; but he said there was more Irish money invested in the London and North-Western Railway Company than the entire capital of the Irish Company. If we could arrive at the facts carefully by statistics, I have not the slightest doubt that there is at least three or four times the amount of Irish money invested in England that there is English money invested in Ireland, with, as I say, the exception of one single class of investments—namely, advances by way of mortgage on Irish land. We in Ireland can well afford, as far as industrial enterprizes are concerned, to do without English aid. I am not aware that we ever had English aid to any substantial extent. During the period from 1848 to 1865, when Ireland was in a state of perfect tranquillity, when the Viceroy was congratulating the Queen, year after year, on the increase which was taking place in the flocks and herds, and when emigration was going on largely, withdrawing a large part of the poor population, I am not aware that there was any influx of English capital into Ireland. The only investments to any considerable extent of English capital in Ireland are loans upon Irish land; and I think those loans, far from benefiting any section of the community, have proved a curse to the country. They tempted Irish landlords into extravagance; they tempted them to come over here, and vie with men far richer than themselves in display and ostentation. They caused them to get plunged into debt, and the result was that they were induced to put pressure on their tenants, and to raise their rents. This has brought something like ruin upon the Irish landlords and tenants. Why was it that we had this influx of English money in the shape of mortgages on Irish land? Was it from a philanthropic impulse? Nothing of the kind. It was simply because any money lender, any Insurance Company, any capitalist with a large sum to dispose of, and not knowing what to do with it, could procure from 4½ to 5 per cent on a first-class mortgage on Irish land; whereas only from 3 to 3½ per cent was to be obtained on similar security in England. One and a-half or two per cent more was to be got out of Irish than out of English mortgages. Money was lent on mortgages on Irish land for the same reason that it is lent on mortgage on American land. There was nothing of philanthropy in it, and no desire to promote the interests of Ireland. The only reason was that those who invested got a higher usury; and if these investors suffer now from the condition of things that they themselves have helped to bring about, I do not think there is any section of the House which should feel any particular commiseration for them. The loans they made to the Irish landlords, so far as we are concerned, have been a curse to the country; and this is the only kind of investment of English capital in Ireland that has taken place to any extent that I have the slightest knowledge of. And now I should like just for a moment to consider the commercial effect of the defeat, or even serious postponement, of this Bill. I say its effect will be extremely disastrous. We are told that in consequence of the action of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham (Mr. J. Chamberlain) and his Friends this Bill is going to be defeated. For my own part, I do not believe these flimsy forecasts; but if the Bill be defeated, I fear that the result upon Ireland will be extremely disastrous. It is a marvellous thing for me to find some Members below the Gangway opposite telling us that they are going to vote against the Bill, not because they share the opinions of Gentlemen above the Gangway, which opinions we can understand and respect, not because of any opposition to the Bill on the principle propounded by the noble Marquess the Member for Rossendale (the Marquess of Hartington), but because they do not think the Bill good enough for us. They desire, they say, to frame a complete measure. I often wonder whether this is a real excuse—whether they really are serious. I think it is, on the part of some of the Leaders of the Party, merely a transparent excuse; that it is an excuse to cover an inveterate hostility, not only to the Bill, but to the author of it, and to conceal a feeling of pique, and jealousy, and spleen unworthy of any man, or of any men pretending to be statesmen, dealing with a great question of this kind, affecting the lives, liberties, and happiness of millions of Her Majesty's subjects. I do believe that there are some hon. Members below the Gangway who are really thinking of voting against this Bill because they think it would be injurious to Ireland. I would ask them to consider for a moment what they think would be the effect of the rejection of the measure. I was speaking within the last three or four days to a gentleman practically at the head of one of the greatest—I think we may call it the greatest—commercial institution in Ireland. He looked forward, as all who are aware of the condition of affairs in Ireland do, with something like consternation to the rejection of the Bill. He looked forward with the utmost possible hope and gratification at the prospect of its being speedily passed. The institution he is connected with is probably more intimately bound up with the commercial prosperity of Ireland than any other in the Three Kingdoms, and its managers are probably better able to judge of the commercial effects of a measure of this kind than anyone in Ireland. Well, such was the opinion of this gentleman; but, at the same time, he said he would rather see the Bill rejected than see it mutilated, and he suggested to me to urge on every person who might have influence to urge on the Government, above all things, to maintain the provisions, and rather take all risks than mutilate the measure. Crossing over from Boulogne a week ago, I met an English gentleman at the head of one of the greatest firms in the United Kingdom, which has agencies and branch offices in every great town of England, Scotland, Wales, and Ireland. He expressed himself strongly in favour of this measure. I asked him what, in his opinion, would be the effect upon the great business which he carries on in every great town in Ireland? I asked him whether, as an Englishman, he was apprehensive that it would injure his trade in any way, and he said it would have no effect. But what he said was seriously affecting his business, and would probably affect it still more seriously, was the condition of suspense and uncertainty into which they were plunged, which checked all kinds of commercial enterprize. That is the position in which some people propose to plunge Ireland for the next 12 months. *The Times* the other day threatened that the English merchants in Mincing Lane were about to stop our credit, and that if this Bill passed they would supply us with no more tea and sugar, and so on. We could with equanimity bear to be deprived of supplies from Mincing Lane. We could ourselves make up for the deficiency. It is said, however, that that would have the result of dragging down two or three Irish banks. Well, I do not think the action of any merchants in England, or of the whole combined commercial community in England, would affect the stability of a single Irish bank; but the paralysis of trade throughout Ireland and the complete suspension of all but an absolutely necessary amount of business which would follow the rejection of this Bill, and the state of uncertainty in which we should be plunged, would have the most deleterious effect upon business. With some knowledge of the facts, I say that Ireland is not in a position to stand the terrible strain to which she will be subjected in the next six months or 12 months if the Bill be rejected. If hon. Gentlemen opposite go with a light heart into the Division Lobby against the measure, not because of their apprehensions as to the result of the Bill on the United Kingdom, but because, forsooth, they consider themselves better framers of Constitutions, and better able to judge of what the ultimate results of the Bill will be, than the Prime Minister, who has been 50 years in this House, and whose experience is unrivalled, I venture to warn them that possibly they may not be able to regard the results of their handiwork with much satisfaction. I have no apprehension that any outbreak of outrage of a serious character in Ireland will follow the rejection of the Bill. I do not believe anything of the kind. I believe the Irish people are sufficiently politically educated and sufficiently strong to keep their souls in peace; and I await with perfect confidence the result of the struggle, no matter how long it may be protracted. But if the suspension of our Irish legislation results in the landlords resorting to eviction, then I warn the House that no coercive legislation, that no power which you possess, that no power that we possess, will be sufficient for the prevention of outrage. It is no use talking to desperate men, thrown out on the roadside, helpless and homeless, of the good intentions of English Members—it is no use telling them they may have this measure 12 years hence, when there is nothing before them but the workhouse. What they want is some immediate relief; and if you refuse this Bill or delay it, and Irish landlords avail themselves as far as they can of the interregnum for purposes of eviction, then I certainly regard the future outlook in Ireland with something approaching to consternation. I do not believe that great as is the influence of hon. Gentlemen around me with the people of Ireland, and loyally as I believe that influence will, under any circumstances, be exerted to check outrage—I do not believe it will be in their power to check it any more than it will be in your power to check it, no matter what course of coercion you adopt. I do appeal to hon. Gentlemen to consider seriously the nature of the step that they are about to take in voting against this measure. The spirit of the Irish people is now such as certainly in my experience, which extends over 15 years, I never saw equalled. This Bill does not meet the entire demands put forward by the Irish nation. It is essentially in the nature of a compromise; but the Irish people are now willing loyally to accept that compromise. I am satisfied they will one and all be ready to stand by it, and carry it out in the spirit and the letter. What they will be prepared to do 12 months hence neither you, Sir, nor I, know. In the words of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham, you may have to inscribe on your annals 12 months hence, when he comes to bring forward his federation scheme, the words you have had to inscribe so often on the records of English rule in Ireland—"Too late."

Motion made, and Question, "That the Debate be now adjourned,"—(*Mr. J. Chamberlain,*)—put, and *agreed to.*

Debate *further adjourned* till *To-morrow.*

[*Eighth Night.*]

## MEDICAL ACTS AMENDMENT BILL.—[Bill 163.]

(*Sir Lyon Playfair, Mr. Mundella, The Lord Advocate.*)

COMMITTEE. [*Progress 17th May.*]

Bill *considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Clause 1 (Short title and construction) *agreed to.*

### PART I.

### Admission to Medical Practice and Constitution of General Council.

*Qualifying Examinations.*

Clause 2 (Examination before registration) *agreed to.*

Clause 3 (Qualifying examinations held by medical authorities).

The VICE PRESIDENT of the COUNCIL (Sir Lyon Playfair) (Leeds, S.): I beg to move the Amendment which stands in my name.

Amendment proposed,

In page 1, lines 19 and 20, to leave out "for the time being capable of granting any such diploma or diplomas," and insert "or any medical corporation legally qualified at the passing of this Act, to grant such diploma or diplomas in respect of medicine and surgery."—(*Sir Lyon Playfair.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Clause."

Sir HENRY HOLLAND (Hampstead): This, practically, is only an enlargement of the Amendment I have put on the Paper.

Amendment *agreed to.*

Amendment proposed,

In page 1, line 23, after "examination," insert "in medicine, surgery, and midwifery, and of whom one at least is capable of granting such diploma as aforesaid in respect of medicine, and one at least is capable of granting such diploma in respect of surgery."—(*Sir Lyon Playfair.*)

Question, "That those words be there inserted," put, and *agreed to.*

Dr. O'DOHERTY (Meath, N.): I have put upon the Paper several Amendments to this clause; but I was not aware the Bill would be brought on to-night, and therefore I am not quite prepared to proceed with them. The Bill has been brought on unexpectedly, and therefore I ask the right hon. Gentleman (Sir Lyon Playfair) to postpone the consideration of the clause.

Amendment proposed, in page 2, line 3, leave out "at," and insert "for."—(*Dr. O'Doherty.*)

Question proposed, "That the word 'at' stand part of the Clause."

Sir LYON PLAYFAIR: This, the first Amendment, bears upon all the Amendments the hon. Gentleman suggests. It would be quite impossible to accept these Amendments, because they affect the principle of the Bill. This Bill differs from any of the 22 Bills which have been introduced with the object of reforming the Medical Laws. The qualifying examination will be, I hope, the maximum, and not the minimum; and the Amendments of the hon. Gentleman (Dr. O'Doherty) indicate the minimum standard of education in each part of the Kingdom. I am sorry I cannot agree to them.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Amendment proposed, in page 2, line 10, leave out "with the sanction of the Privy Council."—(*Sir Lyon Playfair.*)

Question, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Clause," put, and *negatived.*

Clause, as amended, *agreed to.*

Clause 4 (Withdrawal from medical authorities of right to hold qualifying examinations).

Sir HENRY HOLLAND (Hampstead): The object of this Amendment——

The VICE PRESIDENT of the COUNCIL (Sir Lyon Playfair) (Leeds, S.): My right hon. Friend (Sir Henry Holland) proposes to amend the clause by a provision that the Privy Council shall not, "of their own motion," have power to revoke an Order. I am obliged to take the wind out of his sails, because I have Amendments, not on the Paper, which relate to a previous part of the clause. I propose to leave out the words in lines 39, 40, and 41—

"The Privy Council, upon the representation of the General Council, or of their own motion,"

and to insert in their place—

"Her Majesty, with the advice of Her Privy Council, if upon further representation of the General Council or otherwise, it seems to Her expedient so to do."

Amendment proposed,

In page 2, lines 39, 40, and 41, leave out "the Privy Council, upon the representation of the

General Council, or of their own motion," and insert "Her Majesty, with the advice of Her Privy Council, if upon further representation of the General Council or otherwise, it seems to Her expedient so to do."—(*Sir Lyon Playfair.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Clause."

SIR HENRY HOLLAND: My objection is to the Privy Council having the power of themselves at any time to revoke an Order. The whole point of the section is the power given to the General Council. Why the Privy Council, upon their own motion, shall have power to revoke an Order is a point I do not understand, and it is very much objected to. I therefore intended to move to leave out the words "of their own motion." The Privy Council should certainly have the power to take this action upon the representation of the General Council, but not without it.

MR. DILLON (Mayo, E.): The Amendment does not appear on the Paper; perhaps the right hon. Gentleman will explain why he proposes it.

SIR LYON PLAYFAIR: I am afraid the words I propose are not fairly understood. The right hon. Gentleman opposite (Sir Henry Holland) will find them in the 1st clause of the Act of 1858. The General Council is to move on its own representation. The words are—

"Her Majesty, with the advice of Her Privy Council, if upon further representation of the General Council or otherwise, it seems to Her expedient so to do."

First of all, the General Council is to make representation, and it is not upon Her mere motion that Her Majesty revokes the Order, but she does so in Council.

SIR HENRY HOLLAND: Perhaps the right hon. Gentleman will explain the words "or otherwise." If he would leave out these words I should be quite prepared to accept the Amendment.

SIR LYON PLAYFAIR: I cannot do that, because then there would be no appeal. It is right that the Corporation or University from which representation is taken away should have the power of appeal.

SIR HENRY HOLLAND: Would the right hon. Gentleman have any objection to substitute for "or otherwise" the words "or upon appeal?"

SIR LYON PLAYFAIR: I will endeavour to meet the wishes of the right hon. Gentleman on Report.

Question put, and *negatived.*

Question,

"That the words, 'Her Majesty, with the advice of Her Privy Council, if upon further representation of the General Council or otherwise, it seems to Her expedient so to do,' be there inserted,"

—put, and *agreed to.*

Clause, as amended, *agreed to.*

Clause 5 (Qualifying examinations held by medical corporation with assistant examiners).

Amendment proposed,

In page 3, line 15, after "examinations," insert "and the General Council are satisfied that the said medical corporation has used its best endeavours to enter into such combination as aforesaid, and is unable to do so on reasonable terms."—(*Sir Lyon Playfair.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

DR. O'DOHERTY (Meath, N.): Before passing this clause——

THE CHAIRMAN (Mr. COURTNEY) (Cornwall, Bodmin): Order, order! The hon. Member proposes to move a new clause in substitution for Clause 5.

DR. O'DOHERTY: After Clause 4.

THE CHAIRMAN: It is a new clause, which must be taken at the end. If the hon. Gentleman objects to this clause, he must object to it when I put it to the Committee.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Amendment proposed,

In page 3, lines 16 and 17, leave out "and subject to the sanction and control of the Privy Council."—(*Sir Lyon Playfair.*)

Question, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Clause," put, and *agreed to.*

Amendment proposed,

In page 3, lines 29 and 30, leave out "subject to the sanction and control of the Privy Council."—(*Sir Lyon Playfair.*)

Question, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Clause," put, and *negatived.*

Amendment proposed,

In page 3, lines 36 and 37, leave out "with the sanction of the Privy Council."—(*Sir Lyon Playfair.*)

Question, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Clause," put, and *negatived.*

Motion made, and question proposed, "That the Clause, as amended, stand part of the Bill."

Dr. O'DOHERTY: I propose that this clause be omitted, and a new clause inserted in its place.

The CHAIRMAN: The hon. Gentleman will give his reasons why the clause should be omitted. The question of the substitution of a new clause will arise at the end.

Dr. O'DOHERTY: The reason why I propose to leave out this clause is that, in my opinion, it does not meet the requirement it is intended to meet; that it will not prevent one or other of these Colleges refusing to join and take part in these examinations. On that account it will prevent the object of the Bill being effected. By the clause I suggest, however, the object of the measure will be much more effectually secured.

Dr. KENNY (Cork, S.): I also object to the clause, because, under it, it is quite possible for a powerful Corporation to very much oppress a weaker one. It is quite open to the College of Physicians in Dublin to refuse, if it chooses, to enter into an arrangement with the Apothecaries Hall. It would be utterly and entirely destructive of the object the right hon. Gentleman (Sir Lyon Playfair) has in view in bringing forward this Bill—namely, the development of medical science, if there were refusals to take part in the examinations. The clause, as it stands, will, I am persuaded, open the door to a great number of abuses.

Sir LYON PLAYFAIR: I am sure the hon. Members from Ireland themselves will be very much disappointed if this clause is rejected. Of course, we know that in Ireland there is a Body called the Apothecaries Company. That Body may, or may not, be taken in combination with other objects; but this clause gives power to the General Council to act in such a case. I think it would be better if the hon. Gentleman (Dr. O'Doherty) allowed the clause to pass, and moved on Report, or at the end of the Committee, some words which would strengthen the compulsory powers, but which words, I must tell him, I would resist. I think he himself would be exceedingly disappointed if this clause were to be omitted.

Dr. KENNY: I do not think that the clause in any way carries out the argument of the right hon. Gentleman. It appears to me that the appointment of the Examiners will be destructive to the Local Bodies, which will have to fall back even to a lower level than they stand at the present time. The object of the right hon. Gentleman is to elevate these Local Bodies; but I am positive that the clause appointing the Examiners will have the opposite effect. If my hon. Friend moves his Amendment on Report the right hon. Gentleman will oppose it; and that I feel certain is sufficient reason for us to press on the proposal to eliminate this clause at the present stage of the Bill. Considering the lateness of the hour and the importance of the clause, I beg to move, Sir, that you now report Progress.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again."—(*Dr. Kenny.*)

Sir LYON PLAYFAIR: I hope the hon. Member will not press his Motion to report Progress. There is really no opposition to the Bill. All the Corporations and Universities in the Kingdom approve of the Bill, and wish to see it pass; and, considering the present critical times, what chance is there of the Bill being carried to a successful conclusion if unnecessary delays now take place? Since 1870 there have been no fewer than 22 Bills on this subject, all of which have been strongly opposed. The present measure is not opposed to any extent. All the Medical Corporations and all the Universities have written to me suggesting alterations, many of which I have been pleased to adopt. I hope the Motion to report Progress will not be persisted in.

Dr. FOSTER (Chester): I hope the hon. Member for South Cork will not press this Motion. Although we members of the Medical Profession regard the Bill as a small one, still it contains some principles which are dear to us; and we look upon it as an important measure, which will confer good upon the public at large, and we hope to see it become law. I trust that the hon. Member will withdraw his Motion.

Dr. KENNY: The right hon. Gentleman says that no opposition has come to this Bill from any of the Medical Corporations; that is quite true. I believe these Bodies generally look on the measure as a preservation of their rights and privileges; but I entertain very serious objection to the Bill, because I think that it does not treat the Profession at large with any fairness at all. The provision for giving representation on the Medical Council is utterly inadequate. I am not here to speak on behalf of any Corporation, but for the Profession at large, and for the public, who have still a larger interest in any questions affecting the Medical Profession, and the provisions for whose protection are entirely illusory. I am afraid that I cannot yield to the hon. Member (Dr. Foster), who has just suggested that I should withdraw my Motion for reporting Progress. If I receive any assurance from the right hon. Gentleman (Sir Lyon Playfair) that later on a better representation of the Profession at large will be provided for in the Bill I will withdraw the Motion; but from what I have heard, and from what has already taken place, I fear there is no prospect of any such assurance being given.

MR. DILLON (Mayo, E.): I would appeal to my hon. Friend (Dr. Kenny) to withdraw his Motion. As far as I can understand it, although the Bill does not go far enough, it seems to meet the crying grievances which have existed in the Profession for years. I would point out to my hon. Friend that he will have an opportunity of raising the point at issue at a later stage of the Bill, and that an Amendment is on the Paper dealing with the point in which he is interested. I would earnestly urge him to withdraw his Motion, and bring his recommendations up at a later period.

DR. KENNY: Under the circumstances, Sir, I beg to withdraw my Motion.

Motion, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Question, "That the Clause stand part of the Bill," put, and *agreed to.*

*Effect of Registration.*

Clause 6 (Privileges of registered persons) *agreed to.*

*Constitution of General Council.*

Clause 7 (Members of General Council).

THE VICE PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL (Sir LYON PLAYFAIR): I beg to move, as an Amendment, in page 4, line 17, to leave out "six" and insert "five."

Question, "That the word 'six' stand part of the Clause," put, and *negatived.*

Question proposed, "That the word 'five' be there inserted."

DR. FOSTER (Chester): I beg to move, as an Amendment, that the word "four" be there inserted. I would point out that these six nominees of the Crown were originally placed on the Council in default of any representation being given to the Medical Profession; the argument used when the old Act was passed was that representation could not be given, as there was no register upon which representatives could be elected. We now think, however, that the time has come when the Profession can obtain substantial representation, and that we ought to have, at least, a majority of the minority of the Council. Under this Bill the majority will still be in the hands of the Corporations; but there will be 10 members independent of these Universities and Corporations, and I do not think it is unreasonable that the Profession should ask to have a representation of six members, and the Crown four. As I pointed out to the House on the second reading of this Bill, the vast majority of the Medical Profession reside in England; and, as I stated then, that constituency will be greatly unrepresented by only having two members on the Council. In order to increase this representation I propose to give four members instead of six to the Crown; and I think the House will see that the time has come when steps should be taken to prevent the continuance of the great disparity between the representatives of the Profession and the nominees of the Crown.

Amendment proposed, "That the word 'four' be there inserted."—(*Dr. Foster.*)

SIR LYON PLAYFAIR: Everyone will admit that the Crown nominees have always been the most distinguished men of the Profession. They have represented the Medical Profession even more than the Corporations, and have adorned the Council to which they have been sent. I think that everyone will admit that. Although I am unwilling, therefore, to decrease the number of Crown nominees, still I was so struck by the observations of my hon. Friend (Dr. Foster) on the second reading, that I consented to sacrifice one of the Crown nominees, in order to give an additional representative to England, making five in all of the Profession, and I think my hon. Friend will consider that I have met him as far as possible. In this way no increase will be put upon the expenses of the Council, whose funds are only small, and who cannot afford to bear great expense. Under these circumstances I must adhere to the word "five."

Mr. DILLON (Mayo, E.): I do not wish to prolong the debate, but I must say this. It is an exceptional thing for me to support Crown nominees; but I do think that under this Bill it is not well to give so large a representation to Corporations as compared with Crown nominees. I am inclined to agree with the right hon. Gentleman that these Crown nominees are amongst the most distinguished men in the Profession, and represent more fully the Medical Profession than the nominees of the Corporations; and, therefore, I shall support him.

Dr. KENNY (Cork, S.): I also am inclined to think that the Crown nominees are among the most distinguished men in the Profession; and I am much more disposed, later on, to move an increase of the representation of the Profession at large, than to move to decrease the number of the Crown nominees. No doubt, if we cannot give a better representation to the Profession at large later on, I should agree with the last Amendment, because the increase must come from somewhere; but I think it can be better met in another way. It seems to me that the proper course to pursue is, whilst we are grouping Medical Bodies in the country for the purposes of examinations, to do it also for purposes of representation. By that means we can leave the nominees of the Crown as they are, and give the Profession a much larger representation.

Mr J. H. A. MACDONALD (Edinburgh and St. Andrew's Universities): I hope the Committee will accept the Amendment of the hon. Member for Chester (Dr. Foster). I think it will be preferable that we should have on the Council only four members nominated by the Privy Council. The right hon. Gentleman (Sir Lyon Playfair), in the argument he brought forward in favour of having five Crown nominees, entirely ignored what all Members of the House will expect — namely, that although these Crown nominees may be among the most distinguished men in the Profession, it will be an extraordinary thing if, when the medical practitioners of the three countries have the opportunity of selecting gentlemen to represent them, they do not themselves select the most distinguished men in the Profession.

Amendment (*Dr. Foster*), by leave, *withdrawn.*

Amendment (*Sir Lyon Playfair*) put, and *agreed to.*

Sir HENRY ROSCOE (Manchester, S.): The object which I have in moving this Amendment—namely, in page 4, after line 27, insert, as new lines, "the Victoria University; the University of Durham" will be plain to the Committee. At the present moment the University of Durham has a representative on the Council; but the new University—the Victoria—has none, and under the Bill the two are to be amalgamated, and are only to have one representative between them. The Victoria University is a young and increasing University, whereas Durham is an old one. In fact, the two are of an entirely different character. The Victoria University has a well-equipped and numerously-attended Medical School, where the scientific education is of the highest kind. It includes the Owen's College, Manchester, and the University College, Liverpool, both containing flourishing Medical Schools, and it is hoped that in a short time the Leeds Medical School connected with the Yorkshire College will also become affiliated. We have, at the present moment, upwards of 500 students, who will form the bulk of the practising physicians and surgeons of the North of England; and I therefore think we deserve to have a representative of our own on the Council. Durham University is entirely removed from the centre of the Victoria University, and the appliances which it possesses for scientific education are decidedly inferior to those proposed by the younger University, which are of the most complete and most modern description; and, therefore, I have to move that Durham University and the Victoria University have each a representative on the Council.

Amendment proposed,

In page 4, line 27, to leave out from the word "London," to the word "collectively," in line 29, in order to insert the words—"The Victoria University; The University of Durham."—(*Sir Henry Roscoe.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Clause."

Lord FREDERICK HAMILTON (Manchester, S.W.): I merely wish to corroborate what has fallen from the hon. Member for South Manchester (Sir Henry Roscoe), that the Victoria University is entitled by its importance to nominate a member of the Medical Council. It is entitled to that privilege by its importance, not merely because of the work done by it, but also from the fact that it is now the educational centre of the whole of the county of Lancashire and of the West Riding of Yorkshire. The system of education there is totally different to that given at the Durham University, and the classes from which the students are drawn are different. In fact, there is nothing in common between them, except that the students are drawn from the North of England; but even the geographical argument is not a strong one, for Durham is no nearer Manchester than Oxford. No one can contend that the addition of one member to the Medical Council can be a matter of material importance; and, looking at the growing importance of the Victoria University, I think the Amendment should be assented to.

Mr. F. S. POWELL (Wigan): I hope the Committee will allow me to say a word in support of this Amendment. I am quite certain that those who know what is going on in connection with the Educational Institutions of Manchester, Liverpool, and Leeds will bear me out when I say that the University which is the centre of those Institutions is fully entitled to representation on the Medical Council. The Manchester Medical School has long been celebrated for its skill and knowledge, as also have those of Liverpool and Leeds; and I feel sure the Committee will consider they are entitled to representation. I think, also, that the University will grow rapidly year by year and become more powerful, and before long the number who belong to it will be very largely increased. Durham is not a sister University to the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, and I feel that any association between the Victoria University and the University of Durham would be valueless, inasmuch as the cause of those Universities would not be advanced by such union. I do not see how the two Universities could choose a member of the Council collectively. There seems to be a great technical difficulty which renders such collective action impracticable.

Mr. RATHBONE (Carnarvonshire, Arfon): I do not think I overrate the importance of these large Medical Schools of Manchester, Liverpool, and Leeds when I say I think they are justly entitled to representation on the Medical Council.

Dr. FOSTER (Chester): With regard to the Amendment before the Committee, I would point out that the representation on the Medical Council is already considered too great by the Profession, by whose taxation that representation is entirely kept up, and yet we have an Amendment before us to increase that representation by adding a member for the Victoria University. The Victoria University is young, but it is a growing University, and when it has further developed it will, in my opinion, be quite time to give it a member in the Council. I am afraid, however, the Durham University is not growing; but, with regard to the Victoria University, I have no doubt that, at the proper time, it will have a member of its own.

Dr. FARQUHARSON (Aberdeenshire, W.): I think my hon. Friend (Sir Henry Roscoe) has made out a good case for the Victoria University having its own representative on the Medical Council. It is a young school, and it is doing good work. I propose to support the Amendment of my hon. Friend on selfish grounds, as I may have a similar proposal to make on behalf of the University of Aberdeen.

Mr. WHITLEY (Liverpool, Everton): I can bear my testimony to the fact that the Medical School of the Victoria University is doing very good work, and I hope the right hon. Gentleman will agree to the Amendment.

Sir LYON PLAYFAIR: I am bound, with regret, to oppose this Amendment, and if my hon. Friend goes to a division I shall be unable to vote with him. The Victoria University is a very promising one; but it is, nevertheless, in its infancy, and, although many are taught there, it has very few graduates. I beg to point out that the General Council, under Clause 10, has power to give separate representation to any University which supports its claim to such representation; and, therefore, I should not feel justified in voting for the Amendment of my hon. Friend, although, in view of the general feeling exhibited in favour of the proposal, I shall not join in opposition to it.

Mr. JACKSON (Leeds, N.): I am exceedingly glad to find that the right hon. Gentleman has gone so far to meet the general opinion of the Committee. As far as the Medical Profession of Leeds are concerned, they speak with a united voice on this subject, and entirely in accordance with the view of the hon. Gentleman opposite (Sir Henry Roscoe).

Sir JOHN LUBBOCK (London University): I confess that my vote on this Amendment would be a good deal influenced by the number of the constituency, as to which at present I have no knowledge. Perhaps some hon. Member authorized to speak on behalf of the Victoria University will give us information on that point. I should like to know, if we are to give representation to the Victoria University and the University of Durham, what would be the constituency in both cases?

Dr. FOSTER (Chester): I do not think there are more than 100 graduates of the Victoria University at the present time, and it would be hardly fair to give that small number the same representation as London University.

Sir HENRY ROSCOE: I would point out that the Governing Body of the Victoria University is a thoroughly representative one, and that the University Court would, in all probability, be the Elective Body by whom the representative would be chosen.

Mr. T. P. O'CONNOR (Liverpool, Scotland): I think objection to this Amendment comes with a worse grace from the hon. Baronet the Member for London University (Sir John Lubbock) than from any Member of the House. He ought to recollect that there was a proposal included in the Reform Bill of Mr. Disraeli to unite Durham University with the University of London. ["No, no!"] The hon. Baronet contradicts me; but I followed the discussion in the House of Commons at the time closer, perhaps, than he did, and my recollection is perfectly clear upon the subject, and I remember that it was pointed out that to attach a young and growing University like that of London to a dying University like that of Durham was an act similar to that of tying together a living person and a corpse. If that argument was good then it is good now, against joining Durham to other Medical Bodies. I repeat that the argument against the Amendment comes with a very bad grace from the hon. Baronet.

Sir JOHN LUBBOCK: The hon. Gentleman opposite (Mr. T. P. O'Connor) quite misunderstands what I said. I remarked that when it was proposed to give one Member to Victoria University and one to Durham, it was natural to ask to be informed how large were the constituencies they would represent. I have not made up my mind how I shall vote on this question, and it will greatly depend upon the information I may receive.

Sir JULIAN GOLDSMID (St. Pancras, S.): I understand the hon. Baronet to say that he wishes to know, as I also should like to know, how many graduates there are at the two Universities in question? It is known that the number of undergraduates at Durham is very limited; and though the Victoria University is a growing institution, it is only growing in the sense in which a baby is said to grow, and I think the time has hardly arrived for giving it representation. In fact, I heard the other day that there are only 20 or 30 graduates.

Mr. GIBSON (Liverpool, Walton): The principle on which I think the Committee ought to act in this matter is that the interests of medical education in the North of England all converge towards the Victoria University. The medical men of Yorkshire and Lancashire are, I think, entitled to have a centre of their own, and that medical centre is the Victoria University, whichi s a growing Institution. She ought to have more representation than Durham; but, according to this Bill, a hybrid system of representation is sought to be established, and it is exceedingly difficult to understand what proportion of it each should take. I think it would be right for us to say that Victoria University should be represented. But we must not look alone at the interest of Universities; we must look to the interest of the Medical Profession in the North of England generally.

DR. TANNER (Cork Co., Mid): I must give this proposal my strongest opposition, because it embodies a principle which, in my opinion, is false to everything which this Bill is intended to effect. If we look into the proposal we shall see that the Committee is asked to extend to these two Universities increased representation; and it is very plain that, up to the present time, the Licensing Bodies have had too great power in their hands. If I understand the general tenour of the Bill, it is to take power in a great degree out of the hands of those Bodies and place it in those of a well-selected General Council. If we commence, at this early period of the discussion, to put on the Medical Council representatives of new Universities, what is there to prevent other hon. Gentlemen from standing up for their own Universities and small Medical Schools in other portions of the Kingdom? I say that the Amendment is false to the principle of the Bill, and certainly hope that it will be withdrawn.

SIR TREVOR LAWRENCE (Surrey, Reigate): The objection which I have to the proposal is that it proposes to add to the Medical Council, which is too large already. There is a great disadvantage in having so many people to talk, and in the Medical Council already debates and discussions are carried on, the extreme length of which is a great impediment to business. It would be quite as reasonable for one of the great hospitals—St. Bartholomew's, for instance—to ask to have representation on the Council, as it would be for the Victoria University. I object to this proposal; in the first place, because it would increase the number of members of the Medical Council; and, in the next, because I think there are other Universities which have stronger claims.

Question put, and *negatived.*

Question put, "That those words be there inserted."

The Committee *divided:*—Ayes 119, Noes 42: Majority 77.—(Div. List, No. 112.)

SIR HENRY ROSCOE (Manchester, S.): I beg to move, as an Amendment in page 4, to leave out lines 28 and 29.

Question, "That lines 28 and 29, in page 4, stand part of the Clause," put, and *negatived.*

DR. FARQUHARSON (Aberdeenshire, W.): After the division which has just taken place I rise with a light and cheerful heart to propose the Amendment which stands in my name; and I trust that the right hon. Gentleman will exhibit, for the old University of Aberdeen, a little of that affection which he has exhibited towards the young Victoria University. There is a very strong feeling in favour of this Amendment, which is as follows:—In page 4, after line 36, insert "The University of Aberdeen; the University of St. Andrew's." Although the actual population in the North of Scotland may be small, there is no doubt that all over the world you find Scottish graduates, and, as a general rule, you find them doing excellent work. We have heard just now that the Victoria University represents the medical education of the North of England. Well, Sir, the Aberdeen University represents the medical education of the North of Scotland. It has been growing rapidly during the last few years. During the last 22 years it has nearly doubled; it now represents over 400 students, and is increasing every year. We know that the students make their mark in the world, and I think that the claim of the University of Aberdeen to separate representation is fully equal of that of the Universities of Oxford or Cambridge, and even to that of the University of London. I have not said a word about the University of St. Andrew's. It is very small, but it is growing, and it is very likely to be affiliated with Dundee, and thus to represent in the future an important educational centre. I beg to propose the words of which I have given Notice.

Amendment proposed,

In page 4, line 36, to leave out from the word "Glasgow," to the word "collectively," in line 38, in order to insert the words—"The University of Aberdeen; the University of St. Andrew's."—(*Dr. Farquharson.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Clause."

**Dr. FOSTER** (Chester): I shall oppose this on the same principle as I opposed the last extension of the representation of these Corporations. One of the defects of the Medical Council ever since 1859 has been that these Corporations have had all the representation, and the Medical Profession have had none. It is very hard that the Profession should have to pay all the money to support the Council, and have practically no representation. I asked that we should get a representative out of the Crown nominees, but I did not succeed—although the Committee has consented to give a representative to the Victoria University. On behalf of the Medical Profession I protest against any further representation being given to these Corporations, and on the Report stage I shall endeavour to alter the system, believing it to be wrong.

**The VICE PRESIDENT of the COUNCIL** (Sir Lyon Playfair) (Leeds, S.): I voted in the "No" Lobby in the last division; but I believe that in proportion to the other representations, Scotland is not sufficiently well represented, and in the present state of feeling in the Committee it appears to me that it would be useless to oppose the Amendment. Certainly, the University of Aberdeen has a much better claim to representation than the Victoria University. It passes 73 Doctors and Bachelors of Medicine annually, and it has a very large constituency. The Committee will see how important it is, when I say that the Cambridge University, which has now an important Medical School, and to which no one would dream of refusing representation, only passes 27 medical men a year, while Aberdeen passes 73. Therefore, having given representation to the Victoria University I do not see how we can refuse it to Aberdeen.

**Mr. DILLON** (Mayo, E.): Before we go to a division I should like to know whether these Amendments mean a corresponding increase in the representation of the Profession? At present we are only to have two from Ireland, two from Scotland, and four from England; and before going to a division I should like to know if that number is to be increased? The promoters of the Bill do not seem to recognize the fact that it is the great majority of the Medical Corporations which are in the habit of obstructing medical measures in Parliament, and if I had thought for a moment that the right hon. Gentleman was going to refuse an increase in the representation of the members of the Profession I doubt very much if I should have voted as I did on the last Amendment.

**Mr. J. A. CAMPBELL** (Glasgow and Aberdeen Universities): I do not think it can be said that the Scottish Universities have stood in the way of medical reforms. I will not trouble the House with facts and figures in regard to the University of Aberdeen, which I have the honour to represent in this House; but I may say, as the right hon. Gentleman has shown, it is a large and flourishing Medical School. What I would lay before the House is the inconvenience of associating the Universities of Aberdeen and St. Andrew's for collective representation on the Medical Council, inasmuch as the two Universities are not similar in regard to the matter of medical faculties. The University of Aberdeen has a Medical School, while St. Andrew's is an Examining Body in regard to medical studies. It has a large number of medical graduates, and fulfils special functions in regard to medical education. I do not suggest that those functions should be taken away; but I do think it is inconvenient, under these circumstances, to associate Aberdeen and St. Andrew's in regard to representation on this Council. Therefore, I hope the Committee will not hesitate to grant separate representation on the Medical Council to each of these Universities.

**Sir JOHN LUBBOCK** (London University): I voted in favour of the separate representation of the Victoria University, because I was unwilling that the Victoria University should have no representation at all. I do not, however, think the present Motion should be adopted, for I trust the members of the Medical Council will not be increased, because I am sure those acquainted with the working of it will agree that the numbers are sufficiently large. If my hon. Friend the Member for West Aberdeenshire (Dr. Farquharson) goes to a division, I am afraid I shall not be able to vote with him.

Mr. J. H. A. MACDONALD (Edinburgh and St. Andrew's Universities): As the Representative of the University of St. Andrew's, I may be allowed to say a word, particularly after what has fallen from the hon. Baronet the Member for the University of London (Sir John Lubbock). I do not think that the majority of the Committee will accept it from him that they made a mistake in their last division, and that therefore they must do a gross injustice in this case. It is plain upon the face of it that, if a member is to be given to each of the Universities in England, there is no reason why a member should not be given to each of the Universities in Scotland. St. Andrew's is the most ancient University in Scotland, and is quite as much entitled to separate representation as the Victoria University or the University of Durham. St. Andrew's has great prospects before it. Within a very short time it will be within half-an-hour's journey of Dundee, in which there is a flourishing University College established. [*Laughter.*] Hon. Members seem to be under some delusion about that. There is a University College established there, with a most excellent endowment, and in a short time there will be developed a very considerable number of medical schools there. The number of medical undergraduates in St. Andrew's is at present large, and therefore the University is fairly entitled to separate representation.

Dr. FOSTER: It is all very well for the right hon. and learned Gentleman (Mr. J. H. A. Macdonald) to say that St. Andrew's has a large number of medical undergraduates. He must know that St. Andrew's is the University of the United Kingdom which has brought disgrace upon the Medical Profession. Boatloads of English students go up there simply to take the degrees. At the present time it has no actual working medical school, and it only makes 10 aged practitioners doctors of medicine annually. It is said there is no argument against this proposition. The argument against the Amendment is this—Scotland has six representatives, it will have one Crown and one direct representative—that is, it will have eight members on the General Medical Council, while the medical population of the country is under 8,000. England, with a medical population of 16,000, will only have seven representatives. I shall take a division on the question.

Mr. J. H. A. MACDONALD: How many of the medical men in England came from the Scotch Universities?

Dr. TANNER (Cork Co., Mid.): The more I hear in the course of this debate, the more firmly convinced I am that there are too many corners being fought. This Bill is not intended to benefit the Medical Profession or any of the Bodies specified; but it is intended to benefit society at large, and, therefore, the fewer of the Corporations and Institutions that you grant power to, the better will be the provision you will make for the security of the general public. I feel great diffidence in addressing the Committee; but, having had some little experience, I feel bound to express the opinion, an opinion which I know perfectly well all my medical friends share, that the more you cut down these Corporations the greater benefit you will confer on the public. We have admitted the Victoria University to separate representation, and now it is proposed to grant separate representation to the University of Aberdeen and the University of St. Andrew's. Goodness knows where we shall stop. If the Universities of Aberdeen and St. Andrew's are admitted to representation, I shall certainly, on behalf of the Irish Bodies, ask for representation for the Catholic University and for the Magee College in Belfast.

Mr. LACAITA (Dundee): This is not a question of the comparative representation of Scotland as compared with England, but a question of what is due to the University of Aberdeen. I do not think many hon. Members will admit they made a mistake in the last division; but if there were hon. Members who went into the Lobby with the hon. Member for South Manchester (Sir Henry Roscoe) by mistake, they must have been very few in number. What claim has Durham University to separate representation that is not possessed by Aberdeen and St. Andrew's?

Mr. JOHNS (Warwick, Nuneaton): I have no desire to take part in the discussion, but simply rise to say that if the Medical Gentlemen in the House will not get on a little quicker with the Business, I must ask you, Mr. Courtney, to report Progress.

Question put.

The Committee *divided:*—Ayes 72; Noes 55: Majority 17.—(Div. List No. 113.)

Committee report Progress; to sit again *To-morrow.*

### FRESHWATER FISHERIES BILL.

[Bill 218.]

(*Mr. Mundella, Mr. C. T. D. Acland.*)

COMMITTEE. REPORT. RE-COMMITMENT.

Bill *considered* in Committee, and *reported;* to be *printed* as amended. [Bill 244.]

The SECRETARY to the BOARD of TRADE (Mr. C. T. D. Acland): I believe I shall be in Order in asking the House to re-commit this Bill *pro formâ.* There are Amendments being printed, of which I have given Notice.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be re-committed *pro formâ.*"—(*Mr. C. T. D. Acland.*)

Mr. STUART-WORTLEY (Sheffield, Hallam): On the question of Order, I wish to ask a question. I suppose the House has not lost its control over the Amendments to this Bill by the proceeding which has just taken place?

Mr. SPEAKER: The Bill is in precisely the same position as it was when the House first went into Committee upon it.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Bill *re-committed* for *Thursday.*

### PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS (RETURNING OFFICERS) ACT (1875) AMENDMENT BILL.—[Bill 241.]

(*Mr. T. M. Healy, Mr. Chance.*)

CONSIDERATION.

Bill, as amended, *considered.*

Mr. T. M. HEALY (Londonderry, S.): I do not propose to go on with this matter now; but the Bill has been so amended in Committee that it will be better to make some slight alteration in the Bill, so as it shall read "to make better provision for appeals from judgments of County Courts;" then leave out the word "under," and insert "and amend," so that it will run "and amend the provisions of the Parliamentary Elections (Returning Officers) Act, 1875."

Question, "That the word 'under' stand part of the Bill," put, and *negatived.*

Question, "That the words 'and amend' be here inserted," put, and *agreed to.*

Motion made, and Question, "That the Debate be now adjourned,"—(*Mr. T. M. Healy,*)—put, and *agreed to.*

Further Proceeding on Consideration, as amended, *deferred* till *Thursday.*

### JURORS DETENTION BILL.—[Bill 202.]

(*Mr. Lockwood, Mr. Crompton, Mr. Finlay, Mr. Baggallay.*)

COMMITTEE.

Bill *considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Clause 1 (Power in Court to allow jury to separate in cases of felony).

The ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir Charles Russell) (Hackney, S.): On the second reading of this Bill, the Government substantially accepted it; but I have an Amendment to propose on this clause, which is, in line 12, to insert the words "Provided always, that the Court may see fit."

Amendment proposed,

In page 1, line 12, to insert the words "Provided always, that the Court may see fit."—(*Mr. Attorney General.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

Mr. LOCKWOOD (York): On behalf of those who are interested in this Bill, I have to say that we have great pleasure in accepting this Amendment.

Mr. STUART-WORTLEY (Sheffield, Hallam): I should like to know whether the hon. and learned Gentleman does not think that the same effect would be obtained by a direction from the Bench?

Sir CHARLES RUSSELL: The Amendment has been put down on the suggestion of a Judge who, perhaps, has as great experience of Criminal Law as any other man on the Bench. As my hon. Friend will see, it is not compulsory on the Judge, but he will simply have the discretionary power.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Bill *reported;* as amended, to be considered *To-morrow.*

## MOTION.

REVISING BARRISTERS' APPOINTMENT BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Attorney General, Bill for amending the Law as to the appointment of Revising Barristers in England, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. Attorney General and Mr. Secretary Childers.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 245.]

House adjourned at a quarter before Three o'clock.

# HOUSE OF LORDS,

*Tuesday*, 1st *June*, 1886.

MINUTES.]—PUBLIC BILLS—*First Reading*—Sea Fishing Boats (Scotland) * (140).

*Second Reading*—Rivers Pollution Prevention Act (1876) Amendment * (114), *discharged.*

*Second Reading — Committee negatived — Third Reading*—Arms (Ireland) (129), and *passed.*

*Third Reading*—Crofters (Scotland) (No. 2) * (134-139), and *passed.*

PROVISIONAL ORDER BILLS — *First Reading* — Gas and Water * (136); Water * (137).

## GRAVESEND AND NORTHFLEET DOCKS AND RAILWAYS BILL.

MOTION.

**EARL CADOGAN**, in rising to move—

"That the Examiners' Certificate of non-compliance with the Standing Orders be referred back to the Standing Orders Committee,"

said, that the Bill was before their Lordships' House last year, and when it came before the Standing Orders Committee it was found that the promoters had not complied in one particular provided for in the Standing Orders of their Lordships' House—namely, that the money should be deposited before January 15. The money in this case was not deposited until some weeks later, and the Standing Orders Committee of their Lordships' House last year unanimously refused to suspend that Standing Order, and the Bill was thrown out. The noble Marquess the Leader of the Opposition proposed a Motion to the effect that the Examiners' Certificate should be referred back to the Standing Orders Committee. After discussion, that Motion was negatived without a division. With regard to the Bill this year, he was bound to admit that the promoters had again failed in the same respect as last year. There were those who asserted that the Standing Orders should always be maintained. He yielded to no one in his respect for the Standing Orders of their Lordships' House, and in his desire to see them strictly adhered to; but when he was asked what was the use of Standing Orders if they were not adhered to? he would reply by asking another question—namely, what was the use of the Standing Orders Committee if it was not to be allowed to exercise its discretion in suspending the Standing Orders when the reason for doing so seemed sufficient? When they met this year to consider the question of the suspension of the Standing Order, the Members present were equally divided in opinion—five being in favour of suspension and five against. The result was that, in accordance with the practice of Committees, the suspension was negatived. It was said that considerable delay had arisen between the decision of the Committee and the Motion which he had now to make, and he could quite understand that cases might arise in which great hardship might occur to owners of land and other parties affected by the revival of a Bill such as this after it had been disposed of; but if their Lordships would take the trouble to look into the matter they would see that there was really no very serious opposition to the scheme at all. The only serious opposition of which Notice had been given was that of the East and West India Docks Company, on the other side of the river, which was described last year as the opposition shop over the way. He could not, therefore, believe that the delay of two or three months which had taken place would in any way affect injuriously any of the opponents of the Bill. If that was the case, and the Standing Orders Committees of both Houses had been unable to come to a decision adverse to the Bill, he thought he was entitled to press upon their Lordships the consideration so eloquently urged by the noble Marquess below him (the Marquess of Salisbury) last year. They all sympathized with those who were suffering from the prevailing distress, and he would ask the Chairman of Committees to temper justice with mercy, and look at the question as one which would affect large bodies of distressed artizans, He desired also to appeal to noble Lords on the Front Government Bench to support his Motion. He would remind them that early in the Session Mr. Mundella, in reply to a Motion which was brought forward to promote the construction of harbours of refuge in order to give employment to distressed workmen, said that, although he could not hold out any hopes that public works would be originated for that purpose, yet he did believe that it was the duty of the Government to encourage to the best of their ability any private enterprize which would give promise of employment to men who were out of work. Under all the circumstances, and notwithstanding the infringement of a small technical rule, he hoped their Lordships would allow the Bill to be remitted to the Standing Orders Committee.

*Moved*, "That the Examiners' Certificate of non-compliance with the Standing Orders be referred back to the Standing Orders Committee."—(*The Earl Cadogan.*)

THE EARL OF DONOUGHMORE, in supporting the Motion, remarked that the pressure of distress in that part of Kent where it was proposed to carry out the works was very great.

THE EARL OF LIMERICK said, he was one of the Members of the Standing Orders Committee who opposed the Bill being proceeded with. This Bill was opposed, and he did not think it right to discriminate as to the character of the opposition at the present stage. This or a similar Bill was introduced the Session before last, and it was then dropped. Last Session it was again introduced, and the Standing Orders Committee had to consider it with reference to a breach of the Standing Orders as regarded the deposit required. The noble Marquess the Leader of the Opposition moved that it should be referred back to the Standing Orders Committee, and there was considerable discussion, and the preponderance of feeling was against sending the Bill back. Now, their Lordships were asked to take a similar course on the 1st of June, although the Standing Orders Committee reported so long ago as the 16th of March. If the Motion were agreed to it would have a very prejudicial effect on Private Bill legislation in the future. A Bill would no sooner be rejected on the Standing Orders than the promoters would indulge in Lobbying in the hope of getting some Peer to move that it be reconsidered; and thus there would cease to be any finality in their decisions. No strong reason was given why the Standing Orders should be suspended in this case. It would be setting a very inconvenient precedent to send this Bill back after so long time had elapsed since the Report of the Standing Orders Committee.

THE CHAIRMAN OF COMMITTEES (The Duke of BUCKINGHAM and CHANDOS) said, he was not a Member of the Standing Orders Committee when this Bill came before them; but since Notice was given of this Motion he had considered it his duty to look into the matter, and it seemed to him it would be rather a dangerous precedent for the House after this long lapse of time—two and a-half months—when the Report was presented to require that the matter should be re-opened by the Standing Orders Committee. It was an invidious task to oppose the progress of a Bill the passing of which was very likely to give a considerable amount of labour in the East of London; but certain Rules had been laid down by the Standing Orders Committee, and they were well known to these promoters of these undertakings. They knew very well that their *bona fides* had to be attested by the making of a deposit by a certain day in January. In this case the deposit was not made until late in February; and the promoters could not have erred in ignorance, because they paid the penalty for making the same mistake last year. The Bill was considered to be at an end in March last, and it was now proposed to be revived in June. They were told that if their Lordships assented to the Motion, and the Bill were passed, the work would be pushed forward. But if there was a difficulty in the matter of the deposit there was likely to be a greater difficulty in finding the capital. He hoped their Lordships would not take the extreme step of referring back the Bill to the Standing Orders Committee.

THE EARL OF MORLEY said, that, as one of the Standing Orders Committee, he felt very strongly the argument based on the length of time that had elapsed; but, in consistency with the vote which he gave in the Committee, he felt bound to support the Motion. The postponement of the deposit before the Committee had decided did not appear to him of sufficient importance to justify them in stopping the progress of the Bill. At the same time, he must deprecate the argument that they ought to pass the Bill because it would give employment.

The Marquess of SALISBURY said, that having taken part in the matter last year, he had been consulted about bringing the matter forward at an earlier period, and he had recommended delay on two grounds. The first was that it seemed very undesirable to discuss the question in the then absence of the late Chairman of Committees (the Earl of Redesdale), who felt very strongly on the subject. His second reason for delay was that a Select Committee had been appointed, on the Motion of the noble and learned Lord on the Woolsack, which was to deal with the question of the payment of interest out of capital, and he thought that that Committee might deal also with the question of the deposit. The delay, therefore, was not the fault of the promoters; it was his own. The injury to the opponents of the Bill before the Committee was infinitesimal, and there was no reason why they should not state the grounds of opposition in the second week of June as well as in the second week of May. He regretted very much that some noble Lords regarded with something like horror the idea that if this Bill gave employment that was some ground for setting aside a Standing Order. What were their Standing Orders? Had they been brought down by Moses from the Mount that they were to be regarded as so sacred? It was a matter of relative importance; and the question was whether the suspending of the Standing Order on the one side or the interests involved on the other were the more important. Instead of making the deposit on a day in January, it was made on a day in February. Was that a matter of such extreme importance? On the other hand, was it not carrying too far their reverence for the Standing Orders that, rather than suspend one of them, they would allow to be lost a Bill which would set on foot a work that would not only be of value to the Port of London, but would, in a time of grievous distress, give employment to 7,000 people? Why, the noble Earl opposite (Earl Spencer) would, by-and-bye, ask them to suspend a Standing Order, and no one would protest. In a matter of this kind they must view the importance of the Standing Order on the one side, and the interests affected on the other. Their Standing Orders were not so slight that they should be set on one side on every occasion, and not so sacred that they ought never to set them aside at all. The case had changed enormously since last year. Last year they were asked to revise the Report of their Standing Orders Committee; but this year they had no Report; the Committee had given only the former answer—*presumitur pro negante.* He asked their Lordships only to look at the case as it would appear to those whom their refusal would deprive of bread. Now that they were without work for a considerable time, the reason that would present itself to them while their families were starving and their homes desolate was that it was thought necessary to punish a capitalist for having been a month late in making a deposit in accordance with the Standing Orders. He was all for enforcing discipline among promoters, but that might be done at too great a cost; and he thought that, considering the Committee on Standing Orders was so divided that no Report was made, their Lordships ought to afford an opportunity of considering the matter once for all before arriving at a decision.

The SECRETARY of STATE for INDIA (The Earl of Kimberley) said, he thought it would have been more convenient if the noble Marquess, or one of his Friends, had given Notice of their intention to move in this matter. He felt most fully, as the noble Duke at the Table had felt, the invidiousness of inviting their Lordships to adhere to their Standing Order, and he felt it still more after the speech of the noble Marquess. The noble Marquess had addressed to them an appeal to the passions and feelings of the people, asking what would be the opinion of starving men when they were prevented from getting work and earning wages by a Standing Order of the House. He thought that was an unfair pressure to put upon the House. It was an unjust thing for any noble Lord to put such arguments to them and place them in such a position. It was a great temptation to noble Lords to shrink from their duty when such arguments were addressed to them. Last year he had said that they ought to support the late Chairman in his decision, and he now thought they ought to support the present Chairman. As the matter stood, he must come to the conclusion to give his vote in favour of the noble Chairman's view. When the noble Marquess spoke of this being a mere matter of unpunctuality, he could only say that nearly the whole of the Standing Orders of the House depended on the question of punctuality. He greatly regretted that anyone should feel himself compelled to impede any work which was useful on account of a technical Rule; but, on the other hand, he believed these Rules had very great weight and utility in protecting the House from great abuses, and for that reason he felt it to be his duty to support the noble Chairman.

On Question? Their Lordships *divided:*—Contents 52; Not-Contents 54: Majority 2.

*Resolved* in the *negative.*

## HILLHEAD AND KELVINSIDE (ANNEXATION TO GLASGOW) BILL.

### SECOND READING.

Order of the Day for the Second Reading read.

LORD BALFOUR, in moving that the Bill be now read a second time, said, he was very sorry that it was his duty to trouble their Lordships with another discussion upon a matter of Private Business; but his apology was it was impossible without serious delay to the interests of those promoting the Bill that the discussion should be postponed. Their Lordships were aware that the Chairman of Committees did not usually move the second reading of a Private Bill when Notice of opposition was given, and the promoters of this Bill had therefore asked him, as being acquainted with the circumstances of the case, to state the matter to their Lordships. He was aware that their Lordships were anxious to get to the other Business upon the Paper, therefore he should endeavour to state what he had to say as briefly as he possibly could consistently with putting the case clearly before the House. The case was this. Glasgow was a large city, as their Lordships knew, which was surrounded by several small burghs, and in some respects the interests of these burghs and the City of Glasgow were from time to time in antagonism. This was not a new matter, but he must confess that he did not know and could not imagine on what grounds the second reading of the Bill was opposed. It seemed to him that upon all grounds it was a matter which should be referred for consideration to a Committee upstairs. There had been many contests upon similar Bills to this one, and in the large majority of cases those contests had been relegated to a Committee upstairs. His plea was that they should pass the second reading, and let the Bill be fought out in a Committee. He might tell their Lordships that this Bill had already passed the House of Commons. The second reading was passed without any such opposition as that which threatened it now. The Bill was referred to a Select Committee, before which it was contested upon eight days, and ultimately it was passed unanimously by the Committee. That being so, what ground there could be for opposing the Bill, at this stage, he was quite at a loss to imagine. What the Bill sought to establish was the annexation of two districts to the City of Glasgow—the districts of Kelvinside and Hillhead. The population of Kelvinside was as nearly unanimous as it was possible for a population to be for union with Glasgow. They wanted a settled government; they wanted the advantage of the police of Glasgow and all the other advantages which towns and cities enjoyed. They had at present a great many different jurisdictions. He did not think those who were opposing the Bill would contradict him when he said the population of Kelvinside was nearly unanimous for the annexation, and he did not think he overstated the case when he said that so far as the burgh of Hillhead was concerned the population was very nearly equally divided. He believed he could claim a small majority for annexation to Glasgow; but he would not press the matter so far as that, but would merely say that it was proved before the Committee of the Commons that the population of Hillhead was about equally divided. There would be, of course, if the Bill went to a Committee, the usual sort of allegations made on the one side and on the other; but he would abstain from saying a word about the merits on this occasion, for with such knowledge as he had of Private Bill affairs, he thought he might say, without fear of contradiction, that there was nothing so inconvenient as to discuss the details of a Private Bill in the Whole House. Therefore, he should say nothing about the merits of the Bill; but he should ask their Lordships to allow him this indulgence—that if anyone on the opposite side went into the merits, he should be at liberty to answer any point that was material. He did not think the noble Marquess (the Marquess of Tweeddale), who was to move the rejection of the Bill, would go into the merits. He (Lord Balfour) could say that he felt with the full weight of any authority that he possessed that this was a matter to which justice could not be done except by a Committee having the advantage of the sworn testimony of the witnesses, and all the assistance that counsel on both sides could properly give. There was no opposition of this kind in the House of Commons; and he was quite at a loss to know why now, when the only public body, as far as he knew, who were opposing the Bill on its merits were the Commissioners of the Burgh of Hillhead, they should have recourse to the very unusual measure of raising opposition on the second reading. He had seen a Paper that had been circulated, he believed, at the instance of the Hillhead Commissioners, in which they made the allegation that if their Lordships passed the second reading of the Bill they would be going contrary to the principles laid down in the Burgh Police and Health (Scotland) Bill, which their Lordships passed earlier in the Session. As some of their Lordships knew, he was on the Committee that passed the Bill; and he said emphatically that they would not be going contrary to any principle laid down in that Bill. It was true, when that Bill was first introduced into this House, there was a clause in it giving power to large Corporations like Glasgow to annex a smaller burgh after certain procedure, and without the consent of the Commissioners of that burgh or of the population; but the Committee to which their Lordships referred that Bill struck out that power, for they thought that in a Public Bill of that kind no power should be given which would allow Corporations to override the decisions of a Private Bill Committee; but they did that solely to keep the matter open. He spoke for himself, but he believed that that was the ground on which the Committee came to the decision. The Committee did not wish to express any opinion as to whether it was right or wrong for one burgh to annex another; but simply, if that was to be done, it should be done after full and proper procedure in the usual way, and not in any side way by means of a clause in a Public Bill. The only other allegation which he thought could be made against the Bill was that there was no exact precedent for it. He was not quite sure whether there was any precedent which was exactly on all fours with it; but there were some which were extremely like it—in fact, so like it as to be nearly indistinguishable. He was stating what was within his own knowledge when he said that part of the burgh of Partick, under government exactly the same as the burgh of Hillhead, was annexed by Glasgow contrary to the wish of the Commissioners of Partick. If a precedent were wanted, that formed an almost exact precedent for what their Lordships were now asked to do. It was the very commonest thing for parts of one district to be annexed to a burgh without the consent of the Governing Body of the district from which these parts were taken; and it was the commonest thing that the opposition should be referred to a Private Bill Committee, and there discussed, each case being threshed out on its merits. He held in his hand a long list of cases in which that had been done. He would not trouble their Lordships with it, because he was quite certain the principle would not be disputed, and also because, as he had already told their Lordships, he was very anxious to shorten this discussion as far as he could without doing injury to the interests which had been committed to his care. On the whole, he urged their Lordships to take what he thought they would agree with him was the right and proper course—to read the Bill a second time, and to let it be referred to a Select Committee in the ordinary way, in order that the whole question should be thoroughly threshed out. He moved that the Bill be now read a second time.

*Moved*, "That the Bill be now read 2ª."—(*The Lord Balfour.*)

THE MARQUESS OF TWEEDDALE said, he would bespeak their Lordships' indulgence while he stated the grounds on which he ventured to ask their Lordships to defer the considering of this Bill to this day six months. He could assure their Lordships that he had not undertaken this duty with any pleasurable feeling. He had no wish to occupy the time of their Lordships' House, and he had only made this Motion on this occasion because he believed that to read this Bill a second time would be to establish a most inconvenient, not to say dangerous, principle in connection with the very important question—very important in Scotland certainly—of the extension of the burgh boundaries in cases such as that in which Hillhead was situated in connection with Glasgow, and in the case of other burghs throughout Scotland. The objections he took to this Bill were twofold. One was to the manner in which it had been promoted, and the other was the decision which was come to in the other House. This Bill was to annex and incorporate with the City of Glasgow the police burgh of Hillhead and the district of Kelvinside, and for other purposes. On a Bill of this description he thought their Lordships — especially those of their Lordships who were acquainted with cases of this kind, and there had been several before their Lordships' House—would expect to find as promoters of it either the authorities of the district which was to be incorporated with Glasgow, or the authority of the burgh of Hillhead, or the authority of the burgh of Glasgow. Those Governing Bodies, or their representatives, were conspicuous in this case by their absence only, and in their place there were the names of two firms of solicitors, firms representing a handful of private and wholly irresponsible individuals who resided in Kelvinside and in Hillhead. In other words, their Lordships were asked at the instance of these irresponsible gentlemen to take in hand the abolition of a burgh of considerable size, with a population of between 8,000 and 9,000, and the valuation of which was £80,000; a burgh established by Act of Parliament, and against the management of which not a single word could be alleged. Their Lordships, he thought, would agree with him that that was a very preposterous thing. It was wholly unprecedented. He could say with confidence that in Scotland, at any rate, there was no example of a Bill whose object was the abolition of a police burgh being promoted by any others than the authorities of the burgh itself. In respect to the mode in which the Bill was promoted it was absolutely without precedent. It was most undesirable and most unreasonable that a burgh constituted by Act of Parliament should be exposed to be assailed by private individuals who happened to think it would be desirable to annex it to Glasgow or some other burgh, and who were able to employ a solicitor in order to have that carried out. He relied on that as his first ground why their Lordships should not read the Bill a second time, for if they were to read it a second time a most objectionable principle would be established. The next ground on which he asked their Lordships to reject this Bill was not altogether the same. It was this, that the decision which had been come to upon this question of the annexation of Hillhead was opposed to every decision which had been come to by Parliament, whether in the House of Commons or in the House of Lords. It was opposed to every decision which had been come to upon the question of the extension of burghs and of the annexation of one burgh to another. The first occasion on which Parliament had expressed its opinion as to how these annexations should take place would be found in the Act of 1857. That Act was described as "An Act to provide for the extension of boundaries of burghs in Scotland," and he referred to it because for the first time it laid down what Parliament then considered the proper mode of dealing with such questions. This Act required the sanction, in the case of a burgh, of a Town Council, and, in the case of a county, of the regular constituted authority, and the mode of annexation was surrounded by many other provisions, such as going before the Sheriff; but he need not further refer to them. After that, from the year 1868 to the year 1879, there were no less than four Bills promoted by the Glasgow Corporation, each of which had the object of annexing either for Parliamentary or municipal purposes some burgh or burghs in the neighbourhood of the city. He said, without fear of contradiction, that in every instance in which promoters failed to show that the constituted authorities were in favour of annexation, in every single instance, whether the Bill was in "another place" or before their Lordships, the Bill was rejected. He now came to what occurred last year in connection with the Burgh Police Bill. The same question arose under that Bill, because the Bill as introduced, so far as he could remember, contained a clause which laid down this rule, that where burghs wished to be united they should proceed by Act of Parliament—that was to say, in each case the authorities should make joint application for annexation. This question was fully discussed before their Lordships' Committee. The representatives of the City of Glasgow were present, also the representatives of the smaller burghs, and it really became a question as to which was the best mode of dealing with this question. The representatives of the City of Glasgow contended they were entitled to go behind the authorities of the burgh, and ascertain for themselves—by means of signatures obtained by canvassers—whether the burgh was desirous to be annexed to them. The representatives of the burghs contended that was not a fair mode of obtaining the opinion of the burghs, as it was in practice open to very great abuse. After hearing all that was to be said upon the question, the Committee decided in favour of the mode recommended by the smaller burghs—namely, that annexation should only be made upon the joint application of the authorities of both the burghs seeking for incorporation. The net result of what had occurred in Parliament during the last 30 years was this, that Parliament had insisted as a condition of annexation or extension of boundaries that in every instance the consent of the burgh to be annexed should be a condition antecedent to the annexation. He made this statement without fear of contradiction, and he held that it was a very reasonable and proper arrangement; but whether it were proper or not, it was the decision which Parliament had come to, and was consistent with every decision which had been given since 1857. From his knowledge of the burgh of Hillhead and of the district of Kelvinside, it was right he should say that it was not contended by anyone who knew the facts that the sanction of the authorities of Hillhead had been obtained. On the contrary, it was true that every one of the Commissioners of Police of that burgh were opposed to this annexation; and, moreover, the ratepayers were not in favour of it in the burgh of Hillhead. Were they in favour of it in the district of Kelvinside? The figures that he would now place before their Lordships they might rely upon as being strictly accurate. In the burgh of Hillhead there were 1,692 ratepayers, and of this number 671 signatures had been obtained by canvassers sent about by the irresponsible gentlemen to whom he had referred. But that was not even on paper a majority of the ratepayers. Taking Kelvinside, he found there were 890 ratepayers, of whom 390 only had signed their names in favour of this measure, and in this case the figures of those who were supporting the Bill had been accepted as accurate. He, therefore, in face of the Act of Parliament of 1857, to which he had referred, in view of the decisions given from 1868 to 1879, and in view of the decision given last year by the Committee of their Lordships' House on the Burgh and Police Bill, and of the fact that that Bill passed their Lordships' House a short time ago, he said that in view of all this, and having regard to the nature of the opposition set up against the Bill, he was entitled to ask their Lordships to reject this Bill on the grounds he had stated. There was only one ground upon which this Bill could be supported, and that was not a sound one. The only thing said in favour of compelling the burgh of Hillhead as well as the district of Kelvinside to be annexed to Glasgow was that if it were not done a certain arrangement entered into by the City of Glasgow and the shareholders of the Royal Botanic Gardens of Glasgow would fall to the ground. He had two observations to make regarding that view, and the first was that he failed to see any connection whatever between an arrangement entered into by the City of Glasgow and the shareholders of the Royal Botanic Gardens and the question of incorporating and annexing the burgh of Hillhead and district of Kelvinside. They appeared to him to be questions that had no connection whatever, and should have none; but his next objection was this, that it was altogether untrue to say that the agreement, which he had no doubt was a very proper agreement in itself, would fall to the ground, or at any rate must fall to the ground, if this Bill was not allowed to pass. He held in his hand an Act of Parliament which was described as a Glasgow Public Parks Act, and Clause 23 of this Act provided for this very contingency, the very contingency of the shareholders and owners of the Royal Botanic Gardens wishing to hand them over to the City of Glasgow. He would not trouble their Lordships with more than a few words, but the clause said that the Lord Provost, &c., might enter into agreement on such terms as might be considered convenient for the transfer of the Royal Botanic Gardens. There was nothing in the Hillhead Bill with regard to these Gardens that could not be equally well carried out through the medium of this Act of Parliament; and one, therefore, could not help coming to the conclusion that the City of Glasgow, in threatening to extinguish the Royal Botanic Gardens by selling them up, had some ulterior object that they did not wish to declare. It would almost seem as if, having lent to the authorities of the Gardens a sum of £47,000, they were threatening to use their power as mortgagees, with the view of compelling the burgh of Hillhead to come under the Corporation of the City of Glasgow, and this although the property in question was worth more than double the amount advanced upon it. If that was so, and it was the only explanation he could find in favour of the Bill, he thought it was not altogether creditable to the City of Glasgow, and perhaps it accounted for the fact that the names of its authorities were not upon the back of the Bill, though he was informed they were really its promoters. He had now said all he wished to say upon this subject. He had desired to explain to their Lordships that the second reading of the Bill would establish a very inconvenient precedent—namely, that of a Bill being promoted by irresponsible persons for the abolition of a burgh, against whose administration nothing could be even alleged, far less proved. To pass the second reading of such a Bill would, he considered, be establishing a most undesirable precedent, and he begged, therefore, to move its rejection.

*The Marquess of Tweeddale*

Amendment *moved,* to leave out ("now,") and add at the end of the Motion ("this day six months.")—(*The Marquess of Tweeddale.*)

The Duke of ARGYLL said, he thought it had perhaps not escaped the attention of their Lordships that the arguments that had been used by the noble Marquess who had just sat down were precisely those arguments that must naturally come before a Committee. They were almost all of that character, and especially so in regard to the last item of his noble Friend's speech—the reference to the Botanic Gardens, near Glasgow. No doubt, it was a matter of great importance; but he did not profess to understand the whole of the case, although he knew something of it, and he therefore thought this also was one of the matters that should go before a Committee. He knew something of the locality and of the people resident in both, and he had seen and considered the representations of deputations from both burghs, and he had still some doubts upon the subject. He wanted the Bill to go before a Committee for elucidation. The argument against the Bill was that no case of annexation should be allowed unless applied for by the joint constituted authorities of both parties, and that Parliament had decided this point. That, however, was not the case, because there was no such law. A clause was struck out of a Bill which would have given undue facilities to great cities like Glasgow for annexation; but no other clause was inserted forbidding annexation. Taking a wide view of the case, he thought it was precisely one of those matters that ought to go before a Committee. Therefore, he hoped they would give the Bill a second reading.

Lord RIBBLESDALE said, that to throw out the Bill on the second reading was a high-handed proceeding which their Lordships would reserve to themselves only on the vicious principle of the Bill being satisfactorily proved. He hoped that unprecedented and unexpected course would not commend itself to their Lordships' House; but that they would agree with the noble Duke and the noble Lord who moved the second reading of the Bill that this was exactly one of those cases which were eminently adapted for inquiry before a Committee of their Lordships' House. What was really the principle of this Bill? It was one which had been asserted over and over again by Parliamentary sanction—namely, that the identity of interest and benefit which extended to what was particularly the population of one community, should also apply to the burden and obligation. That was the whole principle at which this Bill aimed; and when their Lordships were asked to reject the Bill, they were asked to set aside not only the wish of a very large portion of the people of the districts to be annexed, but they were also setting aside the wish of so respectable an authority as the Corporation of Glasgow. The noble Marquess said the Corporation of Glasgow had taken no part in this matter. He could hardly conceive a more significant part for the Corporation to take than to undertake the expenses before Parliament, as the Corporation had done. Kelvinside and Hillhead were just as much part of the City of Glasgow as St. Pancras was part of the City of London, and they were inhabited by persons carrying on business in Glasgow. The people went out to these suburbs to live for the sake of better air and better houses. The aggregation of the population led to complicated machinery in the shape of local bodies and local trusts of all kinds, and it hardly seemed right that the persons who created the necessity for that kind of legislation and machinery in Glasgow should escape all responsibility in the matter from the mere fact of living in Kelvinside. The anomaly was increased when they remembered that if the House threw out this Bill on the second reading they would not only be affirming the continuance of that state of affairs, but flying in the face of the very people who wished to take their proper share in the responsibility for the burdens of the people of the City of Glasgow. It had been said that the promotors of this Bill, as far as Kelvinside was concerned, were not very responsible gentlemen; well, he believed Kelvinside had no burgh authority of its own, but the bulk of the population of Kelvinside were entirely in favour of this annexation. He admitted, as far as Hillhead went, opinion might be a little balanced; but that surely was a matter which would be brought out in Committee before their Lordships. The noble Marquess also quoted the Act of 1857. The Act of 1857 would be perfectly unworkable for the present measure. The Act of 1857 referred entirely to the extension of municipal burghs, and this was a question of the absorption of one burgh into another. Moreover, that Act was 30 years old, and since its passing legislation had been incumbered by all kinds of other Acts, which would make it impossible to take the power under that Act necessary for the present purpose. As to the Botanic Gardens, that matter, it was urged, was provided for in the Act of 1878; but although under Clause 27 of the Act of 1878 the City of Glasgow took power to take over the Royal Botanic Gardens, they did not take any power of assessment, and they declined altogether to exercise that Act unless Kelvinside and Hillhead were thrown into the Corporation of the City of Glasgow. Very naturally they did not care further to assess the people of Glasgow for Gardens which were not situated in the burgh which was under their jurisdiction. He hoped their Lordships would read this Bill a second time.

LORD WATSON said, he thought it would be very unfortunate indeed in the municipal interests of the larger burghs of Scotland if their Lordships were to refuse the second reading of this Bill upon the principle set forward by the noble Marquess. He did not intend to follow the noble Marquess into the facts of the case, and that for the best of all reasons, that he was not intimately acquainted with them, and he presumed that in that respect he was in the same position as the majority of the Members of this House. This application was made to Parliament at the instance of a large body of inhabitants and ratepayers within an area of about 800 acres. Considerably less than one-sixth part of that area was under municipal government, and consisted of the small burgh of Hillhead, which was constituted under the Act of 1862. In this case the promoters did not say that their present civic rulers were not doing their best as far as their powers enabled them; but what they did say was that they could not give those advantages which the Corporation of Glasgow could give to all the inhabitants of the district if this union which the promoters sought was accomplished. If that was proved, union would be right and expedient, and he would be very much surprised if the House were to affirm that, notwithstanding the expediency, there should be no union, simply because there had existed within that area a small civic authority. The decision that was come to by the other House did not furnish sufficient *data* for their Lordships giving a decision on that point; but, at the same time, there was one fact which could not be disregarded in considering whether the Bill ought not to be sent to a Committee. A Committee of the other House did come to the conclusion that the case of the promoters had been made out. He did not say it necessarily followed that this House would come to the same decision; but *primâ facie* it appeared to him to show that the promoters had at least come here not entirely without a case.

THE SECRETARY FOR SCOTLAND (The Earl of DALHOUSIE) said, his noble Friend who moved the rejection of the Bill based his case partly on principle and partly on precedent. The principle, he understood, was drawn from the Act of 1857, and also the proceedings of the Select Committee to which the Burgh Health Bill was referred, and of which he (the Earl of Dalhousie) had the honour to be Chairman. If this Bill had originated in this House, there might perhaps have been a great deal to be said for the view of the noble Marquess; but the House must remember, as had been pointed out by the noble and learned Lord (Lord Watson), that this Bill had already been considered by a Select Committee of the House of Commons, that it had passed through all its stages in that House, and that after all that had taken place it had now come before their Lordships. It would, therefore, be creating a precedent which, if not entirely new, would certainly be a very strange precedent, to reject without consideration, and on the second reading, a Private Bill the merits of which depended so largely on facts and details that could be adequately considered only by a Select Committee. He hoped the House would not take that course, but that they would give the Bill a second reading. He pronounced no opinion on the merits of the case, or upon the possible rejection or acceptance of the Bill by the Select Committee. He submitted that that was a matter which ought to be left entirely to the Select Committee. The noble Marquess pushed his argument as to principle rather far. The noble Lord who moved the second reading of the Bill stated very correctly what took place in the Select Committee. The noble Duke also gave an account of what took place, as did also the noble Marquess. As Chairman of that Committee, he (the Earl of Dalhousie) was in the happy position of being able to agree with all three so far as the facts were concerned. But when the noble Marquess drew from what took place in the Select Committee an argument to this effect — that the principle which they introduced and embodied in that Bill was for ever after to prevent the annexation by larger burghs of adjoining burghs on any other principle than that there laid down, and when he remembered the Bill had not yet become law, he must confess that the arguments as to principle were considerably weakened. On the ground that this Bill had been considered by the House of Commons, and had come before their Lordships for second reading, he thought it would be against precedent if their Lordships did not read it a second time.

On Question, That ("now") stand part of the Motion?

*Resolved* in the *affirmative.*

Bill read 2ª accordingly, and *committed:* The Committee to be proposed by the Committee of Selection.

## ARMS (IRELAND) BILL.—(No. 129.)

(*The Lord President.*)

### SECOND READING.

Order of the Day for the Second Reading read.

THE LORD PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL (Earl SPENCER): I rise, my Lords, to ask your Lordships to read this Bill a second time. It is merely a Continuance Bill of the measure passed in 1881, with some slight alterations, which I shall refer to shortly. It is not the first time I have had to address your Lordships on a Bill of this kind. At the same time, it will only be right that I should refer shortly to the provisions of the Bill, describe the effect of them, and state why the Government consider it necessary to pass such a Bill now. An Arms Bill has never been treated in this House, or in the other, as a measure of first-rate political importance; but such measures are of very considerable importance with reference to the enforcement of law and order and the protection of life and property in Ireland. The object of the Bill is to regulate the importation of arms into Ireland, and to regulate the holding and the carrying of arms by various people in the country; and it is also a Bill for the regulation of the sale of arms and of ammunition in Ireland. In its operation a measure of this sort is a matter of very considerable importance. It prevents the importation of arms for those who have rebellious designs against Her Majesty's Government. It also prevents the promiscuous carrying of arms, and in that way it checks to a great extent any disposition there may be at times to commit outrages and acts of violence. No doubt, it may be said that no premeditated case of murder has been prevented by the Arms Act. If one individual has a spite against another and determines to commit an act of violence he can always obtain weapons whether there is an Arms Act in force or not. But it must be admitted that the existence of an Act requiring persons to have licences for the possession of arms does, to a great extent, impede the evil purposes of such men, and, indeed, to a certain extent, does check the commission of those murderous crimes which from time to time have been a disgrace to Ireland. There is a third reason why this important check should be put upon the carrying of arms in that country, and it is that in times of great excitement there is a tendency, if there is no check on the carrying of arms, on the part of persons in all classes of the population to carry arms. They carry revolvers to fairs and markets, and also to large meetings where there is considerable excitement. If there is excitement in the country the fact that many persons go about carrying arms greatly adds to the danger to life and increases the possibility of serious outrage and disturbance. It is on this account that Her Majesty's Government have thought it necessary to bring in this Bill. They do not consider they would be justified, when there is great uncertainty as to political affairs in Ireland and there may be great excitement in the country, to add a serious danger to life in that country by allowing the promiscuous carriage of arms. I am happy to think that the circumstances are not so grave as they were in 1881, when I had to introduce this measure to your Lordships. Serious crime does not prevail to such an extent in Ireland as it did then, and the general state of that country is quiet, although in some districts there is a considerable amount of disturbance and excitement. That there is some reason for what I say is shown by the statistics of serious offences. In the first four months of 1881 there were 556 serious offences reported by the police; and in the first four months of 1886 the number was only 184. In 1881 there were 75 prosecutions under the Arms Act; in the following year there were 127; and during the portion of the present year which has passed there have been 51 prosecutions and 44 convictions. There are 28 counties which are wholly or partially proclaimed under the expiring Act; and Antrim, Londonderry, Louth, and Wicklow are the only counties where no proclamation is in force. A proclamation may relate to the holding and carrying of arms, or only to the carrying of arms; and in 10 counties the proclamation is against the carrying of arms. There has been since 1882 a considerable diminution in the number of prosecutions and convictions under the Act. The modifications in the Continuance Bill are twofold. By the Act of 1881 two magistrates might grant a licence for the holding of arms to an occupier living in the Petty Sessional district. This provision was first introduced in 1875, when I drew attention to it. Although I did not divide against it, I made certain objections to the proposal. The provision was reintroduced in the Act 1881. The Government think it is better left out, as it throws a heavy responsibility on the magistrates in any district. In some cases it has been found that they have not the courage to refuse licences to persons who had better have been without them. When that is done there is no remedy but that of revoking the licences through the Lord Lieutenant. I need hardly say that is an invidious task, and it can only be done in extreme cases. It has, therefore, been thought advisable to leave the granting of licences entirely to the Resident Magistrates, who are less subject to local and personal influences. Another Amendment which has been introduced in "another place," is that a Court dealing with a prosecution under this Act shall consist, not of ordinary magistrates, but of two or more Resident Magistrates. This Amendment was assented to after some consideration. It was thought better to leave the adjudication of these somewhat difficult cases to the Resident Magistrates rather than to the local Justices. In the uncertainty prevailing with regard to Ireland, Her Majesty's Government could not take the responsibility of allowing the Act to drop; it is necessary to increase the safety of life and property in Ireland. If your Lordships give a second reading to the Bill, I propose to ask you to suspend the Standing Order, in order that the Bill may go through the remaining stages and receive the Royal Assent this week. The Act of 1881 expires on this very day. Her Majesty's Government introduced the Bill in "another place," not expecting there would be any opposition to it; but opposition came from an unexpected quarter, and hence the Bill has been delayed. It is on that account I have to ask your Lordships to allow the Bill to pass its remaining stages, so that there may be no considerable interregnum between the expiry of the Act and the passing of this Bill. There is also another consideration. At the close of the week your Lordships will adjourn for the Holidays. With these brief remarks I beg to move that the Bill be now read a second time.

*Moved,* "That the Bill be now read 2ª."—(*The Lord President of the Council.*)

The Earl of NORTHBROOK said, he rose to support the second reading of the Bill, believing that this exceptional legislation was necessary. Those who had paid any attention to the affairs of Ireland knew that when these Acts were allowed to expire crime increased. This happened in 1846, and again in 1880. His noble Friend who had just spoken occupied a most extraordinary position. On the one hand, they heard from the Head of the Government that repressive legislation had never fulfilled its object, while, on the other, they had the noble Earl urging forward this Bill as absolutely necessary for the protection of life and property in Ireland. The Bill was to expire on the 31st of December, 1887. When it was introduced the term was longer. Why had the Government consented to an alteration? In his opinion, the Government had assumed a very serious responsibility indeed in naming so early a date for the expiration of this Bill. They all knew what the programme about Ireland for the future was. They had it explained at the meeting of the Liberal Party recently. They knew it was proposed in the autumn to introduce a measure of immense importance affecting Ireland, and their Lordships must be fully aware that that Autumn Session must be taken up with the consideration of that measure in the other House of Parliament. It might come to this House in the Session of 1887. He could not anticipate what would follow; but any sensible man must admit the probability that there would be great political excitement both here and in Ireland just at the time when this Bill would expire, and the Government would add to this excitement the difficulty which always arose in the House of Commons when a measure such as that now before their Lordships was brought forward. The Government had assumed, as he had said, a very grave responsibility in this matter; but he did not think that their Lordships would feel inclined to assume a much graver responsibility by endeavouring to alter the Bill and so delay or risk its passing into law. The responsibility must rest with the Government. He should like to ask the Government whether they were satisfied that the provisions of this Bill would give all the necessary protection to Her Majesty's subjects in Ireland? The Prevention of Crime Act of 1882 expired at the end of last Session, and Mr. Gladstone's Government came to the conclusion that they would propose the renewal of some of the clauses of that Act. When the noble Marquess opposite assumed the Government on Mr. Gladstone's resignation he endeavoured to administer the affairs of Ireland without renewing the Act, and it lapsed at the end of the Session of 1885. The noble Marquess subsequently, at the beginning of this Session, indicated that, in the opinion of the Government over which he presided, it was desirable that some measure of the kind should be introduced. But the Government were defeated before any form was given to the noble Marquess's announcement. In the course of the debate on the Address his noble Friend who was now President of the Council made a speech from the other side of the House, in which he expressed the opinion that, so far as he knew, at the beginning of this year the state of affairs in Ireland was such as to render it necessary to consider the propriety of renewing some of the clauses of that Act. On this subject he wished to say that Members of the Government had used an argument which he did not think any of their Lordships would accept. The Prime Minister, in moving the second reading of the Government of Ireland Bill said, that the position of the noble Marquess last year in deciding not to introduce a measure to renew the provisions of the Crimes Act had "immense historic weight, the effect of which never could be effaced." His noble Friend (Earl Spencer) had used similar language. He was bound to say that he thought that the importance attributed to the noble Marquess's conduct had been immensely exaggerated by the Government, and he did not see how the course of action which the noble Marquess marked out for his Government could be considered to have that momentous effect which the present Government had attributed to it. The Government had been curiously oblivious of two remarkable precedents on the matter. In 1846 there was a combination between the Whigs and the Protectionists, the proposal for an Arms Bill, not unlike the one now before their Lordships, made by Sir Robert Peel, was defeated, and Sir Robert Peel was turned out of Office. Lord John Russell succeeded him, and in the year 1847 did not feel himself debarred by what had taken place in the previous year from proposing what he thought was right in the matter. Lord John Russell proposed and carried a measure not very dissimilar to that which was defeated in 1846. But there was a precedent very much more recent. In the year 1880 the circumstances appeared to him to have been precisely the same as in the year 1885. Lord Beaconsfield in the year 1880 resigned his Office without proposing to Parliament to continue the Protection of Life and Property Act, which was about to expire. Mr. Gladstone, in 1885, resigned his Office under exactly the same circumstances; he did not propose to Parliament to continue the Prevention of Crime Act. In 1880, Mr. Gladstone, succeeding Lord Beaconsfield, determined to carry on the government of Ireland without making any proposals to Parliament for fresh legislation, and allowed the Act to lapse. In 1885 the noble Marquess opposite, succeeding Mr. Gladstone, took precisely the same course as Mr. Gladstone had taken in 1880, and decided to go on without proposing to Parliament the renewal of the Act, which therefore lapsed. What took place after? In 1881, Mr. Gladstone, who was then Prime Minister, decided to introduce a measure similar in character to that which in 1880 he had allowed to lapse; and in 1886 the noble Marquess opposite expressed his intention to carry out a policy of the same kind—namely, to propose to Parliament to renew the repressive legislation which had lapsed. But it was now argued by the Prime Minister that this made it quite impossible for him to take the same course which he did in 1881. The argument became still more unintelligible by the speech which his noble Friend the President of the Council had just delivered. What were their Lordships occupied in doing? They were actually occupied in discussing a measure of that very class of special legislation which the Prime Minister had said was rendered altogether impossible by the action of the noble Marquess last year. The Prime Minister stated that during the last 53 years special legislation for the protection of life and property in Ireland had been ineffectual. Upon that point he happened to be in a position to speak with some authority, because his Relative—Sir George Grey—who was Secretary of State for the Home Department for many years after 1846, had left him some important papers upon the subject. During 20 years of this period of 53 years—that was, from 1847 to 1866, except during a short time when the Habeas Corpus Act was suspended in 1848—the special legislation with regard to Ireland was practically very much of the same nature as the Bill now before their

Lordships. The Act passed in 1847 bore the name of the Crime and Outrage (Ireland) Act, and in its main and most important provisions was simply an Arms Act. The rest gave power to place additional constabulary in districts, which it now turned out could be done without special legislation. The noble and learned Lord below the Gangway (Lord FitzGerald), who was then Attorney General for Ireland, changed, in 1856, the name, Crime and Outrage Act, to Peace Preservation Act, as better expressing its object, and that Act was continued until 1870. Had it not effected its purpose? He had there a letter written by Sir George Grey to *The Times* some years ago, when the conduct of Lord John Russell's Government at the time was challenged, and he expressed his opinion as to the manner in which the Crime and Outrage Act succeeded. The passing of the Act, and the manner in which Lord Clarendon carried it out, produced the result intended. It reduced crime and outrage very much at a time of greater danger and difficulty than the present, when revolution broke out in Paris, and when Thrones were tumbling down all over Europe. This special legislation enabled the Lord Lieutenant to proclaim the City of Dublin, and produced such alarm among the disaffected that the men who, by the advice of Mitchell and of Duffy, had purchased pikes and arms, threw a great portion of them into the Liffey. But let their Lordships take a longer term; let them take the 20 years during which that Act, not a very severe one, was what the Lord Lieutenant had to depend upon for the protection of life and property in Ireland. If they compared the number of agrarian outrages for the first 10 years with the number for the last 10 years of that period they would find that they were reduced more than half. Therefore, with respect to the historical argument of the Prime Minister that for 50 years the Acts had failed, for 20 years of that time they had produced the result they were intended to produce. But neither the precedents of former times nor the argument from history on this question ought to decide the matter. He held that it was the bounden duty of the Government if they believed that Her Majesty's subjects in Ireland were not adequately protected from intimidation to propose such measures as would protect them. Lord Grey had said—"Liberty is based upon public order. If public order is destroyed, liberty cannot exist." He hoped before the discussion terminated they should have a distinct expression of opinion from Her Majesty's Government, on whom the responsibility rested, that they considered Her Majesty's subjects in Ireland were sufficiently protected, and that that was the reason why they had not introduced such provisions for their protection as Her Majesty's subjects had a right to expect.

LORD ASHBOURNE said, no doubt it was the reason which the noble Earl who had just spoken had given which prevented him from taking his seat on the opposite Bench. The noble Earl had presented considerations which must have carried conviction to every one of their Lordships. For his own part, he should be astounded if any Member of Her Majesty's Government could indicate one single flaw in the noble Earl's statements of facts, or challenge one of the inferences which he had deduced. This Bill had been presented at a time when it was absolutely impossible for their Lordships to make a single Amendment in it; because the noble Earl who had introduced it was to ask for the suspension of the Standing Orders, so that every stage of the measure might be taken to-night. Their Lordships, therefore, could but indicate their opinion of the Bill, and of the way in which it ought to be carried out, if there was to be protection for life and property in Ireland. There was no excuse for the neglect of Her Majesty's Government. Over and over again they had been asked whether it was their intention to re-introduce the measure, and replies were given which did not indicate any clear intention. It was not until the House of Commons was engaged in considering what was called a Government of Ireland Bill, when, to a casual observer, it appeared that there was to be a prolonged agony of procrastination, that this Bill was presented at all. A strange commentary on what was going on in the other House was to be found in the cautious and moderate speech of the noble Earl who moved the second reading, who presented the Bill, to use his own words, as a Bill "to increase the safety of life in Ireland," as a Bill that was "necessary to protect life and property in Ireland;"

as a Bill essential "to check men of rebellious views;" as a Bill essential "to check the perpetration of outrages by those who would otherwise avail themselves of their power to commit them;" and, finally, as a measure to check those "who might be labouring under a not unnatural excitement" in the present interesting period. These were grave words to use at the present time. It was a strange thing when it was proposed to hand over the government of Ireland to those who had not shown themselves to be advocates of social order that this Bill should have been presented in the terms used by the noble Earl. This was a measure of vital social importance; a Bill that professed to diminish the crime of murder and to increase the safety of life and property. When presented formerly by Sir William Harcourt, then Home Secretary, he stated that it was a Bill for peace preservation in Ireland. It was part of what had been improperly called a Coercion Code. If men kept their hands from the commission of crime and outrage, they would not come under the operation of those Acts? Was he to be told, then, that this Act was to be called by any other name than that by which the Legislature called it — a measure for the prevention of crime and outrage? He was as much an opponent of coercion as anybody; but he must know what coercion meant. He was against coercion that prevented the landlord from exercising his fair and plain rights reasonably, honestly, and justly; he was against coercion that prevented tenants realizing the profits that came honestly from their own hard labour; that prevented those who went to fairs from doing their business without terror to their lives; that stepped into every relation of life, and made it uncertain whether men who rose in the morning, living honestly and working fairly and justly, would be able to lie down in their beds at night safe and peaceable. He ventured to think that not one solitary syllable of qualification of the words he had ventured to use could be uttered by noble Lords opposite. When the Government originally introduced this Bill, thinking it necessary, he supposed, for the great purpose specified by the noble Earl—the protection of life and property in Ireland—they came to the conclusion that it was necessary that it should continue for two years. Two years was not a very long period, but it was long enough to prevent their being called upon in the next Session of Parliament to consider this question and the products of this Bill. If the Bill was originally necessary for two years, why did the Government accept an Amendment limiting the operation of the Bill to the 31st of December of next year? The responsibility for that was with the Government. They presented this Bill on their own responsibility as a Bill they believed to be absolutely necessary now for the government of Ireland. They originally thought it would be required for two years, and they had not lessened their responsibility because at the bidding of the hon. Member who moved the Amendment in the other House they had cut down that two years. The noble Earl opposite had asked a question, which he supposed would receive an answer from some occupant of the Treasury Bench—namely, were the Government satisfied with their present powers? That question had been asked more than once in the course of the present Session. They were told originally to wait till the 1st of April, and shortly after that they were told that a great panacea would be found. That panacea was all but dead. If it was not dead it was upon its death-bed; and if they could not look to that ill-starred measure to supply what was to be a new source of social order in Ireland, the noble Earl was right in now again pressing the question upon Her Majesty's Government of how did they now think that they would be able to maintain social order in Ireland? This Bill must, of course, be to some extent their answer; but still the noble Earl was entitled to press his question. The noble Earl who introduced the Bill gave some statistics. At a period of his life he had had the honour to be one of the secretaries of the Statistical Society of Ireland. He looked back upon that with satisfaction, for though it had given him some respect for statistics, it had made him utterly fearless when they were quoted against him. The noble Earl had contrasted the first four months of 1886 with the first four months of 1881; in other words, he made a contrast with the worst possible year he could find for the last 10 years. That was a circumstance that was certainly to be borne in mind.

**Earl SPENCER** explained that the reason he had made a contrast with 1881 was that that was the year in which the Arms Act was brought in.

**Lord ASHBOURNE** contended that that did not in any way check his point, for the fact still remained. He would direct the attention of the noble Earl to the fact that on the Order Paper of that very day there were questions which sought to bring under his attention circumstances indicating the necessity for grave anxiety. At the time when the Government were pressing this Bill in their Lordships' House, and were waiting to withdraw the other Bill in the House of Commons, there were Judges in Ireland who were being protected for their lives simply because they had fearlessly performed the duty of administering justice by the laws made by that House. How did the Government propose to deal with social order? Did they consider the present Bill sufficient? Were they so sure of the co-operation of the National League that they could safely and confidently rely upon it? He saw the other day some severe comments made by one of the Judges of the Land Commission upon the audacity of a secretary of a local branch of the National League, who had threatened with death the auctioneer of the Court if he dared to carry out certain sales. The history of that League had been sketched by Sir William Harcourt in the other House when he said the National League was in apostolic succession to the Land League. No one knew the Land League better than the noble Earl opposite. Did he not know that the National League was very powerful and wielded a great sway? Did he know how many branches it had, and did he believe that it was able and willing to do the behests of the Government? He should await with interest the answer that might be given by Her Majesty's Government to the question of the noble Earl opposite. They had been told before that if they waited they would see what was the plan and policy of Her Majesty's Government in reference to this question. They had waited. The Government had made them wait for a long time for their first disclosure and for what was to be the final issue of that disclosure; but he hoped that in a moment they would have some indication of what were the intentions of Her Majesty's Government when the Bill they had introduced should absolutely cease to be.

**The SECRETARY of STATE for INDIA (The Earl of Kimberley)**: With reference to the remarks of the noble and learned Lord as to the delay which has occurred in bringing this Bill before the House, I can hardly think that the noble and learned Lord can be so ignorant of what passed in "another place" as not to know what was the cause of the delay. There is such a thing known there as blocking a Bill, and I daresay the noble and learned Lord will be able to call to mind from what very singular quarters the delay came. That was the reason why the Bill could not be proceeded with sooner in the House of Commons. But the complaint that the Government have not been more ready to press forward coercive legislation comes somewhat strangely from one who, during the six months' tenure of Office by the Conservative Ministry, acquiesced in the absence of any exceptional measures for the preservation of law and order in Ireland, when exceptional measures were much more required than they are now. The noble and learned Lord asks what course the Government intend to pursue with reference to Ireland? Surely the noble and learned Lord must know what the policy of the Government is. That policy may not be popular in your Lordships' House, and may even be in danger "elsewhere;" but to ask me to believe that the noble and learned Lord does not know what it is would be too great a demand upon my credulity. The noble Earl behind me (the Earl of Northbrook) is of opinion that the view of the Government that the past policy of coercion for Ireland has been a failure cannot be supported. The noble Earl does not understand the position of the Government. We do not say that these Acts of repression have all of them failed in the ordinary sense, for we know well that some of them have achieved very considerable success, notably the Crimes Act, which was dropped when the late Government came into Office. But we say that, instead of uniting the people of Ireland in bonds of affection with this nation, and increasing the stability of our Government in that country, this legislation, year by year, and decade by decade, has caused the chasm between the two nations to grow wider and wider, and difficulties to arise greater, perhaps, than those which existed at the time of the Union. It is in that sense that the Government consider that this disastrous policy of repression has failed. My noble Friend has mentioned the proceedings of Lord John Russell when, at the head of the Opposition, he turned out the Government of Sir Robert Peel upon an Arms Act, and subsequently himself introduced a measure of the same kind. That incident really presents one of the strongest proofs of the dangers and difficulties of a policy of intermittent coercion. It taught the historical lesson that such are the exigencies of Party in this country that there is no possibility of a steady policy of coercion being pursued towards Ireland. In 1846 the Protectionist Party, for ends which had no connection with Irish policy, and looking only to their own interests, joined with the Liberal Party to oust Sir Robert Peel, and they upset him for reasons which had nothing to do with Ireland, whose interests were sacrificed to the demands of Party in this country. Then followed the usual retribution, and the successful Party had to bring in a measure like that which they had defeated for the purpose of overthrowing Sir Robert Peel. In 1880 the Conservative Government, when about to leave Office, acting, I am afraid, just as any other Party in this country would have acted, declined to renew the Peace Preservation Act, and why? Because it was inconvenient to renew it. Then came the Government of which I was a Member, and they found that the introduction of a measure to supply the want left by their Predecessors would be disagreeable to their own Party, and would be opposed in a manner which would put a stop to all other Parliamentary Business. Very soon, however, we found that, as usual, the state of Ireland was becoming worse, and we were compelled to have recourse to measures of repression. Precisely the same thing has happened in the last 12 months. The Government of Mr. Gladstone was overthrown when about to introduce some repressive legislation. The noble Marquess came into Office in circumstances of difficulty, I admit; but I cannot help thinking that some Members of his Government must have felt considerable misgiving about the course which he pursued. Many of them, I feel confident, would have been glad of some renewal of the Crimes Act; but a General Election was impending, and the whole circumstances of the case were such that the Government of the noble Marquess, to the great injury of Ireland and to the great danger of the peace of that country, suffered the Act to lapse. I say it does not matter which Party has to deal with these questions. It is not the want of political morality and honour in this or that Party, but it is the circumstances of the case which invariably lead one Party after another to pursue the same course. I say, then, that the coercion policy has failed. The noble Marquess said the other day that to give any policy of that kind fair play it must be pursued continuously and with perseverance for 20 years.

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY: I said nothing whatever about coercion. I said 20 years of wise and resolute government would place Ireland in a satisfactory position. I may have said resolute and continuous policy.

THE EARL OF KIMBERLEY: I accept that description; but that is precisely the kind of government that has been lacking in Ireland. You have only had since the Union a Government resolute from time to time by fits and starts; irresolute at other times. That state of things is one of the main reasons why I think that the time has come when it is absolutely necessary that we should abandon a policy which I believe to be disastrous, and that we should try the experiment which Mr. Gladstone has put forward. I do not feel justified in discussing a Bill which is now before the other House; but this I will say—I feel sure that the policy spoken of by the noble and learned Lord is a policy which is far more dead than the Bill to which he referred, and that whatever may be the fate of that Bill now there is sufficient life in the policy which it embodies to warrant our hoping that eventually it will become law.

THE EARL OF SELBORNE: The noble Earl who has just addressed your Lordships used an argument which would have had great weight if he had been impeaching the consistency and political morality of various Governments, his own included. I agree with the noble

Earl as to the low order of the political morality of those who combined in 1847 for objects which had nothing to do with Ireland to prevent the renewal of the powers that were thought necessary for the government of that country. I will say nothing about the morality, although I might say something about the courage, of the Government who quitted Office in 1880, and who left their Successors to renew the powers which were deemed to be essential for the preservation of peace in Ireland. I will not deny that the Government which succeeded, of which I was a Member, thought itself justified in not then renewing the special legislation for Ireland, and in waiting to see whether Ireland could be governed without special powers; but when we found that we required additional powers we asked Parliament for them and obtained them. I must admit that I think an unfortunate time was taken to displace the Government that was in power last year, for the effect was to prevent Parliament being asked to renew those powers which the Government thought necessary; and, as a consequence, the noble Marquess opposite found himself in exactly the same position as the Liberal Administration in 1880. The noble Marquess apparently determined to try the experiment of governing without special powers, rather than encounter those difficulties which undoubtedly he might have met with if he had taken the braver and more courageous course. But I cannot see, because the noble Marquess tried the same experiment last year that we tried in 1880, and with the same result that he also failed, why that should make necessary a total reversal of the course of legislation and the abandonment of measures which have been deemed requisite for the preservation of peace and life and liberty and property in Ireland for so many years. That is what I cannot understand. I demur to the word "policy" as used by the noble Earl below. It is not a policy. It is the discharge of the most absolute and most indispensable duty of a Government, and one the abdication of which I should not like to describe by the word that would most aptly suit it. It may be right or wrong to repeal the Union; it may be right or it may be wrong to give up the government to those who have hitherto set all law at defiance, and made government in Ireland so difficult; but that has nothing to do with the question whether life and liberty and property ought to be protected. Those who, sitting in the places of Government, apply the term "coercive policy" to the discharge of the first duties of government are not fit for the position they hold. It is not coercion to do what is needful to prevent illegal coercion. It is not coercion to prevent one set of men absolutely tyrannizing over another. What is this present Bill? We have persons saying that we must abandon for ever a policy which they call a policy of coercion, and yet they introduce this Bill—a very proper Bill, though it may not be all that is necessary. They know that legislation of this kind is necessary, and yet they denounce the noble Marquess opposite for making speeches in which he says—"I do not want coercion. I want to interfere as little as possible with the liberty of any man in Ireland or anywhere else; but I do think it necessary for the Government to do what it can to repress crime, and, if fresh powers are wanting, to ask Parliament for powers for the repression of crime." Those who talk in this way about abandoning a policy of repressive legislation do not seem to me to speak as if they really knew what they are talking about.

The Duke of ARGYLL: I listened with great curiosity to the speech of my noble Friend below. He pointed out that by the play of Parties, without attaching exclusive blame to any one of them, Ireland had been grossly misgoverned; but he failed to point out that for what he called the policy of coercion he has any substitute whatever. I do not mean to suggest that he should have indicated arguments in favour of another measure under consideration in the other House; but from the beginning to the end of his speech there was not one word of hope held out that life and liberty and property would in future be assured to the people of Ireland. I listened also to the speech of the noble Lord who introduced this Bill, from which it appears that he is inviting the House to take part in what is little better than a farce. He told us that any law for the prohibition of the possession of arms was almost useless for the prevention of murders. A man who wishes to commit a murder can always procure and hide a revolver. This Bill might be of use to prevent insurrection;

but it would not prevent the tyranny now exercised over the people of Ireland by means of secret organizations and their agents who threaten the officials of the Land Courts. My noble Friend quoted statistics to show that at the present moment there was no great amount of agrarian crime. But I have heard Minister after Minister quote statistics of Irish crime, and I always found that these always showed just what was wanted. The figures are of no use for proving the conclusion aimed at by my noble Friend. The very absence of agrarian crimes is proof of the completeness of the power of the National League. This power was evidenced a few days ago in the Dublin Bankruptcy Court, where it appeared, to use the words of Judge Boyd—

> "That the Secretary of the National League had the audacity to write to the auctioneer of the Court threatening him that if he attempted to let certain land that the Court had ordered to be let his life would probably be in danger."

We must have come to a pretty pass, indeed, when such a thing as this can occur; and the Government to meet this state of things propose a Bill which is to last 12 months, and which my noble Friend admits is perfectly useless for the purpose of preventing outrage. I heard him condemn the policy of the noble Marquess in allowing the Crimes Act to expire. What has changed the views of my hon. Friend? Is it the return of 85 Nationalist Members to Parliament, and the necessity of catering for their votes? We are invited to take a leap in the dark, of the result of which it is impossible to judge. I confess that I have no belief in a Government of Ireland set up in Ireland not with the consent of the whole people, but with the consent only of a majority made up of some of the elements which are now coercing the people of Ireland. Instead of blaming the noble Marquess for recommending 20 years of steady, resolute government, I say that steady, resolute government in Ireland ought to last not for 20 years, but for ever. I say we should have a Government which will protect liberty, life, and property permanently in Ireland; and until that is secured, by some means or other, we shall have a repetition or a continuance of those miserable rivalries of Parties which lead to the best interests of the Irish people being sacrificed.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR (Lord HERSCHELL): My Lords, there are certain matters on which I think all your Lordships will be agreed. There are none of us who will not desire that individual liberty should be protected and the respect of individual rights preserved. But, my Lords, I quite agree, to some extent, with what has been said about the use of the words "coercion" and "coercive legislation." I agree that it may be necessary at times that you should create an exceptional state of the law to meet an exceptional state of crime; but I do not hesitate to say that in my opinion whenever you are compelled to create an exception from that which you believe to be ordinarily the best, the most just, and the wisest law you are driven to a necessity which is an evil one, which is one only to be adopted after it cannot be possibly avoided. I admit that there are occasions on which it cannot be avoided; but I say the thing is evil in itself, and by whatever name you call it, there is a feeling that the legislation is exceptional, and that you are applying to one part of the Kingdom a law which you do not apply to the other portions. I have heard it said—"Why not apply to the whole of the United Kingdom the laws which are found necessary for Ireland?" My answer to that question is that you cannot. It would be utterly impossible for any Government in this country to propose, with the hope of meeting with the sanction of the people, to apply to the whole of the United Kingdom the laws which you apply to the Irish people. Therefore, while I do not deny that exceptional legislation may be necessary—it is admitted by the introduction of this measure—that legislation is mischievous in its results and to be avoided if possible. I think, too, that when you are driven to exceptional legislation the stronger and the more repressive you make it the more bitter is the feeling which you create against your legislation and against your administration. Exceptional legislation of this kind is an evil, because it creates, not friendship to and sympathy with the law, but hostility to it; and however great and well devised your repressive measures may be they will always have an element of failure about them. The result is to create a sympathy among the people with crime and criminals instead of a sympathy with the law and with those who administer it. That is the difficulty we have to deal with in the repressive legislation with regard to Ireland. Can your Lordships regard with satisfaction the result of this legislation and its action on Ireland for the last half-century? During this period the people have had less sympathy with the law and with those who administer it, less hostility to the criminal, and less desire to assist in discovering him. Is this a result which can possibly be regarded with satisfaction, or can it be regarded otherwise than with a feeling of the deepest regret and dismay? I do not understand my noble Friend the Secretary of State for India in the slightest degree to represent that a coercive policy had not, to some extent, at different times diminished the crime of the country. But it has never done more than diminish it. Some noble Lords have spoken as though these Acts had put an end to crime. Pass the most repressive measures you can devise to-morrow and you cannot put an end to crime in Ireland. You never have done so hitherto, and I do not believe you can. Anyone who doubts this should read the account given in this House of the condition of many parts of Ireland at the beginning of 1880, when the Peace Preservation Act was in force, and when it was administered by a resolute Government for six years, and by a Government which seemed likely to continue in Office for many years. Noble Lords will see from that debate that even with such Acts in force you cannot prevent outrage in Ireland. My noble Friend has said that it is inconsistent on the part of the Government to introduce such a measure when Ireland is not in a peaceful condition. What is the great cause of the want of peace in Ireland at the present time? Does it not consist in hostility to those who administer the law because the people have a hostility to the law itself? It is no use shutting our eyes to the fact. We may lament and deplore it, but it is only befooling ourselves if we should shut our eyes to the fact that the great majority of the people of Ireland hate the Parliamentary Union between the two countries, which enables, as they believe, a Parliament which is not in full sympathy with them to make laws for them. They believe that the laws could be made better for them if they had the power of making the laws for themselves. This feeling has shown itself many times. It has never ceased to be manifested, and it is one of the difficulties to be dealt with in Ireland. Is it inconsistent if there are those who think that it would be possible to bring about a state of things in which that sympathy with law and with the administrators of the law should exist, because that law is their own, and that they would feel sympathy with those who administered the law when it did not come to many of them in an alien garb? I submit that there is no inconsistency in that view. While it does not absolve us from the necessity of asking for such powers as are contained in this Bill, we ought not to be prevented from trying to bring about a better state of things. Surely it is a desirable end to gain if the people of Ireland can be brought to love the connection of Ireland with this country and to have a sympathy with the administration of the law. That, surely, is a great gain, and I do not wish to enter into the question how this end is sought to be attained by another measure of the Government. Her Majesty's Government are consistent in doing two things that are incumbent upon them. One is to ask for exceptional legislation in the direction in which they believe exceptional legislation necessary, and the other is to endeavour to get to the root of the evil and to bring about such a state of things as will render this legislation unnecessary in the future. It is impossible to shut one's eyes to the fact that no measure of exceptional legislation introduced was carried through Parliament without first of all intensely embittering the relations of this country with the people of Ireland. If the Government hoped that it would be possible to introduce a measure which would put matters on a better footing in Ireland, surely it would be nothing short of madness on their part as a prelude to the introduction of that measure to introduce legislation which could not be passed in a week or a month, but which would intensify the feeling of hostility to this country by large masses in the Sister Isle. That was a consideration which should not be lost sight of; and I think such a course would be in the highest degree unwise. The noble Earl has referred to the course which the Government took in 1880, and the course taken by the noble Marquess recently. I cannot admit that the two cases are at all parallel. The noble Earl who dissolved Parliament in 1880 chose his own time for the Dissolution. It was his act that dissolved the Parliament, and he did it within about a couple of months fixed for the date when the Peace Preservation Act was to expire. When the Government came in in 1880 it was absolutely impossible to renew the Peace Preservation Act before it expired; but the state of things in the spring of 1881 was absolutely different from what it was in 1880—in degree, in intensity, and in extent. During the three months after the expiration of the Act in 1880 there was no increase of crime; the increase came later than that, not from the expiring of the Peace Preservation Act at all, but from a state of things which had previously existed in a part of Ireland, and which spread by agitation from the West to the East, until it found its way over a great part of Ireland. During the three or four months following the expiration of the Act there was no increase of crime; but in the following autumn and winter there was an enormous increase. How stands the matter now? Are the two cases parallel? Lord Beaconsfield chose his own time for a Dissolution; Mr. Gladstone did not choose his own time. It is said the noble Marquess, at the beginning of this year, did just what the late Government did in 1881; he trusted to the future introduction of a measure. I should like to know what was the change in the state of things between the time when the noble Marquess came in last summer and the beginning of this year—between the time when the speeches were made last autumn with the view of showing that it was unnecessary to renew the Act and the beginning of this year? The records will show that there was no substantial change, and there is none now. Therefore, I have shown that the two cases are not parallel. I admit to the full it is the duty of those who have the reins of Government at any time to do their best to introduce such measures as will secure due regard to law in all parts of Her Majesty's Dominions. Unfortunately, to secure that completely is impossible for any Government. To secure that for Ireland has never been achieved by any Crimes Act. I venture to think that they may ultimately be found the wiser who have tried, while not failing to introduce exceptional measures, to see if they could not go deeper into the matter and remove the causes which not only intensify existing bitterness, but produce hostility to the law instead of respect for it, and sympathy with the criminal instead of the desire to bring him to justice; so that those who administer the law may come to be regarded, not as the enemies of the people, but as their friends and protectors.

Viscount CRANBROOK: The noble and learned Lord has made, as head of the law, the extraordinary statement that the people of Ireland hate the ordinary law quite as much as the exceptional law; and if we are not to pass exceptional laws, because they will not put down crime, it would seem to follow that we are not to make any attempt to put down crime at all, but are to allow larcenies and burglaries to go on unchecked, for no legislation has achieved that result completely. The value and necessity of exceptional law depends upon what it is, and whether it is addressed to exceptional crime. I am quite willing to take my share of censure, which I think is not much deserved, for not attempting to renew part of the Peace Preservation Act in 1885. I believe that it would have been simply impossible to do it in the circumstances, with a Dissolution pending. The time that would have been occupied in the House of Commons would have delayed legislation until it would have been impracticable. In condemning the late Government at the beginning of this Session, the noble Earl opposite, addressing my noble and learned Friend (Lord Ashbourne), said—"Can the Lord Chancellor now rely upon a jury in Ireland convicting a man of agrarian crime?" Has there since then been this great change of which the noble and learned Lord has spoken? Has "Boycotting" gone down? Has intimidation ceased? I should like to know on what the noble and learned Lord founded his statement that the condition of things is the same as it was last year? What was supposed to be the glory of the noble Earl's (Earl Spencer's) administration? It was that he had kept down crime and kept Ireland in a state of order. I have admitted that the noble Earl exercised his power vigilantly, honestly, and fairly. But the question now put is, What is he prepared to do to meet the existing state of things in Ireland? The noble and learned Lord on the Woolsack has evaded that question altogether. He has given us an essay on exceptional legislation and the evils it does, and at the same time has admitted by the Arms Bill now under discussion that Ireland is disturbed, and needs more than ordinary legislation. Does this Arms Bill meet "Boycotting," the maiming of cattle, and the outrages promoted by the League? The provisions of law that it has been suggested should be re-enacted are not exceptional; they exist in England and Scotland. In Scotland you may institute a judicial inquiry into an offence committed without having the culprit before you; and this provision was adopted for England under the Criminal Law Amendment Bill introduced with general assent. Here, too, we can change the venue, which is one of the most important powers that ought to be enforced in Ireland. Are we to be told we make the Irish people hostile by imposing upon them a yoke we bear ourselves? Are men to be allowed to adopt unlawful means to prevent the sale of cattle and the sending of them to market? The Government are challenged to say what they will do to protect life and property in Ireland, which they know to be deeply and injuriously affected by a criminal conspiracy which exists there. I ask the noble Earl what is he going to do? Can he say that law is enforced? Can the people say that the law is properly administered? It is no answer to say that the people are to have a new Government, which will increase their respect for the law. You have to do with the present; you are neglecting the present. The people are suffering tortures; they are losing property through your neglect. Those tenants who are honest men are afraid to pay their rent through your neglect, and the landlords are impoverished. We read in the newspapers the other day that the ladies of Ireland, many of them, are reduced to destitution, because you will not put the law into force. I see the noble Earl (the Earl of Kimberley) laughs. He probably thinks it a good laughing matter.

THE EARL OF KIMBERLEY: I beg the noble Viscount's pardon. I was laughing at an entirely different matter.

VISCOUNT CRANBROOK: I apologize to the noble Earl, but I feel strongly upon this question. It is a question on which we are bound to exercise our jurisdiction as far as we can for the protection of the loyal people who are attached to this country. We are bound, as men of honour and as men interested in the whole United Kingdom, to do all we can in order to vindicate their rights. The responsibility in this matter, it is said, rested upon us at the end of the last Session, and the noble and learned Lord has reproached us because for a long period the Peace Preservation Act was not renewed. The noble and learned Lord knows that after Parliament was up it was impossible to renew that Act; and as to the former period, when the Government went out in 1880 a Bill was already prepared and was left by my right hon. Friend (Mr. Lowther) in the Irish Office ready for introduction. My right hon. Friend was ready to introduce that Bill if we had had a Parliamentary majority. We did not get a majority; but the Bill was ready for introduction. Again, at the beginning of this Session we announced our intention to take steps to deal with that state of things which made the law in Ireland a mockery, and which made illegality the rule as against the law. We were prepared to deal with the National League. If you are not prepared to deal with the League, at least let those laws which are in force be brought into operation by means which you can use without interfering with the liberty of a single human being. It will only be the criminal who throws himself against the law who will experience anything like coercion. I call upon you as the Government to say, first of all, can you deny the statement made by the noble Earl that Ireland is in this condition, that anarchy prevails; and then say how you can sit in your places when the Arms Act will not meet the case and not tell us what are your intentions in the future?

EARL SPENCER: It is my duty to make some observations in reply to some remarks that have been made. We have been told that we have used this word "coercion" in an improper way. I confess that I have used it in speeches which I have made, but not in any way such has been described this evening. I have used it, perhaps, as a convenient and short word, and the expression, as has been said, has become a nickname. I, for one, most firmly agree with most of the remarks made upon this subject. I do not admit for a moment that, in all times and in all places, coercion is impossible. I say that at times it will be necessary to bring in exceptional measures when the law of the land cannot be enforced. I have always held that language, and shall hold it again. I cannot agree with the noble Lord opposite, nor can I follow my noble and learned Friend behind me (the Earl of Selborne), for whom I have the highest possible respect, and with whom I acted with great pleasure when we were Colleagues in the Government; but I do feel very earnestly upon this subject. I have not altered one jot or tittle of anything that I have said or felt on the subject of law and order. I feel that the maintenance of law and order is essential to the well-being of the country, and that it is the duty of the Government to try and establish law and order. No one has ever said that exceptional legislation has been ineffectual. I have repeatedly said that on nearly every occasion it has succeeded for the moment. I feel strongly, having had a long and bitter experience in Ireland, that we have put down crime from time to time effectually. But I also feel that you have never been able to succeed in winning the confidence of the Irish people to law and order; and until you succeed in that you are not gaining ground, but losing it, in Ireland. It is for that reason, and after very considerable hesitation and doubt, and with the firm conviction that I was right, that I came to the conclusion that we must leave the old paths in which we have travelled in Ireland, because when exceptional legislation terminates we are always left in a worse position than before. The word "momentous" has been used with regard to the action of the late Government. I feel that it was a momentous position which they took up, for it brought conclusively to my mind that the old policy was not continuous in Ireland, and that without continuity of policy we could not expect to do any good for the Irish people. I do not want to refer to the old subject of one Government and another having pursued one policy at one time and adopted another policy at another time. We have had too much of that. I think that the Government of the noble Marquess opposite took upon itself a grave responsibility when it did not renew certain portions of the Act. At the same time, I think he would have been perfectly justified in the course he took if he had had a new policy to recommend for Ireland. When I spoke at the beginning of the Session in the debate to which reference has been made I asked Questions on the subject, and I felt sure at the time that if the Government had no new policy they were embarking on a very dangerous course in not taking some special means to restore law and order. I quite admit what my noble Friend behind me has said, that there is still intimidation in Ireland. I lament it and deplore it. But I do not think that at this present moment there is a sufficient amount of active crime in the country to necessitate special legislation. We are now making an honest endeavour to get at the root of the evil, instead of dealing with those things which are the consequences of the ill-feeling which prevails. It is because I acknowledge the existence of social disorder that I think it is imperative to try and enter upon some new course which will have a permanent and real effect upon the state of feeling in Ireland. I thought it right to make these few observations; and I hope your Lordships will now consent to the second reading of the Bill.

Motion *agreed to;* Bill read $2^a$ accordingly.

*Moved,* "That the House do now resolve itself into Committee on the said Bill."—(*Earl Spencer.*)

EARL FORTESCUE said, he must protest against the manner in which the Bill had been delayed in its introduction into the House and was now pressed forward with unseemly haste—obliging their Lordships, for the sake of the Public Service, to give up the opportunity of discussing even the principles of the Bill more than very briefly, and its details altogether. That course was calculated to place their Lordships in a very invidious aspect before the country, as always eager at the shortest notice and without discussion to pass any Bill of a coercive character. Judging from the past, he could not believe that was accidental. On the contrary, he feared it was intentional on the part of the Prime Minister, and resulted from feelings long cherished and from time to time expressed by him about their Lordships' House. He did not doubt the sincerity of the Colonial Secretary's repeated declarations of his zeal for the honour of the House, and attributed what had happened before and now to the infinitesimal influence exercised by him and his noble Colleagues over their despotic Chief. He did not wonder at the Government's having arranged that there should be only one discussion in connection with the Bill, and that a very short one, considering how miserable a figure they had presented in the debate just closed. He considered this part of a systematic policy on the part of the Prime Minister to discredit their Lordships' House as much as possible, and to hold it up to odium in the country.

Motion *negatived:* Then Standing Order No. XXXV. *considered* (according to order), and *dispensed with:* Bill read 3$^{a}$, and *passed.*

## CROFTERS (SCOTLAND) (No. 2) BILL.

(*The Earl of Dalhousie.*)

(NO. 134.) THIRD READING.

Order of the Day for the Third Reading read.

*Moved,* "That the Bill be now read 3$^{a}$."—(*The Earl of Dalhousie.*)

THE EARL OF WEMYSS said, that he could not allow that Motion to be put without a protest. At that late hour he did not feel justified in occupying too much of their Lordships' time in discussing this question; but as he had been taught in "another place" that it was better to express an opinion distinctly and consistently, he had ventured to put down the Notice standing in his name for the rejection of the Bill. He had no hope that he should be supported in carrying his Motion to a successful issue; but it was the most emphatic way he had of giving expression to the strong feelings he held in regard to legislation of this sort. Both in their Lordships' House and in "another place," when legislation of this kind had been proposed, he had always resisted it to the best of his power. In 1870 he resisted the Land Bill, and from that date onwards he had resisted all such legislation, and the Agricultural Holdings Act, and he resisted them because he considered it was a wrong and a vicious principle to introduce into Acts of Parliament, and would fail in the object they had in view. Their Lordships had had a discussion that evening on the state of Ireland, and Her Majesty's Government had been reproached for allowing a state of things to grow up which necessitated remedial measures, and had been challenged to say what steps they intended to take in order to secure life and property in that country. But here was a Bill—the Scottish Crofters Bill—which was neither more nor less than a piece of Irish Land Bill legislation in another form, and, he ventured to think, in the worst form. It left out one of the three F's, because he supposed the crofters had not enough money wherewith to buy their holdings. The Bill, he considered, was a more mischievous Bill than the Irish Act at present on the Statute Book, and was a rapid and considerable advance on the Irish legislation, because it contained two new clauses in regard to land legislation. One of these was the principle of compulsory leasing, and the other had reference to arrears of rent, the clause providing that the Land Court should decide what was to be paid by a tenant and the time when they were to be paid, and there was nothing of the kind in the Irish Act.

THE SECRETARY FOR SCOTLAND (The Earl of DALHOUSIE): There is the Arrears Act, though.

THE EARL OF WEMYSS said, that was another question; but here was a concentrated measure by which the Government established a Land Court, which was to have the power of deciding what a debtor should pay. He protested against any such proposal, and therefore felt bound to raise his voice against it; but, as he said before, at that late hour he would not do more than enter his protest against this sort of legislation, which he considered impolitic and mischievous, and in order that his protest might be recorded he would move the rejection of the Bill.

Amendment *moved,* to leave out ("now,") and add at the end of the Motion ("this day six months.")—(*The Earl of Wemyss.*)

On Question, That ("now") stand part of the Motion?

*Resolved* in the *affirmative.*

Bill read 3ª accordingly.

On Question, That the Bill do pass?

THE EARL OF WEMYSS begged to move an Amendment to the effect that the rent fixed by the Land Court should be collected by a Revenue officer. He thought that as the Government had taken his property out of the landlord's possession they ought to collect the rent.

Amendment *moved,*

At end of Clause 6 add—"(3.) The rent fixed by the Land Commission shall be collected and paid over to the landlord by the officers of the Inland Revenue free of all charge for such collection."—(*The Earl of Wemyss.*)

Amendment *negatived.*

Bill *passed,* and sent to the Commons; and to be *printed* as amended. (No. 139.)

### STATE OF IRELAND—POLICE PROTECTION.—QUESTION.

THE EARL OF LONGFORD asked the Lord President of the Council, How many Judges and other high officials of the Civil Service in Ireland were now, or had lately been, under special police protection?

THE LORD PRESIDENT (Earl SPENCER) said, there were still a number of Judges and officials receiving a certain amount of police protection, as they had done in the past.

### SEA FISHING BOATS (SCOTLAND) BILL [H.L.]

A Bill to amend the Law relating to Sea Fishing Boats in Scotland—Was *presented* by The Earl of DALHOUSIE; read 1ª. (No. 140.)

House adjourned at a quarter before
Nine o'clock, to Friday next, a
quarter past Ten o'clock.

## HOUSE OF COMMONS,

*Tuesday, 1st June,* 1886.

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MINUTES.]—PUBLIC BILLS — *Ordered — First Reading*—Quarries Regulation * [250]; Conveyancing Scotland Acts Amendment * [251]; Poor Law Loans and Relief (Scotland) * [252].

*First Reading*—Municipal Corporations (Scheme Confirmation) * [247].

*Second Reading*—Government of Ireland [181] [*Ninth Night*], *debate further adjourned.*

*Select Committee*—Railway Regulation * [97], *nominated.*

*Committee—Report*—International and Colonial Copyright * [156].

*Considered as amended* — Jurors' Detention [202].

*Considered as amended—Third Reading*—Losses by Riot (Compensation) * [209], and *passed.*

PROVISIONAL ORDER BILLS—*Second Reading*—Local Government (Ireland) (Fermoy) * [226]; Local Government (Ireland) (Public Health Act) * [239]; Local Government (County Divisions) * [225]; Local Government (Gas) * [222]; Local Government (Highways) * [235]; Local Government (Poor Law) (No. 7) * [236]; Local Government (No. 3) * [223]; Local Government (No. 4) * [224]; Local Government (No. 5) * [237]; Local Government (No. 6) * [238]; Tramways (No. 3) * [213].

## QUESTIONS.

### LOCAL TAXATION—THE COUNTY RATE — INCIDENCE OF PAYMENT BY TOWNS HAVING QUARTER SESSIONS.

MR. POWELL WILLIAMS (Birmingham, S.) asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, When he will institute the inquiry recently promised into the subject of the contributions to the County Rate now paid by towns having separate Quarter Sessions?

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. BROADHURST) (Birmingham, Bordesley) (who replied) said: The question as to the best method of instituting this inquiry is at the present moment engaging the attention of the Secretary of State. He hopes in a short time to be able to make some definite arrangement.

### TRADE AND COMMERCE — REPORTS AND SUGGESTIONS FROM INDIAN AND COLONIAL CHAMBERS OF COMMERCE.

MR. HOWARD VINCENT (Sheffield, Central) asked the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, If the Chambers of Commerce throughout the Colonial Dominions of the Empire have been informed of the desire expressed by the Imperial Foreign Office to receive suggestions, from bodies and persons interested in British trade, as to the manner in which the services of Her Majesty's

Diplomatic and Consular Officers could be turned to the best advantage for its promotion and extension?

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. OSBORNE MORGAN) (Denbighshire, E.): The Colonial Office does not communicate directly with the Chambers of Commerce in the Colonial Dominions of the Empire; but we propose calling the attention of the Governments of the Colonies in which there are such Bodies to the question raised by the hon. Member, and they will, no doubt, put themselves in communication with their own Chambers of Commerce, and report to Her Majesty's Government any recommendations received from them on the subject.

MR. HOWARD VINCENT (Sheffield, Central) asked the Under Secretary of State for India, If the Chambers of Commerce in the Indian Empire have been informed of the desire expressed by the Imperial Foreign Office to receive suggestions, from bodies and persons interested in British trade, as to the manner in which the services of Her Majesty's Diplomatic and Consular Officers could be turned to the best advantage for its promotion and extension?

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. STAFFORD HOWARD) (Gloucester, Thornbury): The Chambers of Commerce in India have not yet been communicated with in reference to this matter; but the Government of India will be requested to invite an expression of the views of the Chambers and of other Commercial Bodies on the subject.

## REPUBLIC OF HAYTI—IMPRISONMENT OF A BRITISH SUBJECT.

MR. F. W. MACLEAN (Oxford, Woodstock) asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether the attention of Her Majesty's Government has been directed to the case of one F. B. Coles, a British subject resident in the Republic of Hayti, and now undergoing a sentence of three years' imprisonment at Port au Prince; whether a representation has been made to the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs by a number of British subjects in Hayti to the effect that the said F. B. Coles is innocent of the offence with which he was charged, and that he did not obtain a fair and impartial trial in the Criminal Court at Port au Prince; whether, notwithstanding the intervention and protests of Her Majesty's Consul at Port au Prince, the authorities of the said Republic refuse to take any action in the matter, either in the way of releasing the said F. B. Coles or otherwise; and, whether Her Majesty's Government, if satisfied of the innocence of the said F. B. Coles, will demand, at the hands of the authorities of Hayti, his immediate release, and redress for the wrong to which, it is alleged, he has been subjected?

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. BRYCE) (Aberdeen, S.): I must refer my hon. and learned Friend to the reply I gave yesterday—Monday—to a Question on this subject by the right hon. Baronet the Member for Hampstead (Sir Henry Holland), and in which I stated that Her Majesty's Government, believing that justice had not been done in the case of Mr. Coles, were about to despatch a Commissioner to Hayti to call the serious attention of the Haytian Government to the case of Coles, as well as to the complaints and representations received from British subjects on this and other acts of oppression and denial of justice.

## THE MAGISTRACY (IRELAND)—ELECTION OF A PETTY SESSIONS CLERK, CO. CAVAN.

MR. A. BLANE (Armagh, S.) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether, in the election of a Petty Sessions clerk for the district of Virginia, county Cavan, the voting will be confined to the magistrates of the district, or be open to the magistrates of the county?

THE CHIEF SECRETARY (Mr. JOHN MORLEY) (Newcastle-on-Tyne), in reply, said, only those magistrates who resided within the district to be served by the clerk, and those who were in the habit of attending the Petty Sessions were entitled to vote in the election.

## THE ENSILAGE COMMISSION—THE EXPENSES.

MR. THOROLD ROGERS (Southwark, Bermondsey) asked the Secretary to the Treasury, Whether it is true that the Lords of the Treasury have refused to incur the cost of collecting evidence by the Ensilage Commission, which evidence has been printed and circulated among Members by order of the House?

THE SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY (Mr. HENRY H. FOWLER) (Wolverhampton, E.): The inquiry of the private Ensilage Commission, of which Lord Walsingham was Chairman, was not an official investigation; and the Treasury, therefore, did not feel justified in contributing to its cost.

### ROYAL IRISH CONSTABULARY—THE RATHFRILAND POLICE.

MR. SMALL (Down, S.) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether, for some time since until lately, it has invariably been arranged that either the district inspector or the head constable stationed at Rathfriland, county Down, should be a Catholic; whether, very recently, this arrangement has been departed from, and both these officers are now Protestants; whether Head Constable Smith attends "Loyal Minority" meetings as a partisan, although not required to attend when on duty; whether Rathfriland is a town in which party spirit runs high; and, whether, under those circumstances, it is intended to continue the present system, or revert to the former one, which worked so satisfactorily?

THE CHIEF SECRETARY (Mr. JOHN MORLEY) (Newcastle-on-Tyne): For some years until quite recently the District Inspector and the Head Constable in the Rathfriland district have been of different creeds. At present they are both Protestants—one an Episcopalian and the other a Presbyterian. The Inspector General is of opinion that the work will be impartially performed under the existing arrangement; and if he sees any necessity for doing so he will at once alter the arrangement. The Head Constable attended the meeting referred to in the Question; but he did so on duty, and under instructions. I believe that Party spirit runs pretty high in that district.

### INLAND REVENUE DEPARTMENT—SALARIES.

MR. PICKERSGILL (Bethnal Green, S.W.) asked the Secretary to the Treasury, Whether it is contemplated to raise the salaries of the Chief Secretary of Excise, the Controller of Stamps and Stores, and the Chief Inspector of Stamps and Taxes by the sum of £200 per annum a-piece, although each of these officers is already in receipt of a salary of £1,000 or upwards; and, whether he will give an assurance that, before these salaries are increased, he will lay upon the Table of the House Papers containing the reasons of the Commissioners of Inland Revenue for recommending such increase?

THE SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY (Mr. HENRY H. FOWLER) (Wolverhampton, E.): The increase of salaries referred to by the hon. Member is not contemplated.

### THE ADMIRALTY—PAY OF COASTGUARDSMEN.

COLONEL KING-HARMAN (Kent, Isle of Thanet) asked the Secretary to the Admiralty, Whether coastguardsmen who, if they had remained in the active service of the Fleet, would be entitled to twopence extra per diem, receive that extra sum when they are called upon to go on active service; and, if this is not the case, what reason there is why these men should receive less daily pay than their shipmates; and, whether steps will be taken to remedy this injustice?

THE SECRETARY (Mr. HIBBERT) (Oldham): In reply to the hon. and gallant Member, I can only say that it is not considered there is any sufficient reason for granting the additional 2*d.* per day to Coastguardsmen when called out for the short summer cruise. It is well understood that one of the conditions of service in the Coastguard is that men will have to keep up their seafaring qualities by short cruises of this kind. If Coastguardsmen are called out for active service in case of emergency they would be entitled to the re-engaged pay; but in that case their service would be beyond the conditions of a summer cruise. It is to be remembered that while they are afloat their wives and families are still inhabiting free quarters at home, which is not the case with the men with whom a comparison is sought to be established. I may add that the Coastguard Service is very popular, so much so that it has been found necessary to make the qualifications for appointment more stringent.

### ROYAL IRISH CONSTABULARY—SEIZURES FOR RENT IN KERRY.

MR. SHEEHAN (Kerry, E.) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether he is aware that, on the 22nd April, in the division of Coom and Headford, county Kerry, two parties of police under command of two head constables accompanied the sheriff on eviction duty and for seizure for rent; whether a policeman named Mahony assaulted a woman with his rifle, and kicked and otherwise ill-treated her while down; and, if a man in the employment of the Great Southern and Western Railway Company, whose only offence was keeping his cattle aside, got knocked down and had to get medical aid for ten days; whether Mahony is a native of Knocknagree, county Cork, adjacent to district in which seizures were made; and, if so, whether his removal to a more distant district would not be in accordance with the spirit of the police rules; and, if, in the interest of justice (twenty-two persons being injured), an independent inquiry should be held into the circumstances, there being no responsible officer in charge of about twenty policemen, who acted on that occasion without orders?

THE CHIEF SECRETARY (Mr. JOHN MORLEY) (Newcastle-on-Tyne): On the date in question a force of 26 police, in charge of a Head Constable, was engaged in protecting sheriffs' bailiffs who made seizures for rent. There was considerable excitement, and an attempt was made to rescue the seizures. It is not the case that Constable Mahony assaulted a woman with his rifle. The constable was not armed with a rifle, and the police are not aware that any woman was assaulted on the occasion. A man who is not in the employment of the Great Southern and Western Railway Company, but who happened to be planting potatoes for one of their stationmasters that day, joined the mob, and received some injuries, when, eventually, the police were obliged to charge, for which he has since been under medical treatment. Constable Mahony is a native of Knocknagree, county Cork, which is near the district where the seizures were made; but he belongs to the County Kerry Force, and there is nothing in the Regulations requiring his removal to another county. As I have explained, the police were in charge of a Head Constable, an officer who ranks next to a District Inspector. There do not appear to be any grounds for an inquiry.

## POST OFFICE CONTRACTS—CONVEYANCE OF MAILS TO INDIA.

MR. R. T. REID (Aston Manor) asked the Secretary to the Treasury, If the contracts for the conveyance of mails to India have been let for a period of years; and if he can state the terms and the names of the successful contractors?

THE SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY (Mr. HENRY H. FOWLER) (Wolverhampton, E.): No decision has yet been come to upon the tenders lately sent in for the Indian Mail Service.

## ADMIRALTY—NAVAL VOLUNTEERS.

SIR WHITTAKER ELLIS (Surrey, Kingston) asked the Secretary to the Admiralty, Whether their Lordships propose accepting the offer made by the Port of Great Yarmouth to raise a corps of Naval Volunteers for local defence?

THE SECRETARY TO THE ADMIRALTY (Mr. HIBBERT) (Oldham): In reply to the hon. Baronet, I have to say that the Board of Admiralty have considered the offer of the Port of Great Yarmouth to raise a corps of Naval Volunteers for local defence, and are prepared to accept it.

## CHARITY COMMISSIONERS — TUNBRIDGE SCHOOL ENDOWMENTS.

SIR JULIAN GOLDSMID (St. Pancras, S.) asked the Vice President of the Committee of Council, Whether a request was presented to him, as Chairman of the Endowed Schools Committee, by the Tunbridge Local Board, on behalf of the inhabitants of that town, praying the Committee to receive evidence from gentlemen appointed on their behalf, on the subject of the decision of the Charity Commissioners with regard to the school endowments at Tunbridge; and, whether this request was refused; and, if so, upon what ground?

THE VICE PRESIDENT (Sir LYON PLAYFAIR) (Leeds, S.): A request was received by me, as Chairman of the Endowed Schools Committee, to receive evidence from persons on behalf of the Tunbridge Local Board relating to the School Endowments at Tunbridge. The decision as to the locality of that school was made by the Charity Commissioners in the exercise of their jurisdiction under the Charitable Trusts Acts, and not under the Endowed Schools Acts, and was not within the reference to the Committee by the House. Even had this not been the case, Tunbridge School was not among the selected typical schools to which the Committee confined their inquiry as illustrations of the working of the Endowed Schools Act.

### GOVERNMENT OF IRELAND BILL—THE ARCHIVES OF DUBLIN CASTLE.

MR. MITCHELL HENRY (Glasgow, Blackfriars) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether, if the Government of Ireland Bill becomes Law, the new Irish Government will be entitled to become the custodian of the Archives of Dublin Castle, including the inquiries into murders, outrages, treason, and other felonies during the past seven years, some of which resulted in public prosecutions and some not; and, if so, what protection the Government intends to give to those persons who, either voluntarily or involuntarily, have been concerned in such inquiries?

THE CHIEF SECRETARY (Mr. JOHN MORLEY) (Newcastle-on-Tyne): The subject of the records in the custody of the Irish Government is one of very considerable and obvious importance, and has not escaped our attention. An Act of Parliament dealing with the custody of Irish records was passed in 1867. We consider that, under the circumstances supposed in the Question, new legislation will be necessary; and in the preparation of the clauses aiming at that legislation the matters referred to in the Question will not be left out of sight.

### WAR DEPARTMENT—REGIMENTAL BANDS AT PUBLIC FESTIVALS.

MR. LABOUCHERE (Northampton) asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether he has observed a statement in *The Times*, that the band of the Coldstream Guards played a selection of airs at a dinner given by the Grocers' Company on Saturday last to commemorate the restoration of Charles the Second, at which dinner the speeches were of an essentially party character; and, whether, in view of his statement a short time ago, that enrolled soldiers in uniform ought not to take part at party demonstrations, he will take steps to give effect to this statement?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN) (Stirling, &c.): I do not think that any blame can attach to the officer commanding the Coldstream Guards for allowing the band of the regiment to be hired to play at this dinner. He could not be expected to detect anything political in an ordinary City feast, and the celebration of the restoration of Charles II. would appear to be entirely unconnected with the Party politics of the present day. The blame would seem rather to rest upon the after-dinner speakers, who succeeded in giving a Party character to the occasion; but my hon. Friend should remember the conditions under which their speeches were delivered. At all events, the soldiers were not responsible for what was said; and I would even express a hope that, according to usual custom, after having enlivened with their music the successive courses of the dinner, they may have been spared the necessity of listening to the toasts which followed.

### GOLD AND SILVER PLATE IN THE COLONIAL EXHIBITION—CUSTOMS DUTY—DEALERS' LICENCES.

MR. KIMBER (Wandsworth) asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Whether the fact of the Foreign gold and silver plate now in the Colonial Exhibition not having been charged with Customs Duty is accidental or intentional; if accidental, whether it is the intention of Her Majesty's Government to treat the Colonial Exhibition as a bonded warehouse, and to claim payment upon all goods liable to Duty prior to their delivery to purchasers; if intentional, whether it is a legal proceeding on the part of the Customs authorities, under existing legislation in regard to the trades in the precious metals; whether Her Majesty's Government will direct that all persons trading for their livelihood in gold and silver plate, outside of the Colonial Exhibition, should be placed upon an equality with those exhibiting and dealing inside the Exhibition, or else that the latter do pay the usual charge of £5 15*s.* for a licence; and, whether Her Majesty's Government will consider whether the time has arrived when such Duty should be finally abolished?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT) (Derby), in reply, said, duty would have to be paid on all dutiable goods, and the law which required licences to be taken out applied as much within the Colonial Exhibition as outside.

### ADMIRALTY—TACTICAL EVOLUTIONS IN SPEED.

COMMANDER BETHELL (York, E.R., Holderness) asked the Secretary to the Admiralty, Why Her Majesty's fleets or squadrons of armoured vessels are never exercised at ordinary tactical evolutions at full speed or at very high speed; and, if the Officers commanding Her Majesty's fleets and squadrons have power so to exercise the vessels under their command should they think fit?

THE SECRETARY TO THE ADMIRALTY (Mr. HIBBERT) (Oldham), in reply, said, that the squadrons were exercised at such high speed as would be deemed advisable in time of action. The officers had full power to exercise their discretion in such matters.

COMMANDER BETHELL asked why, if it was expected that full speed would not be required in time of action, so much money was spent upon machinery for attaining it?

MR. HIBBERT said, that if a Commanding Officer thought that full speed was necessary in time of action he would be enabled to use it.

### ADMIRALTY—H.M.SS. "NILE" AND "TRAFALGAR."

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE (Bradford, Central) asked the Secretary to the Admiralty, Whether it is true that the late Chief Constructor, Sir Nathaniel Barnaby, presented a Report to the late Board of Admiralty, on behalf of himself and the other Constructors of the Admiralty, disapproving the designs for the two ironclads, the *Nile* and the *Trafalgar*; whether, subsequently, the late Chief Constructor and the present Chief Constructor presented a Memorandum to the late Board adverse to the adoption of the designs for these two vessels, disclaiming responsibility for them, and recommending that a Committee similar to that of 1871 should be appointed to consider and advise what should be types of large vessels of war before embarking on further construction of them; and, whether he will lay these Reports upon the Table of the House, and will state on whose responsibility the designs for these vessels were approved by the late Board of Admiralty?

THE SECRETARY TO THE ADMIRALTY (Mr. HIBBERT) (Oldham): It is a fact that the late Chief Constructor of the Navy presented a confidential Report to the late Board of Admiralty on behalf of himsef and the other constructors criticizing the designs of the iron-clads *Nile* and *Trafalgar*. Subsequently the late Chief Constructor and the present Chief Constructor sent a Memorandum to the late First Lord of the Admiralty on the subject of these two ships. The communication, however, was not of an official character, and did not, so far as I am aware, pass through any of the Departments of the Office. The designs of these two vessels were approved by the late Board of Admiralty on the responsibility of the late Controller of the Navy. As my right hon. Friend has himself held high Office at the Admiralty, I feel sure he will understand that it is quite impossible to present to Parliament Reports of the nature referred to.

### PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS—EXPENSES OF CANDIDATES.

MR. LABOUCHERE (Northampton) asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether, in view of the fact that appeals for funds to conduct the next General Election are being openly made to the rich, he will, in order to enable candidates to stand whose private means are small, introduce a Bill to secure to the constituencies full freedom in the selection of candidates, by throwing the necessary expenses of Parliamentary Elections upon the entire community?

THE FIRST LORD (Mr. W. E. GLADSTONE) (Edinburgh, Mid Lothian): I suppose when my hon. Friend speaks of throwing the necessary expenses of elections upon the entire community he means the local community. [Mr. LABOUCHERE: Yes.] I am not in a position to enter into any engagement with respect to the introduction of any Bill dealing with this subject; but I am friendly to the principle of such a Bill as that indicated in the Question. I should be glad to vote for it on any appropriate occasion. I would go one step further, for I think it very hard on the working classes, in a country which is so liberal as to make provision for a number of political pensions to salaried public officers, which pensions are often held by men of birth and station, that in the same country, when labouring men desire to return a Member of their own class, they should have to pay the expenses of his election and likewise support him, at least presumably, while in the discharge of his public duty.

Mr.. T. P. O'CONNOR (Liverpool, Scotland) asked the right hon. Gentleman, If he was aware that a Bill had already been introduced by the hon. Member for Central Finsbury (Mr. Howard Spensley) providing for a renewal of the ancient and Constitutional practice of the payment of Members of Parliament; and, whether he would be disposed to give facilities for that Bill being brought before the House, so as to give them an opportunity of expressing an opinion upon it?

Mr. W. E. GLADSTONE: I am afraid the same consideration which prevented me from giving any encouragement to the introduction of a Bill on the subject of the necessary election expenses must prevent me giving any pledge with regard to affording facilities for the Bill referred to.

Mr. T. M. HEALY (Londonderry, S.) reminded the Prime Minister that there stood on the Orders for Thursday a Bill which provided for the reduction of the scale of Returning Officers' charges by about 35 per cent lower than they were at present. If that measure were adopted it would reduce the cost of elections in a very material degree, and he asked the Prime Minister whether the Government would support that Bill?

Mr. W. E. GLADSTONE: That I take to be a different case. So far as I understand the matter, there was an agreement on the subject of Returning Officers' charges in Ireland, and I am under the impression that there is a similar agreement with regard to Returning Officers' charges in Scotland; but there has not been the same careful provision made in the existing law in the case of Ireland and Scotland as in the case of England. If that is so, I should regard a case of that kind as proper to be dealt with.

## GOVERNMENT OF IRELAND BILL—THE MEETING AT THE FOREIGN OFFICE.

Mr. INCE (Islington, E.): I beg to ask the Prime Minister a Question of which I have given him private Notice, Whether he is aware that statements have been made to the effect that, by his speech on the Motion of the right hon. Member for West Bristol (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach) on Friday last, he intended to withdraw from or vary the position taken up by the Government at the meeting at the Foreign Office on the previous day; and whether there is any truth in such statement?

The FIRST LORD (Mr. W. E. Gladstone) (Edinburgh, Mid Lothian): I became aware from the newspapers this morning that such a statement had been made, otherwise I should have been rather slow to believe it. I have, in consequence, spent a little time in examining the reports—which I believe are accurate—of the speech I made on Thursday and of the speech on Friday. I abide by both of those speeches, and I am not aware of any discrepancy between them. There is, therefore, no proof whatever of any such variation as that alluded to by the hon. and learned Gentleman.

## DRAINAGE LOANS (IRELAND).

Colonel NOLAN (Galway, N.) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If tenants are at present liable to any payments for new drainage charges; and, if so, will he take steps to obtain representation for tenants on Drainage Boards?

The CHIEF SECRETARY (Mr. John Morley) (Newcastle-on-Tyne): I understand that proprietors only are charged with the repayment of loans under the Drainage Acts; but that there is a power in the Board of Works to fix the amount of increased rent which a tenant shall pay to his landlord in respect of the improvement effected in his holding by the drainage. In the Arterial Drainage and Land Improvement Bill introduced last Session and the Session before, but not passed, the Government proposed that tenants might, under certain conditions, become electors of members of Drainage Boards, and also be elected members of such Boards. The measure was in charge of the Secretary to the Treasury, and inquiries as to its fate or prospects had better be addressed to him.

## *ORDERS OF THE DAY.*

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### GOVERNMENT OF IRELAND BILL.—[BILL 181.]

(*Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Secretary Childers, Mr. John Morley, Mr. Attorney General.*)

SECOND READING. [ADJOURNED DEBATE.]

[NINTH NIGHT.]

Order read, for resuming Adjourned Debate on Amendment proposed to Question [10th May], "That the Bill be now read a second time."

And which Amendment was, to leave out the word "now," and at the end of the Question to add the words "upon this day six months."—(*The Marquess of Hartington.*)

Question again proposed, "That the word 'now' stand part of the Question."

Debate *resumed.*

MR. JOSEPH CHAMBERLAIN (Birmingham, W.): Mr. Speaker, in resuming the debate upon this measure, I shall endeavour, as far as possible, to avoid any barren repetition of arguments with which the House is already familiar. I hope it may not be necessary for me to occupy the time of the House at any very great length; and I must ask those hon. Members who in the course of the discussion have devoted a considerable portion of their speeches to personal references to myself to excuse me if upon this occasion, at all events, I do not reply to them. Those personal references—some of them humorous, as in the case of my hon. Friend the Member for Northampton (Mr. Labouchere), and some of them very bitter—may tend to relieve the monotony of the debate; but I think they are below the level of the great Constitutional discussion in which we are called upon to take part—for, Sir, it is a great controversy in which we are now engaged. It has been admitted by the Government that their proposals are the gravest and the most startling that have been presented to Parliament during the life of the present generation. On the one hand, we have the Government honestly and sincerely believing that these proposals will bring about a final and friendly settlement of the difficulties which have existed for centuries between Ireland and Great Britain, and which have acted so injuriously to the interests of both countries alike. That is a settlement which may well evoke passionate enthusiasm, and to accomplish which effectually would be the crowning glory of an illustrious career. On the other hand, those who oppose this measure believe with equal honesty and with equal conviction that they form an irretrievable and fatal step, which will lead to animosities more dangerous than any with which we have hitherto had to deal, which will destroy the influence and power of the United Kingdom, which have been so often exerted to promote the freedom and civilization of the world, and which will postpone indefinitely measures of domestic reform and progress if the complications which we anticipate should unfortunately result from this legislation. I do not say now which of these alternative hopes and fears have the better foundation. All I ask my hon. Friends to admit is that at least the decision which we are called upon to take is one of momentous importance, and that no man can rid himself of his responsibility in this matter to form and to act upon an independent judgment altogether without reference to any personal considerations. There has been in some quarters a desire to minimize the importance of the decision which we have to take. We have been told that the Bill is dead, and almost in the words of Shakespeare we have been asked to—

> "Vex not his ghost; O, let him pass! he hates
> him much
> That would upon the rack of this tough world
> Stretch him out of longer."

We are advised that under these circumstances to vote for this dead Bill will be only a matter of form; and that it may be treated either as a Vote of Confidence in the Government or as a vote upon an abstract Resolution, defining and accepting the principle of the Bill, but not committing us in the slightest degree in our actions upon any other measure which may hereafter be presented. Well, Sir, I do not think that the Government—I do not believe that the Prime Minister—would accept a vote upon that understanding or upon these conditions. The Government have had two courses before them. They might, if they had seen fit, have withdrawn this Bill altogether, and they might have submitted a Resolution affirming the principle, in the language of the Prime Minister. If they had done that I should have voted for the Resolution without hesitation. But, at the same time, I have to point out that, although for the time it might have united the Party, still the result would hardly have been satisfactory. What is the principle of the Bill which we should have voted for by such a Resolution, as it has been defined by the Prime Minister? It is the establishment of a Legislative Authority in Ireland to deal with exclusively Irish affairs. Well, Sir, that is, as I have said, a principle which I could cordially accept; but it seems to me that that is very vague and indefinite, and would leave us all a very large discretion. A Resolution of that kind would be consistent, for instance, with the establishment of a Parliament like Grattan's Parliament, with a separate Exchequer, with separate Customs and Excise, and practically an independent and a co-ordinate Legislative Authority. On the other hand, it would equally, in my judgment, be consistent with the establishment of some system of National Councils, purely subordinate in their character, and with very limited and strictly defined powers of legislation. I say that a Resolution of the kind I have named would be consistent with either hypothesis; and, as I have mentioned a National Council, may I say one word in reference to the speech which was made late last night by the hon. Member for Dublin City (Mr. Dwyer Gray)? I do not see him in his place; but he was on that occasion very severe on what he called my proposals for National Councils as they appeared in an article in *The Fortnightly Review*, which, in the first instance, he attributed to me. Sir, the hon. Member knows a good deal about that article. He knows who wrote it, and he knows that I did not. He knows that although I committed myself unhesitatingly to the principle of National Councils, yet the details of the scheme were supplied to me from an Irish source, and the hon. Member knows well what that source was. At the time the article appeared the hon. Member wrote articles in *The Freeman's Journal*, which he was good enough to send to me, and in those articles he gave to those proposals a much more cordial reception than he vouchsafed to them last night. And the hon. Member, I believe, knows—and if he does not I will tell him—that I have irrefutable and incontrovertible evidence that those proposals at the time they were made received the approval and support of distinguished members of the Nationalist Party. [Mr. T. M. Healy: O'Shea.] I have pointed out that such an abstract Resolution as has sometimes been suggested would be capable of this diverse interpretation. But the second course which the Government have before them is the course which they have actually taken. They have asked us, in the words of the Prime Minister himself, to give a vote which he has always placed in contrast to an abstract Resolution, and which must, therefore, be assumed to have more meaning than an abstract Resolution would have—to give a vote in reference to a Bill before the House, from the principle and the purpose and the main outlines of which the Government have stated that they cannot possibly depart. Well, Sir, after the meeting at the Foreign Office the other day, some of us hoped that the Bill was dead; and not only that it was dead, but that it would never be revived again in its present shape. We hoped that advantage would be taken of the interval which we expected would be given to recast and remodel this measure. We hoped that that might be done, in view of the discussion which has taken place, and with the desire which I, for my part, believe the Prime Minister sincerely has to meet the wishes of many of his supporters and the objections which they have taken. If this had been the case we might have abstained, at all events, from active opposition. We should have felt that we were absolutely uncommitted to consider a new measure when it was brought before us; and if there was any reason to anticipate in October that we should be all once more in agreement, then we might have taken upon ourselves the responsibility—and it would have been a grave responsibility—of leaving this question in abeyance, in spite of the danger to public order and the destruction of all public thought and business which such a Bill would be likely to cause in Ireland. But if ever we entertained such a hope, that hope has vanished. The Prime Minister has just stated that he sees no inconsistency between the speech which he made in the House on Friday and the speech which he delivered at the Foreign Office. I listened to one of these speeches. I have read them both again and again, and I entirely agree that, to my mind, they both express precisely the same ideas, and almost in the same language. Possibly, there may be a little development in the speech of Friday; but there is nothing in the slightest degree inconsistent with the speech on Thursday. And this is what I gather from those two speeches. In the first place, the Bill is not to be remodelled and is not to be reconstructed. In the second place, the Bill is not dead; it is in a state of suspended animation, and it is to be re-introduced in October. In the third place, no changes will be accepted by the Government in the Bill which are inconsistent with the scope and purpose and main lines of the Bill. And, in the last place, while the Bill itself is not to be reconstructed or remodelled, only certain clauses are to be reconstructed, especially the 24th clause, and that exclusively with reference to one point in the Bill—namely, the maintenance of the Irish representation. I believe I have stated almost the exact words of the Prime Minister. It is clear to my mind that anyone who now votes for the second reading of this Bill will be logically and honourably committed to vote for the second reading of a similar Bill, or of the same Bill if it should be re-introduced in October next. And not only so, but he is committed to something more than the principle of the Bill as it has been defined by the Prime Minister. He is committed to the main lines—that is to say, the general plan of the Bill. [Mr. GLADSTONE dissented; and *cries of* "No, no!"] Well, this is the view I take. I cannot understand what the "main lines" of a Bill mean if they do not mean what I stated. My right hon. Friend the Prime Minister said at the Foreign Office—

> "Of course, we should have the advantage of considering any other method which might appear useful, and it is very possible that that might aid in carrying out the principle and the purpose of the Bill and its main outlines, from which I cannot hold out any expectation of our departing."

[Mr. GLADSTONE: Outlines.] I see I have made a slight mistake; but I think the alteration will go far to confirm the impression which I have already stated. I said "main lines;" it should have been "outlines;" but the word "outlines" still more clearly defines, in my mind, what I think the Prime Minister had in his mind—namely, that if you commit yourselves to the second reading of this Bill you are committed to the general scope and plan of the Bill. It does not mean that you are committed to all the details of the Bill, or to all the clauses; but the Bill affords a method of carrying out the principle, and you are committed to the outlines of that method by voting for the second reading. If that is the state of the case, what is our position? We have to consider—I hope I have considered with a due sense of the responsibility attaching to every hon. Member who has to vote on this question—whether the alterations which the Prime Minister has offered to us to meet our objections in regard to this one point of the Bill do cover those objections. Those alterations have entire reference to the question of the maintenance of Irish representation in this House. And here I must just turn aside for a moment to notice a remark which was made in the very able, eloquent, and interesting speech of my hon. and learned Friend the Attorney General (Sir Charles Russell). I listened to that speech with a great deal of delight and interest; but there was one point in it to which I take exception. He accused me of inconsistency in this matter, because he said that, in 1874, I advocated the exclusion of Irish Members from this Assembly—[Mr. T. P. O'CONNOR: So you did.]—whereas now I am urging their retention. Well, Sir, that is an entire mistake. I never in 1874, nor at any other time, advocated the exclusion of Irish Members from Westminster; and I will tell my hon. and learned Friend how this mistake has arisen. I was then engaged in the General Election at Sheffield. My right hon. Friend the President of the Board of Trade (Mr. Mundella) stood against Home Rule, I in favour of it. He won the seat, and I lost it. Well, Sir, in the course of that campaign I had to make, I think, about 30 speeches, and I had to answer, as the custom is at Sheffield, hundreds and hundreds of questions; and it is upon a misreported answer to one of these hundreds of questions that the misapprehension of my hon. and learned Friend has been founded. But anyone who cares to go back to this ancient history will find the whole tenour and gist of all my speeches were in favour of the federal system on the lines—though not committing myself to the detail—of Mr. Butt's proposal; and, as everybody knows, Mr. Butt was a strenuous advocate of the full and complete representation of Ireland in the Imperial Parliament. The mistake was merely the report of an answer to a question, not a speech, and how the mistake arose I cannot say at this distance of time; but I am absolutely certain I never said anything of the kind. I hope that will clear me of any charge of personal inconsistency, although really it is a very small matter. I do not think it is necessarily political virtue that a statesman should be absolutely consistent, because I should admit—I mean to say it is very often the duty of a statesman to alter his opinions in altered circumstances; but, as a matter of fact, my record is clear in this matter. I have always held the same language on this Irish question that I hold to-day; and it does seem to me a strange thing that some of my hon. Friends should be so anxious to convict me of inconsistency, and of having changed an opinion which I expressed 12 years ago, when there is hardly one of them to-day who holds the opinions which he entertained less than 12 weeks ago. Well, Sir, why do we lay so much stress on this point of the representation of Ireland? It is not a merely technical point—it is not even the delight we take in the society of hon. Gentlemen opposite. We have always laid stress upon this, because we have said the effect of the Bill was that it not only created a Parliament in Dublin, but would also destroy the Imperial Parliament at Westminster. We have said and maintain that the retention of the Imperial Parliament in its present form and authority is necessary for the unity of the Empire, and that without the representation of Ireland you cannot have a Parliament at Westminster which will exercise anything like an effective or authoritative supremacy. We are anxious for the supremacy of the Imperial Parliament. I put this to hon. Gentlemen opposite. I do not think they agree with me; but let them bear in mind that this is the issue raised by this Bill. If they do not want the Imperial Parliament to be supreme they are right in voting for it. If they do want it to be supreme they will fail in their purpose. I want to read a passage from the speech of my right hon. Friend the Prime Minister. I am not going to impute to him the slightest inconsistency. I believe he has never wavered the least himself in reference to the language I am going to quote; and I believe he would speak now in exactly the same words. I only quote them because they express in better language than I could command the idea I wish to convey. This is an extract from a speech of my right hon. Friend delivered at Dalkeith in December, 1879. The right hon. Gentleman says—

> "One limit, and one limit only, I know to the extension of local government. It is this. Nothing can be done, in my opinion, by any wise statesman or right-minded Briton to weaken or compromise the authority of the Imperial Parliament, because the Imperial Parliament must be supreme within these three Kingdoms, and nothing that creates a doubt upon that supremacy can be tolerated by any intelligent and patriotic man."

That exactly expresses the opinion which I hold and which I want to impress upon the House. But is there any man here who can maintain that this Bill does not weaken the supremacy of the Imperial Parliament—that does not throw doubt upon it? [*Cries of* "No, no!"] I hear some hon. Gentlemen opposite say "No!" Well, I challenge them to get up in this House or in Ireland and say they are in favour of the continued existence of the real supremacy of the Imperial Parliament as it exists at present. [*Cries of* "No, no!"] Ah! now the House sees what hon. Members want. They are not in favour of the supremacy as it exists at present. But what my right hon. Friend said was that he would not weaken that supremacy—that he would not throw doubt upon it. [Mr. GLADSTONE: Hear, hear!] But they want to weaken it and to throw a doubt upon it, and they only support this Bill because they believe it does these things. I read very carefully the very able speech of the hon. Gentleman the Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs (Mr. Bryce). I imagine that he put the Constitutional question as well as it was possible to put it; and even to the uninstructed mind of a layman his doctrine seemed to be perfectly clear and conclusive. If the Prime Minister had said that he did not wish to abolish the supremacy of the Imperial Parliament, the answer of my hon. Friend would be complete, for the supremacy is not abolished. It still remains—what shall I say?—as a Constitutional figment. But we want it to be a real and effective supremacy. We do not want the supremacy of the British Parliament to descend to the level of the suzerainty of the Porte over Cyprus. The Under Secretary told us that the supremacy of Parliament existed over Colonial Legislatures. Yes, Sir; but dare we exercise it? Dare we exercise it, say, upon the criminal, agrarian, religious, or educational matters of any self-governing Colony? We know that, if we did so, that Colony would at once throw off its allegiance. Are we, then, going to reduce Ireland to the position of a self-governing Colony, subject to a Constitutional supremacy which becomes a sham, and which we dare not exercise? That is the question which lies at the root of our desire that Irish Members should be retained at Westminster. Under these circumstances, I am not surprised that hon. Members opposite should object to it. Well, now, Sir, do the Amendments which my right hon. Friend has indicated meet this view? My right hon. Friend has not put before us his plan; but he has indicated sufficiently for our purpose the nature of that plan. He said at the Foreign Office that he had already promised the House that on questions of taxation Irish Members would be invited to take their part in our deliberations. The word was "invited." Afterwards he said that, with regard to Imperial affairs, and the subjects which are known as reserved subjects, he would apply the same principle as in the case of taxation. Very well, now I shall be corrected if I have mis-stated the intention of the right hon. Gentleman; but what I understand is that the idea of the Prime Minister was that, in some way or other, more or less formal, Irish Members are to be invited to debates in which they take an interest, and to be allowed to come here and share our discussions. If that is the proposal, all I can say is, that it seems to me an unsatisfactory one. It would make of the Imperial Parliament a periodic and spasmodic Body. It would have no continuous existence, and I cannot see how the Irish people can be asked to take their share in Imperial obligations if the attendance of their Representatives was governed by any plan of this kind. Let us judge it by our own experience. First, let me take one or two examples. Many Members will recollect all the circumstances attending the debate on the Vote of Credit in connection with the Russian difficulty in the East. I take it that, if such a proposal in similar circumstances should again be made, the Irish Members would be invited here to help us to pay the bill. But that is not enough. They would have the right, if they are to pay any share of the expenses, to have their part in the discussion of every question which might by any possibility arise with reference to this matter, which might help to develop the policy which in turn might make the expenditure necessary. Take the question of Egypt, which occupied a great deal too much of our time during the last Parliament. The Irish Members frequently took part in our debates. The question of Egypt was always with us; and how could Irish Members take their fair share in discussing such a policy unless they were continuously and permanently present? Under these circumstances, how could we preserve the supremacy to which I attach so much importance? The Imperial Parliament would be a fluctuating Body with a large section of its Members imperfectly informed on the subjects which they were called upon to decide; and, at the same time, they would have no adequate authority to deal with the general business of the United Kingdom. The fact is that there are two conditions necessary for maintaining, without weakening or throwing doubt upon it, the supremacy of the Imperial Parliament. The first is that Irish Members shall have their full, complete, and continuous representation in this House. The second is that the local Legislative Body or Bodies to be created shall be admittedly from the first subordinate bodies. If they are co-ordinate and equal, you cannot have supremacy. Equality denies supremacy by the etymological meaning of the word. Local Bodies must be, therefore, distinctly subordinate. What is the opinion in Ireland on this subject? I have here an extract from *United Ireland*, which I believe is edited by the hon. Member for South Tyrone (Mr. W. O'Brien). It is a very interesting paper, although its language is occasionally rather strong. But in an article headed "No Surrender" the writer says—

> "The proposal to withdraw the Bill either before or after the second reading is absolutely out of the question. It would be a defeat more disastrous than could by any possibility be sustained in the Lobbies. The proposal to strike out the clause excluding the Irish Members from the Westminster Parliament is no less inadmissible. We are ourselves firmly persuaded that when the question is thrashed out in Committee, and when Englishmen really understand how the duplex Irish Parliamentary power would work in practice, they will marvel how any Englishman could be insane enough to propose to keep Irishmen omnipotent at Westminster as well as at Dublin, and to place in their paths all sorts of temptations to use their omnipotence vexatiously."

I quite understand the candid statement of the writer of that article; but what we want to prevent, and will not allow if we can help it, is that Irishmen should be omnipotent either at Westminster or at Dublin. Now, I come to another question of great and cardinal importance. That is the question of Ulster. I say this is a question of cardinal importance for this reason. Irish Members have said they would rather have no Bill at all than a Bill which did not give them power to subject Ulster—[*Cries of* "No, no!"]—to the domination——

Mr. T. M. HEALY: Who said it?

Mr. SPEAKER: I must ask the hon. and learned Member for South Londonderry (Mr. T. M. Healy) not to interrupt. Gentlemen from that quarter were listened to with great patience, and every Member of this House is entitled to be received with courtesy and forbearance.

Mr. JOSEPH CHAMBERLAIN: Which did not place Ulster under the power of the dominant majority at Dublin, and which did not give the Dublin Parliament power to tax Ulster. I can quite understand that. I can quite understand that a Dublin Parliament, without the power to tax Ulster, might find itself in financial difficulties. But the question is whether it is fair to Ulster. I am not going to say anything about the armed resistance which has been threatened in Ulster. I know nothing about it. We have heard that these threats have been made before, and that they have not been followed by anything dangerous; and very likely it will be the same thing again. The other day the hon. Member for Cork (Mr. Parnell) actually got up in the House and accused me of incitement to assassination and outrage. No charge could possibly be more absurd or ridiculous. I have not said a word, either in speech or writing, about physical violence in connection with this measure. I only notice the statement of the hon. Member for Cork to express the satisfaction with which I find him denouncing even the most shadowy and imaginary incitements to violence and outrage. Well, Sir, what I want to ask the House is this—if the resistance of Ulster is expressed in the usual Constitutional way, or if the resistance of a portion—and an important portion—of Ulster is expressed in the same way to any proposal for submitting them to a Dublin Parliament, will you override it, will you ignore it? I say you ought not. Now, I listened the other night to the speech of my right hon. Friend the President of the Local Government Board (Mr. Stansfeld), and really there have been so many good speeches made from the Treasury Bench in this debate that I do not know to which to give the palm. I admired his speech very much, although there was one passage in it, the interpretation placed upon which I think he should regret. I will read the exact words of my right hon. Friend. He said—

> "I regard it as about the most weighty and condemnatory testimony that could be borne against us, that our former rule of Ireland has led now, at this moment, to the existence of a portion of the Irish people so divided from the rest, so hostile, so unsympathetic, so unbelieving, that no spark of Irish patriotism, as it would appear, is kindled in their breasts by the prospect of being enabled, under this system of autonomy, to contribute thus directly to the prosperity and progress of their country."—(3 *Hansard*, [305] 1185.)

Sir, why are the Protestants of Ulster stigmatized by my right hon. Friend as unpatriotic and unsympathetic? Why, because they are proud to belong to a greater country; because they take their share in the autonomy of the United Kingdom in which they have a part; because they cling to the traditions and the history of the United Kingdom, which is just as much their possession and heritage as it is ours; because they refuse to be cast adrift and cut away from the hopes and associations which they have hitherto cherished. I suppose if my right hon. Friend had been a Frenchman he would have denounced the people of Alsace and Lorraine as unsympathetic and unpatriotic when they refused to be re-united to Germany, and when their hearts turned towards the great country from which they were forcibly separated. I suppose if he had been an Italian he would have denounced those members of the Savoyard community who did their utmost to prevent the transfer of their country to France; and loyalty must indeed be at a discount when a passionate allegiance to the unity of the Kingdom is made a moral offence and crime by a Minister of the Crown. Sir, I was told the other night by my hon. and learned Friend the Attorney General that I had been fanning the flame of religious bigotry. Well, if it can be shown to me that I have done that, I should say that I am heartily ashamed of it. [An hon. MEMBER: So you ought to be.] But what is the ground of this accusation? It is that in a letter which I wrote I said that the Ulster people feared, and I thought with much reason, that their material and religious interests would suffer if they were subjected to the dominance of a Parliament in Dublin.

MR. W. O'BRIEN (Tyrone): If they were handed over, bound hand and foot.

MR. JOSEPH CHAMBERLAIN: That will do just as well. I daresay I used both expressions; but if they were subjected to a dominant Parliament in Dublin, perhaps it comes to the same thing as the more allegorical expression "being handed over, bound hand and foot;" and I should have thought that a writer so practised as the hon. Member for Tyrone would have known that there is not much practical distinction between the two. That is the ground of the accusation. Now, is it a fact that the Ulster Protestants do fear for their material and their religious interests? There is no doubt whatever about it in the mind of any man who reads the papers, or attends public meetings, or knows anything at all about the state and condition of Protestant Ulster. But was I right to say they had some reason for it? Well, I belong to an extreme section of the Liberal Party, and have all my political life joined with those who would destroy every shred of religious ascendancy, by whatever sect it may be claimed. But then I think that gives me and those who think with me the right to protest against the substitution of one form of religious ascendancy for another; and I say that the Catholic Church, by its tenets and by its faith, is bound not to be content with equality, but to demand predominance. [*Cries of* "No, no!"] Hon. Members from Ireland think not. I will give them an authority for it. Here is a pamphlet written by the Prime Minister in 1875 on Vaticanism. The Prime Minister said then—

> "It is true—it is absolutely true—that to secure rights has been, and is, the aim of Christian civilization: to destroy them, and to establish the resistless, domineering action of a purely central power is the aim of the Roman policy."

That is true, and if it were worth while to carry the argument further I could quote the statements of Catholic Bishops recently made and to the same effect. [*Cries of* "Quote!"] The House will appreciate the interruptions which come from a certain quarter of the House, and which do not augur very well for the peace and order of the Dublin Parliament. I say, then, that as far as concerns their religious interest the Protestants of Ulster have a right to fear a Parliament in which Catholics will be in a majority, and in which, if they are true to their creed and faith, they will endeavour to establish Catholic supremacy. But have they any ground to fear for their material interests? Well, I saw the other day that Mr. Davitt had been interviewed by the reporter of an evening newspaper. Mr. Davitt was asked upon this question of Ulster, and this is what he is reported to have said—

> "Just leave them alone to us, and we will make short work of these gentry. They are not Irish, but only English and Scotch who have settled among us, and it is preposterous that they should be allowed to dictate to Irishmen how Irishmen should be governed."

MR. DILLON (Mayo, E.): I am sure the right hon. Gentleman does not wish to do injustice to Mr. Davitt, and I would ask him whether he is aware that Mr. Davitt has absolutely and publicly contradicted that statement and repudiated it, and stated in the same newspaper that he never said one word of it?

MR. JOSEPH CHAMBERLAIN: No, Sir; I am not. I am much obliged to the hon. Member. I had not seen any contradiction, else I need not say I should not have quoted those words.

At the same time—well, I will not say it—I accept the contradiction. I pass on to another point. I have myself seen articles in a Nationalist newspaper which attacked the linen industry. Last night the hon. Member for South Dublin (Sir Thomas Esmonde) spoke of the linen industry in pathetic terms as an industry suffering great depression. He ought to have rejoiced, because the Nationalist papers are denouncing the linen industry of Belfast as the curse of the country. [*Cries of* "No, no!"] I have seen a series of articles in which those words are used—and in which the linenites are denounced as the curse of the country—and the linen industry of Belfast is described as an Orange industry. All I can say is that as long as these articles are written and these views expressed I am not surprised that the people of Ulster look with some dread to the anticipation of a Parliament in which their interests will be so subjected. But, after all, the question is not whether these fears are well founded or the reverse. They exist, and the question is, are you going to give effect to them? What did the Prime Minister say upon that subject? It is rather a long quotation, but the importance of it justifies me reading it to the House. In his speech on the introduction of the Bill my right hon. Friend said—

"Various schemes, short of refusing the demand of Ireland at large, have been proposed on behalf of Ulster. One scheme is, that Ulster itself, or, perhaps, with more appearance of reason, a portion of Ulster"——

I just stop here to say that I have been accused of using the words "Protestant" Ulster, and it appears to have been thought that I intended to convey that the whole of Ulster was Protestant. What I meant was, to limit my remarks to a portion of Ulster—to that portion which is chiefly entitled to consideration, as being inhabited generally by a Protestant population, and the Prime Minister seems to have the same idea—

"A portion of Ulster should be excluded from the operation of the Bill we are about to introduce. Another scheme is, that a separate autonomy should be provided for Ulster, or for a portion of Ulster. Another scheme is, that certain rights with regard to certain subjects—such, for example, as education and some other subjects—should be reserved and should be placed, to a certain extent, under the control of Provincial Councils. These, I think, are the suggestions which have reached me in different shapes; there may be others. But what I wish to say of them is this—there is no one of them which has appeared to us to be so completely justified, either upon its merits or by the weight of opinion supporting and recommending it, as to warrant our including it in the Bill, and proposing it to Parliament upon our responsibility. What we think is, that such suggestions deserve careful and unprejudiced consideration. It may be that that free discussion, which I have no doubt will largely take place after a Bill such as we propose shall have been laid on the Table of the House, may give to one of these proposals, or to some other proposals, a practicable form, and that some such plan may be found to be recommended by a general or predominating approval. If it should be so, it will, at our hands, have the most favourable consideration, with every disposition to do what equity may appear to recommend."—(3 *Hansard*, [304] 1053-4.)

Sir, that statement was perfectly satisfactory to me. I always thought the question of Ulster an open question, and I have never made the question of Ulster a question that should decide my vote on the second reading. But I think the time has come when the Government may give us some further information. I should like to ask them whether or not they have convinced themselves that there is in Ulster, or any portion of Ulster, inhabited by an intelligent and energetic population, such a predominating sentiment as deserves separate consideration; and whether in that case they have devised, or will devise, a plan for giving that favourable consideration which the Prime Minister has promised. I pass on to some other points which I shall deal with very briefly, but which raise a rather important question—I mean the points connected with the financial proposals of the Bill, and also those clauses which deal with the protection of minorities. Now, I have criticized those clauses on a previous occasion, and I have laid myself open to the very fair remark of the Prime Minister, that in doing so I am more Irish than the Irish themselves, since I complain of what they approve, or, at all events, do not oppose. I want, however, to point out this—that I have directed attention to this matter, not because I have the slightest desire to relieve hon. Gentlemen opposite of provisions to which they are indifferent, but because, unless we can be certain that this scheme will be satisfactory to the Irish people—not merely to those Representatives who may be here to-day, but to the Irish people—there is no hope of that finality which we are promised in connection with this legislation. Now, surely that is a very important point. To my mind it is of superlative importance, and I really think much as I dislike this Bill, if I could have honestly convinced myself that it was to be accepted as a final settlement—I do not mean absolutely a final settlement, but practically a final settlement for our time—I believe I should have voted for the Bill, bad as I think it to be. But I do not think there is any finality about it. Now, on what grounds can the House be expected to believe that this measure is a final measure? Only on two grounds. The first would be that the provisions of the Bill are so favourable that the more the Irish people know of them—the greater their practical acquaintance with them—the more they would like them, and the less likely would they be to change them. That is the first. The second ground would be that although the provisions of the Bill were not altogether satisfactory, yet, having been loyally accepted by the Representatives of Ireland, the people of Ireland would consider themselves bound by the decision of their Representatives. Now, is that so? Let us see as to the first ground. Are the terms so satisfactory to the Irish people that they would become more and more enamoured of them as time goes on? I was much struck with the remarks in the speech of the hon. Member for Inverness (Mr. Finlay)—a most wonderfully well-reasoned speech if I may venture to say so. One paragraph caught my attention particularly. It was when he said if this Bill were offered to the people of Scotland they would reject it. ["Hear, hear!" *and murmurs.*] Is there any Scottish Member who will get up and deny that? I do not believe that this Bill would be looked at in Scotland as a settlement of the national opinion in that country; and that is a very remarkable thing, because when we are told that this Bill is a concession to national sentiment, remember that the national sentiment lasts more strongly and in a more intense form—national patriotism—in Scotland than in any other part of the United Kingdom; and—if I may say so without offence to the Irish Members—I would say with greater reason, because Scotland has been an independent country, separate and homogeneous, well able to take care of itself for centuries, while Ireland was a dependent Province divided among themselves. Well, the national sentiment of Scotland would not be conciliated by this Bill. The people of Scotland did not wish to dissociate themselves from the policy, obligations, and responsibilities of the Empire; but the people of Scotland would be content—their national sentiment would be satisfied—this intense feeling, which is as strong as any possessed by hon. Gentlemen opposite, would be satisfied by concessions much less extravagant—if I may use the word—than those contained in this Bill, which would give a local autonomy to Scotland, and, at the same time, preserve unquestioned and undoubted the supremacy of the Imperial Parliament. The second point is—Have the Irish Members loyally accepted the provisions of this Bill? [An hon. MEMBER: Yes.] Well, I am not certain. I am not certain they have accepted all the provisions of this Bill. I think they have objected to some very important reservations. But suppose, in order to obtain the greater object, they yield on these matters; suppose they come down here and tell us—which they have not done yet—that they accept this Bill as a final settlement, and that then they found the people of Ireland are not satisfied. I ask the hon. Member for Cork (Mr. Parnell)—Can he bind the people of Ireland to accept his Leadership if he accepts this as a final settlement of the question between Ireland and Great Britain? I am now going to quote the hon. Member for Cork; and I must say that hon. Members from Ireland opposite are the most unfortunate people in the world, in that they always seem to be badly reported. But on this occasion I have furnished myself, not only with the words, but the place, the time, and the paper which is the authority for the report; and I hope the hon. Member will find that I am quoting him correctly. He was speaking at Cork on January 21 of last year, and he is reported in *The Freeman's Journal*, which I suppose is a friendly newspaper. He said—

> "We cannot ask for less than restitution of Grattan's Parliament with its important privileges and wide and far-reaching Constitution. We cannot, under the British Constitution, ask for more than the restitution of Grattan's Parliament; but no man has the right to fix the boundary to the march of a nation. No man has a right to say to his country, 'Thus far

> shalt thou go and no farther,' and we have never attempted to fix the *ne plus ultra* to the progress of Ireland's nationhood, and we never shall. But, gentlemen, while we leave those things to time and circumstances and the future, we must each one of us resolve in our own hearts that we shall at all times do everything that within us lies to obtain for Ireland the fullest measure of her own rights."

These are very eloquent words, and they do credit to the head and heart of the hon. Member; but what hope is there of finality in these words? Is this Bill Grattan's Parliament? Remember Grattan's Parliament is the minimum for which the hon. Member thought he was entitled to ask in January, 1885. This is not Grattan's Parliament, and it is nothing like it; and the hon. Member, unless he gets up now and denies that that is his opinion, is precluded by that speech from pretending that this Bill is a final measure in any sense. Well, there is another speech. This was delivered on November 3 at Mayo, and it is reported in *United Ireland*. He said—

> "Speaking for myself, and I believe for the Irish people and for all my Colleagues, I have to declare that we will never accept, either expressly or implied, anything but the full and complete right to arrange our own affairs and make our land a nation, to secure for her, free from outside control, the right to direct her own course among the people of the world."

Again I say, very eloquent. It may be very right, but it is not in this Bill. This is not a final measure, under these circumstances, if the hope of finality is to be grounded upon the statements of the hon. Member opposite. I have one other quotation which I commend to the notice of some of my Liberal Friends near me. This was a speech delivered at Wicklow on October 5, 1885. I am sorry I could not get an Irish report; but I take the report from *The Times*. It is a verbatim report; and, unless *The Times* reports him much worse than it does me, I do not think he has much cause to complain. He says—

> "I claim this for Ireland, that if the Irish Parliament of the future considers that there are certain industries in Ireland which can be benefited by Protection, which can be nursed by Protection, and which can be placed in such a position as to enable them to compete with similar industries in other countries by a course of Protection extending over a few years, that Parliament ought to have power to carry out that policy. It is not for me to predict the extent to which that power should be used; but I tell English Radicals and English Liberals that it is useless for them to talk of their desire to do justice to Ireland when with motives of selfishness they refuse to repair that most manifest injustice of all—namely, the destruction of our manufactures by England in times past—when they refuse to repair that injustice by giving us the power which we think would be sufficient to enable us to build up those comparatively few industries which Ireland is adapted by her circumstances to excel in."

Now, Sir, what is that? So far as the hon. Member for Cork is concerned, unless he has changed his opinion, it is perfectly useless for English Radicals and English Liberals to give him this Bill, unless they are prepared to go further and give him the control of Customs and Excise, to enable him to build up special industries by protective duties. Upon this question of finality I want to say a word upon a matter which has been referred to very often in this debate, and which I think is most important and interesting as an illustration. I refer to the case of Canada. It is curious that in the case of Canada you can find a precedent for almost every point which has been raised in the course of this debate. The Prime Minister referred to the case of Canada; and I think I state his argument correctly when I say that he considered the condition of Canada in 1838, before the Rebellion, might be looked to as analogous to the condition of Ireland now; it was a condition of great discontent, and of agitation, which culminated in actual rebellion. Then I thought he went on to show that the reforms which were subsequently granted to Canada on the Report of Lord Durham produced the pacification of the country; and I think, in his mind at all events, he compared the reforms advocated by Lord Durham with the present Bill, and he argued that the present Bill would do for Ireland what Lord Durham's reforms had done for Canada. Now, that, I think, was the position of the Prime Minister. But I confess—having read very carefully the history of that time by more than one authority—that I think it points to a totally different conclusion. My view I will state in a sentence. My view is that Lower Canada—I will not deal with Upper Canada, which is another matter and altogether different—was really, in 1838, in very much the same condition as Ireland will be if this Bill is passed; and that the reforms of Lord Durham are the further reforms which we shall have to grant after this Bill is passed, in order to secure the pacification of Ireland. Let me follow that out. What was the position of Lower Canada? It was a country inhabited by two peoples — two races — of two religions. The great majority of the population were French Catholics; and there was a very energetic, strenuous minority of British settlers who were Protestants. There was a Constitution under which Canada contributed nothing to the Imperial Expenditure, and had no part in Imperial policy. There was a Constitution which gave to Canada, in the first place, a Legislative Assembly, which was returned by the majority, who were the dominant Party in it; and, in the second place, there was a Legislative Council, which really was curiously analogous, not exactly in detail, but in its effect, to the first Order which is proposed in this Bill, and which was a nominated Council, nominated in order to secure the representation of the Protestant minority, and to give them an effective veto over the proceedings of the popular and Legislative Chamber. Now, that was the state of things, and that is curiously like what the state of things would be in Ireland under this Bill. But what happened? In the first place, the French Canadians—but I am omitting one point, the curious case of the Revenues of Canada. The Revenues of Canada were of three kinds. There were the taxes which had been levied in Canada previous to 1774; there were the taxes which had been levied by the Canadian Parliament after 1774; and there were the hereditary Revenues of the Crown. Canada had only power over the taxes which had been levied since 1774; and the first complaint made, as it would be the first complaint under this Bill, was that the Canadian Legislature was not intrusted with the control of its own finances. A demand was made to the British Parliament that they should give up to the control of the Lieutenant Governor all taxes which had been levied previous to 1774. That demand was extorted from the British Parliament under the threat of rebellion and agitation. But the concession of that demand did not stop the agitation. The Canadians went on demanding the control of the hereditary Revenue, and, in fact, the full control of the whole Revenues of the Provinces, and they asked for more—they asked that the Legislative Council should be done away with; that it should be made elective, and elected practically under the same conditions as a popular body; and, in fact, that all the arrangements for the protection of the minority should be done away with. Now, that is exactly parallel to what I anticipate under this Bill. You will have to give to Ireland all the reforms granted after Lord Durham's Act; you will have to give them their practical independence, because there is no use denying the fact that, at this moment, the self-governing Colony of Canada is practically independent. The Dominion Parliament has only to pass a Resolution desiring to cast off its allegiance, and there is not a man in this House who will hold up his hand against it. Therefore, we see, first, inadequate concessions, then a demand for greater concessions, then entire separation. It is a fatal decline. There is no finality in this Bill, and until you come to separation you cannot possibly stop or pacify the demands represented by those hon. Members on the Benches opposite. I have one other word to say about Canada. It has been made a constant demand upon us that we should produce a plan. Yes; hon. Members from Ireland opposite are very anxious indeed about the details of our plan. I paid attention to the demand made in this connection by the Prime Minister; and I endeavoured, with great submission, to suggest the alternative lines on which it seemed to me that we should have proceeded. The result was not very encouraging. Our attempt to meet the wish which was expressed has been hailed with ridicule; we have been told that our plan is "Popkin's plan," and we are described as "puny whipsters" by the hon. and learned Member for South Londonderry (Mr. Healy). It is all very well for the hon. and learned Member, with his magnificent physique, to stigmatize as "puny whipsters" men not gifted by Providence with his great personal gifts; but it is very hard upon us that we should be accused of arrogance, and presumption, and self-conceit, because we did not volunteer information, but because we endeavoured honestly to meet the demand made upon us by the Prime Minister for an alternative scheme. But now I will give you an alternative scheme in even greater detail, though it will not add much to your information. You may find—I will not say the details—but the lines of such a plan in the present Constitution of Canada; not, however, in the relations between Canada and this country—those are the wrong lines, and lines against which I protest, and which mean separation, but in the relations *inter se* of the Provinces of Canada and the Dominion Parliament. Those are the relations which I, for one, am perfectly prepared to establish to-morrow between this country and Ireland. Let us see what the differences are. In the first place, there is that question of Ulster. Someone—I forget who it was—in the course of this debate referred to the Constitution of 1840, which united the two Provinces of Canada. Yes; but the Union did not answer; it led to quarrels, to agitation, to irritation, and even violence; and in 1865 the Constitution was changed, and these two Provinces were separated. Now, they have each their separate autonomy, under the authority of the Dominion Parliament. In that way you might have Provincial Assemblies in Ireland, under the authority of the Imperial Parliament. Then, again, in the Dominion Parliament there is complete and continuous representation of every part of the Dominion. They are represented proportionately according to their numbers; they are represented continuously and fully. In the third place, there is absolute and effective supremacy of the Dominion Parliament over the Provincial Legislatures. There is a veto which can be, and is, used; there is a right of concurrent legislation which can be, and is, used; and the Provincial Assemblies are subordinate bodies, with distinctly defined rights of legislation expressly given to them by Statute. Those are great differences, but there is another difference—one of detail, but not of small importance—the legislation as to Criminal Law and procedure. Where does it rest in Canada? Not with the Local Assemblies, but with the Dominion Parliament. And the Judges of the land, by whom are they appointed, and to whom are they responsible? They are appointed by the Governor General, and paid by the Dominion Parliament. In that way the Judges of Canada are independent, and are not likely to be affected by local influences, which might prevail in smaller and subordinate bodies. Well, Sir, I think I have occupied the time of the House long enough—longer than I intended; but I hope that, at all events, I have made my position clear. I do not want to be in the least degree mistaken by hon. Members from Ireland on the Benches opposite, or by anyone else, as to the opinions I hold, and which are identical with those which I have written and expressed before on many occasions. It will appear to the House that my objections to the Bill, as it stands, are unchanged. I cannot see that the Amendments which have been suggested by the Prime Minister would meet those objections in any considerable measure; therefore, I feel it my duty to vote against the second reading. We are threatened with a Dissolution; a Dissolution has no terrors for me. Of one thing I am confident—and I know something about the matter—that the Unionist majority in this House will be strengthened. I am very sorry that this Parliament, from which so much was expected, should have had but a brief and barren existence; but I am glad that this great issue, having been raised, is to be submitted to the only tribunal whose decision we can all accept, and which is competent to pronounce it. We also appeal to Cæsar. I was told the other night by the hon. Member for the Irish Ward in Liverpool—[*Cries of* "Division!"]—I beg pardon, the Irish Division (Mr. T. P. O'Connor) that the British democracy were going to give a unanimous vote in favour of this Bill. I do not recognize the hon. Member as any authority on the British democracy; he may be an authority on the Irish democracy—although I do not think that he resides very much in that country himself—but for the British democracy he is not entitled to speak. There is one admission I will make. Two things have become clear during the controversy which has taken place in the country; one is that the British democracy has a passionate devotion to the Prime Minister—a devotion earned and deserved by 50 years of public service, and that sentiment is as honourable to him as it is to those who feel and express it. But there is another thing which has also come out—that is, the sentiment—the universality and completeness of which, I daresay, has taken many of us by surprise—in favour of some form of Home Rule to Ireland, which will give to the Irish people some greater control over their own affairs. On these two things I believe the British democracy is practically unanimous; but they are not unanimous as to the methods by which it has been sought to establish this principle. Anyone who will look to the Resolutions of Liberal Associations—anyone who will read the speeches of prominent Radicals and Liberals—will see that there is the greatest difference of opinion as to the particular provisions of this Bill, and hardly anyone approves of it unreservedly. Most of them take the same objections which I have been urging. It is upon the method and plan of the Bill that we are going to the country, and not upon its principle. I have said before, and I say it again—"Give me the principle without the Bill and I will vote for it." But I will not vote for the method by which it is sought to establish the principle. But we are going to the country, and I hope that we shall go in a more amiable temper than has recently been displayed in some quarters. I have been myself assailed with extraordinary bitterness because I have exercised an independent judgment in a matter which I believe to be vital to the interests of the country. I have been told that I am animated by personal spite and private spleen. Yes; I do not complain of hon. Members from Ireland taking that view and expressing it—it is their habit of controversy. No one has ever been opposed to them in politics but he has been covered with virulent abuse and misrepresentation, and none more conspicuously than Earl Spencer and the Prime Minister, whom they are now loading with fulsome adulation. But I address myself to my hon. Friends around me, from whom I have the misfortune to differ. I ask them to consider whether it is really necessary to impute the basest motives to public men at a time when there are on the surface reasons—perfectly honourable reasons—which may sufficiently account for their conduct? Do you say—do you dare to say—that my right hon. Friend and Colleague in the representation of Birmingham (Mr. Bright) is animated by personal spleen and spite? He takes the same course as I do; he is going into the Lobby against this Bill and against the friend, the associate, and the Leader whom he has followed with loyal devotion for many years of his life. My right hon. Friend and Colleague has done as great services, he has lived almost as long in public life, as the Prime Minister himself, and no one has doubted his honour. But you say that I am in a different position. And why do you say that? What I am saying now I expressed in public—it is in print—before the General Election, before I was a Member of the Government, before I had the slightest conception that any idea of this kind was fermenting then—if it was fermenting—in the mind of the Prime Minister. I spoke at Warrington in September, 1885, and I referred to the demands of the hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell), and I said then that if there was any party or any man that was willing to yield to those demands in order to purchase his support I would have no part in the competition. And then many of my hon. Friends, whom I see around me, thanked me in public for what they thought that plain, frank, and courageous declaration; and now, forsooth, for having made the same declaration some three months later, when the occasion has arisen, they accuse me of personal and unworthy motives. Sir, the charge is unjust and the charge is ridiculous. For there is not a man here who does not know that every personal and political interest would lead me to cast in my lot with the Prime Minister. Why, Sir, not a day passes in which I do not receive dozens or scores of letters urging and beseeching me for my own sake to vote for the Bill, and to "dish the Whigs." Well, Sir, the temptation is no doubt a great one; but, after all, I am not base enough to serve my personal ambition by betraying my country; and I am convinced that when the heat of this discussion is passed and over, Liberals will not judge harshly those who have pursued what they honestly believed to be the path of duty, even although it may lead to the disruption of Party ties, and to the loss of the influence and power which it is the legitimate ambition of every man to seek among his political friends and associates.

Mr. SEXTON (Sligo, S.): Sir, I trust that the physique of hon. Members of this House will not be held to have a very practical bearing on these great issues before us; and whatever may be contributed in the debates on these great questions, hon. Members will agree with me that in the matter of physique the right hon. Gentleman opposite (Mr. J. Chamberlain) has very little to boast of as compared with my hon. and learned Friend (Mr. Healy). The right hon. Gentleman has stated that a Dissolution has no terrors for him. Why should it? The right hon. Gentleman will go the country masquerading as a Unionist Liberal, but depending on the regular Tory vote. The right hon. Gentleman has already found a very good godfather in the shape of Lord Brabourne. Lord Brabourne has appealed to the Tory electors of West Birmingham to save the right hon. Gentleman from political extinction. Did ever misfortune make an ex-Radical Liberal acquainted with a stranger bedfellow than Lord Brabourne? The right hon. Gentleman has made a very misleading allusion to the case of Canada. The analogy between Canada and Ireland rests not on details but on principles. The principles of resemblance are that Canada was discontented and rebellious till she got what she wanted, and when she obtained what she wanted she became contented and loyal. The difference between Canada and Ireland is this—that Canada is 3,000 miles away, whilst Ireland is three hours' sail of this country. When Canada got what she wanted she became loyal and contented, and the substance of what we want is contained in the pages of this Bill; and if that Bill passed into law the settlement arrived at in the case of Canada will be precisely and absolutely reproduced in the case of Ireland. The speech of the right hon. Gentleman has been welcome to us in one respect. It has cleared away the smoke from the field of battle. It has defined the opposing hosts. It has enabled Ireland to see at last, beyond the possibility of a doubt, who are her enemies and who are her friends. It has enabled her to distinguish between the true friends and the false ones, and I promise the right hon. Gentleman that so long as this generation of men lasts on the face of the earth Ireland will never forget this day. Sir, the right hon. Gentleman for weeks past has been fighting under cover. At last we have got him in the open, and we mean, until this question is finally settled, not to let him get back into the bush. He has been fighting under cover by means of a series of mysterious paragraphs and dubious and suggestive little lists, and he has been creating a certain effect by secret meetings of a small but not homogeneous body of hon. Members of this House, who have produced excellent stage effects under the guidance of an adjutant in the shape of the hon. Member for Barrow-in-Furness (Mr. Caine) by a series of rapid and interesting evolutions. It requires an effort of memory to recall the fact that the right hon. Gentleman was but lately a Radical Leader. The Radicals of Britain looked to him to maintain the rights and to assert the principles of the working population of this country against monopoly and exclusive class privilege. The working men of England looked to him to mould the policy of the Liberal Party, and influence the mind of the Prime Minister and the Government for their advantage; but the right hon. Gentleman, who might be powerful as a coadjutor, is fated to be impotent as a rebel. In what character does the right hon. Gentleman address the House to-day? It is as the ally of Tories, as the confederate of Whigs, as the deserter of his Party, as one who contrives the downfall of the Prime Minister, the break-up of the Liberal Party, the destruction of that Party—the destruction of that Party as a weapon and an instrument of progress. He appears as one who, whatever the purpose of his conduct may be—and I do not feel called upon to analyze it—whatever his purpose is—the effect of it, if he was successful, could not be other than this—to give over the working men of England to the advocates and champions of class privileges and monopoly. He appears to consider the people of unfortunate Ireland—who have had given to them by the Prime Minister a Bill which affords a glimpse of freedom—he appears to consider those unfortunate people worthy only to be handed over and consigned to the double policy of Lord Salisbury—namely, the enforced emigration or expatriation of 1,000,000 of Irish people, and a firm and unflinching repression of 20 years' stern coercion. We hear a great deal about "one man government;" but probe the question to the bottom, and, in my opinion, in all questions of the kind it will always be, and continue to be, a question between one man and another. The question for the Liberal Party is, which one man will it have? The Prime Minister occupied a place in the Government of this country when the right hon. Gentleman opposite occupied a perambulator, or some similar unpretending structure. The Prime Minister directed the policy of this country, guided its Government, guarded its interests, protected its structure, and developed its resources at a time when the respectable, but not dazzling, talents of the right hon. Gentleman opposite (Mr. J. Chamberlain) found an occupation in the respectable, if not dazzling, sphere of Mayor of Birmingham. Nature intended the right hon. Gentleman to be a Mayor. He is intellectually a Mayor still. I think that when the question between one man and another comes before the electors of Great Britain, the Liberal electors of Great Britain will not reject the experience and genius or the insight of the Prime Minister, by universal confession the foremost statesman and first reformer of the generation—they will not desert him and turn for aid to the ex-Mayor of Birmingham as their guide, philosopher, and friend. I cannot congratulate the right hon. Member upon the cheerfulness of his manner in speaking to-day. His voice, it appeared to me, had a hollow and sepulchral sound, as if it came from out of a cave. I believe the right hon. Gentleman does not like to have it called a cave; he prefers it being called a chasm. Well, I accept the amendment, for if you go into a cave you can come out of it when you like, even if you have to crawl out on your hands and knees—a posture to which, as far as I can learn, the right hon. Gentleman has no marked repugnance. But if you get into a chasm the chances are that will stay there; and I certainly think that the chasm, which is the result and the handiwork of the right hon. Gentleman, will prove to be the last political resting place of himself and his ingenuous adherents. The most ingenuous I take to be the hon. Member for Burnley (Mr. Rylands), who cheered him so heartily during his speech; but the difference between the right hon. Gentleman and the hon. Gentleman is that the right hon. Gentleman got afraid sitting above the Gangway, and the hon. Gentleman got afraid sitting below the Gangway. Even great political struggles have their comic and laughter-moving elements, and these are to a certain extent supplied by the hon. Member for Burnley, who reminds one of the boy in chase of the rainbow—the rainbow being an imaginary Chancellorship of the Exchequer in an impossible coalition. The chasm of the right hon. Gentleman was constructed on the *Calais-Douvres* principle; it had two bottoms, the second being the noble Marquess the Member for Rossendale (the Marquess of Hartington) and his Friends. Neither the people of Ireland nor their friends had had any cause to regret that the Motion for the rejection of the Bill had proceeded from the noble Marquess. The Prime Minister had justly said—and the country in the depths of its intelligence has found the absolute truth of the saying—that the spirit and power of class formed the main body of the host in opposition to the Bill. It is well that the issues should be frankly laid before the country; and if the spirit and power of class do typify, as I believe they do, the opposition to the Bill, they could not find a more adequate Representative than in the person of the noble Marquess the Member for Rossendale. I have treated, and always shall treat, the noble Marquess with the respect which no Irishman ever fails to give to a frank and manly enemy. The noble Marquess has not gone about the country since last Session with a programme of his own, and he has not declared with many brave words that he would never join a Government unless his programme was adopted, and then accepted Office. He has not gone with the Government in order to chose a most suitable moment for ruining the Irish and Liberal measures. The noble Marquess is not moved—and certainly no one suspects him of being actuated—by any sentiments of vanity or spleen. He does not consider that his merits have not been sufficiently appreciated, neither is he burning with secret rage at the preferment of any other man. The noble Marquess is a frank and manful enemy of Home Rule for Ireland. He refused to enter into the Cabinet, although the Prime Minister had laid it down that any settlement of the Home Rule Question must be consistent with the supremacy of the Crown, with the integrity of the Empire, and the Sovereignty of the Imperial Parliament. Notwithstanding this ample accumulation of guarantees the noble Marquess refused to enter the Cabinet, because he would not tolerate the principle of Home Rule in any form. Therefore it does not devolve upon me to argue the principle of the Bill with him, as he will not accept it on any terms. I apprehend that the noble Marquess in his opposition is thinking more of Great Britain than he is of Ireland. He knows that though the Irish Party is only a small Party in the House, still it is the pioneer of great social and political reforms. He knows that their example has been fruitful in the mind of Great Britain. He apprehends that a Legislature of her own, freely enacting laws with a single mind for the good of the Irish people, would set an example that would be speedily fruitful in Great Britain, that would not be to the interest of the pretensions and powers and privileges of his class. That may be an excellent reason for the noble Marquess to oppose this Bill, but, Sir, it is a conclusive reason why the people of Great Britain should support it. The noble Marquess has offered us some mouldy crumbs of local self-government—such crumbs as may fall from the table of the Dives, and be given to the beggar at the gate. Ireland does not stand here as a beggar. Ireland asks her right, and I have never heard that the meagre benefaction that was given to Lazarus had any effect upon the rich man's ultimate destination. The noble Marquess talks vaguely of the reform of Dublin Castle; but if he had learned the alphabet of government he would know that to reform the administration of the law and leave the system of law untouched is to begin at the wrong end of the reform. If you reform the administration of the law and leave the system still untouched you do not gain more acceptance for the system of law, you only ruin the administration of it. The only way—the only permanent way—to meet the demands is to make both the law and the administration of the law accepted by the people, because they spring from their own native authority. I tell the noble Marquess that while he concerns himself with the administration of the law and leaves the fundamental system untouched he is wasting time, just as a sailor scrubbing the deck when a leak had sprung in the hold. It seemed at one time probable that the noble Marquess and the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Birmingham (Mr. J. Chamberlain) harboured the hope of forming a Government of their own. We are told that they had a negative policy and a positive policy. In effect the negative policy was to throw out the Prime Minister, and their positive policy was to step into his place. Well, Sir, it would have been almost worth while—if such vast interests were not involved—to the cynical student of human affairs, to see how the Head of the territorial Whigs and the deposed First Consul of the Caucus would manage to get along together—how the heir of the Dukedom of Devonshire, and the patrimony belonging thereto, and the author of the doctrine of "ransom" would have agreed on a common policy. What measures would they propose—what measures of coercion or conciliation? How even they could get re-elected by their constituents—in short, how long and in what manner they would conduct the work of government with a Party not extending far beyond the limits of the Treasury Bench, with two Oppositions sitting on that side of the House and one Opposition on the other, with mediocracy supporting them, and the country brooding over the instructive spectacle of the mean talents and the limited experience of the right hon. Member for Mid Lothian (Mr. Gladstone) consigned to a back Bench below the Gangway. But, Sir, whatever may be the question for the Liberal Party, the question for the country is not between the noble Marquess or the right hon. Member for Birmingham and the Prime Minister. The question for the country is between the Prime Minister and the Marquess of Salisbury. The noble Marquess is the only alternative to the Prime Minister—the only alternative to the policy of Home Rule and conciliation, is a policy of forced emigration and of 20 years of coercion. We have not learned that from what the Tories say in this House. Here the Tory Leaders are very silent. I say the Tory Leaders, because I cannot recognize as a Tory Leader yet the American Gentleman the hon. Member for Eccleshall (Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett), who addressed this House as an officer of Militia. The Tory Leaders are silent here, but they are not silent everywhere. Indeed, I can find some reason for their silence, because it must be distressing for so astute a gentleman and so very profound a strategist as the noble Member for Paddington (Lord Randolph Churchill) to be condemned to serve under a Leader who just at the wrong moment showed that he had the temper of the leader of a herd of buffaloes. The policy of the Marquess of Salisbury is plain. His alternative is, that if money is to be spent in Ireland, it is to be spent, not in buying out his friends the landlords from the hands of the Jews, but it is to be spent in carrying out the forced emigration of the Irish people. But a question precedent to the carrying out of that policy is, Will the Irish people emigrate? The Irish people never willingly leave their native land. They only leave it as a last resource, and when they are without hope of getting a living in it. But are they without hope now? The Prime Minister has told them that their claim is expedient—that their demand for self-government is just and right, and that it ought to be acceded to. That declaration is adopted by the bulk of the Liberal Party. It has been enthusiastically affirmed by great assemblies of Englishmen, and with that moral and physical strength on their side the Irish people shall never be driven from the land that they are destined to rule. Why, Sir, if you emigrate 1,000,000, and turn discontented men at home into bitter enemies abroad, those who remain will become more troublesome. You will have to emigrate a second 1,000,000, and a third, and when the majority are disposed of, and only the "Loyal minority" remains, the hon. and gallant Member for North Armagh (Major Saunderson) will make an irresistible demand upon the British House of Commons for a separate Irish Parliament in the name of a really united Ireland. The hon. and gallant Member will, of course, then be older, though I apprehend he will never be very much wiser, and, I have no doubt, in him the Government would find a much more troublesome and turbulent neighbour than my hon. Friend the Member for the City of Cork. But emigration or no emigration, we are to have 20 years of coercion. [*Cries of* "No, no!"] Did not the Marquess of Salisbury say that we were to have 20 years of firm and unflinching repressive government? But he also said that at the end of 20 years you might then consider whether Ireland would be in a condition fit to repeal it. How could you repeal a thing if it was not in existence? Not only did the noble Marquess say that, but his whole speech from beginning to end was consistent with no other interpretation. He compared us to Hottentots in our unfitness for Home Rule. Well, tastes may differ, but I would rather be an average Hottentot, a fair average Hottentot—with such a feeling of modified spasmodic honesty and respect for his word as an average Hottentot may be supposed to possess—than be the British political Leader who crawled into Office last year by repudiating coercion, who tried to hold Office by coquetting with Home Rule, and who now had the audacity to endeavour to regain Office by favouring that which he formerly denounced, and by discrediting that which he had embraced, and who did all this in the face of the world in the lapse of one single year. The Marquess of Salisbury on May 10 told the country that the Irish people—not a section of them, but the whole Irish people—had acquired the bad habit of using knives and slugs. He also said that the Irish people—not a certain number of criminals, but the whole Irish people—had used no other weapon of political controversy than the murder of agents and landlords and the mutilation of cattle. Well, I tell the noble Marquess that if we had used no other weapon of political controversy than he stated he would not have been in power last year. He says that our Church—the Roman Catholic Church in Ireland—is a tremendous and grievously misused weapon. I say, in the face of the world, that the Church of the people of Ireland, in the face of unexampled difficulties, has merited the admiration of all honest men by the vigour, courage, and success with which it has endeavoured in times past of terrible trial, and under bitter provocation, and has also acted in preventing the people from indulgence in excess and in reprisals. What did he say to the Irish Members? He said the Representatives of the Irish people will swear what you like. I say nothing about "swearing;" we "said" what he liked last June, but we refused to "say" what he liked last January, and hence all this recrimination. Not only does the noble Marquess deny us his confidence now, but he says he can never ask his countrymen to feel confidence in the Irish Representatives and the Irish people. If you can never feel confidence it follows necessarily that you can never give them Home Rule, and you must always coerce them. What did great experts say upon the subject of coercion? Lord Carnarvon said last year that coercion had become practically impossible. He said no sane man would propose to continue it. Did Lord Carnarvon cause a Commission of Inquiry to inquire into the sanity of his Leader? Lord Spencer also, one of the most competent living witnesses on the subject, has testified that you can no longer rely upon the coercion system of the past to rule Ireland. Does any hon, Gentleman here suppose himself as competent a witness as Lord Spencer? Is any hon. Gentleman here quite certain that if he had been placed in Lord Spencer's position he would have administered the drastic and terrible powers confided to him with the same pertinacity and courage as Lord Spencer? Sir, if I were an Englishman Lord Spencer's verdict would be final with me. I should regard him as the most competent witness, the only competent witness alive. And yet in the faces of these two Noblemen who last held the position of Viceroy of the Crown in Ireland the Marquess of Salisbury is prepared to resort to 20 years of coercion. Well, what kind of coercion must that be? Lord Canarvon told you last summer that summary powers of magistrates, secret inquisitions, changes of venue, and packed juries had not served their purpose; coercion at that time was played out. What must your new coercion be? You must go back to the time of Cromwell, and having gone back to him you must keep his company for at least a generation; and when the generation is over, will you be any nearer to success than you are at the present moment? No, Sir, because now you are near success. A plain way is opened to you by the guiding genius of the Prime Minister, and if you pursue it the end of trouble and the certainty of peace is at hand. The passion of nationality, the sentiment of race, the determination one day or another to control the internal affairs of Ireland, maintained through 700 years of suffering and struggling, unparalleled in the history of the world, has become the Irishman's second nature. Law may satisfy it, but law can never expel it. Well, now, Sir, I come for a minute to the argument of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Birmingham (Mr. J. Chamberlain). He has exposed on this and previous occasions what I may style his superficial knowledge of the subject under discussion by the remarks which he has made upon the mode of legislation in the Colonies as opposed to a system of federation. Perhaps if the right hon. Gentleman had obtained at the beginning of the Session the post which he is said to have desired—that is, Secretary of State for the Colonies—he might have learned a little more about the subject. He objects to the settlement proposed by the Prime Minister, because he says it proceeds on the lines of Colonial independence. How does it proceed on the lines of Colonial independence? Are the legislative powers of the Colonies specifically restricted? Have you in the case of any Colonial Legislature laid down the power of resumption? You have not. There is no comparison in principle between the settlement proposed for Ireland and the legislative system of, say, Cape Colony. The right hon. Gentleman favours a federal settlement. I do not know how far the public mind of Britain has advanced towards the goal. I do not know how far hon. Gentleman on this side of the House have reconciled themselves, for instance, to the establishment of six Legislatures in this country. Some people think that certain words of Mr. Burke are applicable to the argument used in a certain quarter of the House on this subject of federation—

> "Hypocrisy delights in sublime speculations, for as it never intends to go beyond speculation it costs nothing to make it sublime."

Well, whether the adoption of federation be a near or distant date, I say that the effectuation of this settlement will not be a bar but will hasten rather than retard this settlement of the Irish Question. It may be a stepping stone to ultimate federation, because you can only enter into federation on the basis either of independent States or existing Local Legislatures. When the day comes that you desire Imperial Federation, then Ireland, by reason of her existing Local Legislature, will be prepared to take her place as a member of such Federation. The right hon. Gentleman has returned to-day to the question of the retention of Irish Members in the Imperial Parliament. He has stated that the Irish Members are unfortunate in being misreported. But it was a very wonderful misreporting of his Sheffield speech. The passage which he says was misreported was distinguished by that felicity of metaphor which marks the style of the right hon. Gentleman. He said the pace of Parliament was not quick enough for him. He desired to see that pace accelerated for British Business, and said that the pace would never be accelerated so long as the Irish Members remained. The right hon. Gentleman, with that inaccuracy of mind which pervades the whole of his argument, misunderstood the point of Mr. Butt's scheme. Mr. Butt proposed to retain the Irish Members in this House. The right hon. Gentleman understood him to propose to exclude them, and on that basis the right hon. Gentleman argued that exclusion of the Irish Members was necessary in order to facilitate Business in this House. If the pace of Parliament was slow in 1874, what had it become since? It was at that time comparatively a dashing gallop. Since then it has slackened to a shuffling trot, and now, as regards English Business, it is almost at a complete standstill. Is the right hon. Gentleman opposite certain that if the Prime Minister had proposed to retain the Irish Members here, he would not have opposed this Bill upon that very ground—that the pace af Parliament required to be accelerated by the exclusion of Irish Members—and would have delivered a magnificent argument? In what plenitude of materials he would have revelled. He could point to the programmes of legislation of 1874 and 1880. He could call the attention of the country to the violent scenes and the all-night Sittings in this House, to the *coup d'état* of Mr. Speaker Brand, to the censures and suspensions and expulsions of the Irish Members, to the abortive Rules of the Parliament of 1874, to the abortive Rules upon which you wasted an Autumn Session in 1882, to the current proceedings of the Select Committee on Procedure. He could have pointed to all this, and the right hon. Gentleman could have maintained—and I state my candid opinion that he would have maintained—that the Bill of the Prime Minister was a fatal Bill, because it proposed to retain the Irish Members at Westminster. Sir, our position upon this question is reasonable and clear and plain. Our country has been so long misgoverned, she has been so steadily and sadly neglected, her interests are so dislocated, her people so urgently require any skill that we can give, any industry and energy that we can apply, that we know that in an Irish Legislature our utmost energies for years to come should be devoted to the interests of our country. Till we get our own Parliament into something like good condition we cannot undertake further share in the management of your great estate of Great Britain. But, Sir, while we say this, we are willing to consider in a fair and candid spirit any proposal that can be made when the proper stage is reached for the retention of the Irish Members, and their due share in the transaction of Imperial affairs. But, Sir, I suspect the more than brotherly love of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham when he complained that if we were not to be retained in this House, it would be scandalous if we were taxed without being represented. The right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister knows as much about taxation as anybody, and I think he will confirm me when I say that the representation of Ireland in this House, so far as taxation has been concerned, has been very much more nominal and technical than real representation. The presence of Irish Members here has never within my memory, except on one occasion, affected to the extent of 1*d.* the taxation of their country; and, therefore, when urgent interests call us home, can it be wondered that we attach no great importance to the principle of taxation with representation? The right hon. Gentleman proceeded to say we had a right to be heard upon questions affecting Imperial interests. But there is a difficulty in separating Imperial from British interests. Again, there is the difficulty—pointed out by the Prime Minister himself—to a Prime Minister having the confidence of Britain upon domestic questions and being thrown out by Irish votes upon an Imperial question. We see these difficulties. We do not at present see how to solve them. The Prime Minister has told us he will present a plan, and we can only say on behalf of our people that we are prepared to give that plan the most fair and unprejudiced consideration; and I think when all is over it will be found that we have put no unreasonable obstacle in the way. But what was the true motive of the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. J. Chamberlain)? It was not to save us from being taxed without being represented. It was not to secure us our share in Imperial concerns. The real object of him who told us that if we accept this Bill it will degrade our country was to give us, not a Parliament, but a mock Assembly, the consideration of which would be an insult to the self-respect and a degradation of the Irish people. We accept the principle of this Bill, and I state most frankly that we ask to have one Body, and not more than one, for all Ireland, and not two Bodies for different parts of it. We ask to have a Legislature, not a Committee. We ask to have a law-making Body subject to the prerogatives of the Crown and the interpretation of the Constitutional tribunals—subject, under certain conditions, to the authority of this Parliament. But we are not willing and will never accept any Assembly in Ireland which will be liable by system and as a matter of rule to have its proceedings reviewed and its will annulled by any other Legislature. We have heard a great deal about the abstract right of legislating for the Colonies. Well, Sir, I am not a Constitutional lawyer, or a lawyer of any kind. Indeed, although the lawyers who have spoken in favour of the Bill have been as numerous and as eminent as those who have spoken against it, I think the question before us is far more a question of common sense applied to practical life than of subtlety applied to law, and I think this House would have lost nothing if all the lawyers had been suspended from the service of the House till after the second reading. An abstract right, an inherent right, is one thing—a specific provision is another. By this Bill certain powers are delegated to the Legislative Body in Ireland, and the method is defined by which at any moment the Imperial Parliament may resume them. Do not these two facts tell their own story? In my opinion, the case is made complete. To sum up the whole matter in one word, I think the supremacy resides where power resides. If you insert a specific provision, what would be the consequences? If you say in the Bill, in a set form, that the Imperial Parliament shall or may interfere at any point with the proceedings of the Irish Parliament, you do not increase your inherent power by one jot or tittle. But what do you do? You do two things fatal to the Bill. In the minds of some persons you will preserve, in the minds of others you will cancel, the moral obligation which you admit to rest upon you not to interfere with the Irish Parliament without good and sufficient cause. It would be a different thing if Ireland were 3,000 miles away. If you insert a specific provision of this kind the effect will be that you will not satisfy Ireland; that you will not rid this Parliament of the endless trouble of the Irish Question; and you will have reached the last and most desperate stage of political combativeness—the fighting of the Irish battles over again. The minority will come over from Ireland perhaps before they have exercised their veto, and ask Parliament to reverse the decision of the Irish House. The majority, of course, will follow them, and the majority and minority will fight their battles over again here, aided by amateurs and volunteers from both the British Parties. I beg to state, with every confidence, that the last state of the British Parliament will be worse than the first. Will any hon. Member, any practical man who has considered this question in the spirit of the politician and not of the theorist—will any man tell me that the practical supremacy of this Parliament is not abundantly and sufficiently safeguarded? In the first place, you reserve to this Parliament any question connected with the Crown or the Empire; and no one has suggested that the long list of exceptions and reservations in this Bill requires to be extended. In the second place, if any Bill which has passed the Irish House, or any provision in any Act, appears to raise a Constitutional question, the Lord Lieutenant, in the case of a Bill: in the case of an Act, the Secretary of State, or any suitor or other person concerned; in the case of a section of a Bill, or provision of any Act, may bring that Bill or provision under the consideration of a body of English Judges or the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. Does anyone suggest that those Judges are likely to tamper with the Constitution? It would be a fantastic suggestion. But these Judges are themselves removable by an Address to the Crown, and thereby the supremacy of the Imperial Parliament is secured. But, then, it is said the Irish Judges may hold the Act to be right, and the English Judges that it is wrong. But in that case the decision of the Irish Judges would be liable to review in the Court of Appeal, and afterwards in the British House of Lords; and there, again, the supremacy of the British Parliament is safeguarded. Finally, Sir, if the Irish Legislature, even without exceeding its powers, passed an Act which in your opinion was contrary to public policy, what would happen? The minority could exercise its power and veto against the measure; and I must say on this point that never were a minority more tenderly dealt with than this minority of Ireland by the Prime Minister. You have one-twelfth of the elected Members, the 28 Irish Peers who may be reckoned to go solid against any popular demand, and these, with 24 other Members to fight with them, can stop the passage of any Bill for three years. Dean Swift once said that no man in his shirt could fight 11 men armed to the teeth; but one man in the Irish Parliament elected on the select franchise can defeat the will of 11 men elected by the people. I do not know what protection to minorities the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. J. Chamberlain) proposes in his scheme for National Councils. In the article of last year it was proposed that they should be one-third. The right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister makes just the same proposal. There are the 28 Peers and the Ulster Members, besides which they will have the light, the intelligence, and the education of Ireland altogether on their side in the case of the fancy franchise, so that it is evident that in the Irish Assembly the minority will have one-third of the House. How such a minority can be said to be "bound hand and foot" to the majority I cannot understand, unless the Tory Party, which is one-third of the House, can be said to be "bound hand and foot" to the chariot of the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister. Well, this veto will stay the measure for three years, within which it is possible for the Imperial Parliament to summon the Members of the Irish Parliament to Westminster for the purpose of altering or repealing the Act; and if the summons is not obeyed, the House at Westminster will have power to repeal the Act, or any of the Acts passed by the Irish Legislature. So that, whether the Irish Members come or go, you will have power to alter or repeal the Bill, and, of course, any acts done in virtue of the organic powers which have been performed. A more perfect, a more absolute, and more ingenious protection and preservation of the rights and interests of Great Britain than the Prime Minister has devised I cannot imagine. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham has not been afraid again to refer to the case of Ulster, with all the familiar epithets attached to it — prosperous Ulster, Protestant Ulster, loyal Ulster. As to the first epithet, prosperous, I suppose he was misled by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for East Edinburgh (Mr. Goschen), in whose opposition to this Bill I may say we rejoice. The right hon. Gentleman has always been the enemy of any measure for extending popular liberties in England as well as in Ireland; and it appears to me that the right hon. Gentleman is under the impression that Providence has permitted the common class of people to increase and multiply in order to provide a sphere for the exercise of the political talent of gentlemen of assured gentility and elegant education. I rejoice for two reasons that he has been found opposing this Bill—in the first place, because everything he opposes is bound to win; and, in the second place, if he were unfortunately found in the attitude of supporting the Bill I should find myself under the painful necessity of considering whether I ought not to oppose it. The right hon. Gentleman took four counties, including the great town of Belfast and other towns, and referred to Schedule D of the Income Tax, dealing with the profits of trades, professions, and urban pursuits, and compared that with the half of Ulster which has none. He made out that Loyal Ulster was several times more wealthy than Nationalist Ulster. Well, Loyal Ulster bears in income to National Ulster the proportion of three to two. No doubt, what is called Loyal Ulster is more prosperous than the other parts of that Province, but the fact is not owing to its loyalty, but to its being on the Eastern side of the country, which is throughout the most fertile and consequently the richest. That relation is not peculiar to Ulster, because all round the rest of Ireland you will find the East is better than the West, the soil being more productive and the natural advantages greater. But Ulster upon the Income Tax assessment per head is but little more than half of Leinster upon the rateable value of property per head, and is far under Leinster. In each of these respects it is only superior to Connaught, the poorest and most neglected Province. It has the largest number of poor cabins; and Munster largely exceeds it in houses of the better class. Judged by the test of emigration, and ignorance, too, it is incredible that any claim should be put forward on behalf of Ulster. Unexpected results are disclosed by Ulster, for during the last few years the emigration has been greatest from that Province, and the ignorance is densest. If a part of Ulster is prosperous, to what is it due? Not to any cause of political history, not to any cause of race or creed, but to the fact that it was the policy of England to protect Ulster by giving Ulster custom; while you crushed out of existence manufacturing industry of Ireland in every other place, you fostered it and nourished it in Ulster. Since the passing of the Land Act that superiority has gone, and the other Provinces are gaining on the Northern one. Nor is the claim to what is called "loyalty" less unfounded. The Representatives of Ulster in that House show that the majority of the people of that Province are not loyal, or, as I prefer to term it, disloyal to the national cause. We hear of Protestant Ulster. Ulster is no more Protestant than the rest of Ireland. Leave out Belfast and at the date of the last Census the Catholics had a majority of 100,000 over the whole Province. Even including the city of Belfast the Protestants have only a majority of 70,000. Well, since the date of the last Census the emigration of Catholics from Ulster has fallen off because of the security afforded by the Land Act, whilst the emigration of the Protestants has greatly increased, especially to British North America; and if the Census could be taken tomorrow I venture to say it would be found that the Catholics are in an absolute majority. Then, what is the meaning of this talk about Protestant Ulster? We are told that it is Loyal Ulster. I say that if loyal means opposed to the national classes of Ireland Ulster is not loyal. The majority of the Members from the Province of Ulster sit below and not above the Gangway, and in proportion as you increase the Members for Ulster so in proportion you increase the national majority. What comfort would it be to the hon. and gallant Member for North Armagh (Major Saunderson) to find himself a Member of an Ulster Assembly in which the place and power of the Prime Minister were held by my hon. Friend the Member for Cavan (Mr. Biggar)? The Ulster Tory Members do not want a separate Parliament for Ulster. The hon. and gallant Member has never asked for it, for very good reasons. In the first place, he and his Party would be in a minority in it. And the plan of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham would certainly place the Protestant minority of Ulster in a very disadvantageous position. The small Provincial Assembly would be uninfluenced by any national feeling. It would be uncontrolled by the presence of men trained to toleration by the experience of a wider sphere, and power would be placed in the hands of men who would be sure to use it harshly. The second reason is that the hon. and gallant Gentleman would be denounced by the whole of the civilized world as a dastard if he deserted the 300,000 Protestants scattered throughout the South and West of Ireland. These 300,000 are in the midst of a Catholic population of 3,000,000. They would never exercise a vote, they would never have a single Member in Parliament, they could not form a constituency anywhere, they would be absolutely dumb in the hands of the Legislature. Is that the protection of the minority which the right hon. Member for West Birmingham is so anxious for? Why, Sir, I will follow him as far as he likes. Take the most limited district of Ulster. In the Western part the Catholics are as 3 to 1, in the central region they are in an absolute majority. The only part in which the Protestants are in the majority is the part which comprises the county of Antrim and certain portions of Armagh and Down. Would the House consent to break up an English settlement for the sake of a district comprising Northumberland, Durham, and the North Riding of Yorkshire? Even within that limited district is there no minority? Why, Sir, there are 500,000 Protestants and 200,000 Catholics, so that if the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. J. Chamberlain)—who, if he had carried out his contemplated visit to Ireland last autumn would have known a little more about it—proposes this way of protecting minorities, I must tell him that the Prime Minister is much more considerate than he is, and the minorities themselves would very soon acknowledge it. If the plan of the right hon. Gentleman was carried out you would have not one but two oppressed minorities. You would have the 200,000 Catholics and the 500,000 Protestants in the North of Ireland, and the 3,000,000 Catholics and the 300,000 Protestants in the other Provinces, so that in order to please 500,000 people, or the men who are supposed to represent them, you will outrage the feelings of 200,000 Catholics and 300,000 Protestants. If you care to pursue the fantastic theory of the right hon. Gentleman down to the point of Parish Parliament, you would not solve the question, because the Catholic population so interpenetrates every portion of Ulster that even if you had a Parliament in every parish you would still have a minority in each. There is no safe standing ground except to treat Ireland as a unit, and the demand of Ireland as the demand of the people of Ireland. I cannot too solemnly protest against the language of the right hon. Gentleman with regard to the Catholic Church. The spirit of aggression is as foreign to the genius of the Catholic Church as it is to the principles of modern enlightenment. Can the right hon. Gentleman point to any country in the world where Catholics are in the majority and where they oppress, persecute, or disturb in any way whatever the freedom of religion of their Protestant fellow-subjects? It is not done in France, it is not done in Italy? [An hon. MEMBER: How about Spain?] No, nor in Spain. The Protestants are as free in the City of Rome as in any city of the world. Is it done in the South American Republics? There the Governments are the least stable, and the condition of society is the most precarious, and yet there the civil and religious liberties of Protestants are unquestioned. There was a time when the Catholics of Ireland might, if they wished, have oppressed the Protestants—that was a time when the principles of toleration did not prevail as they do now; and yet I challenge any hon. Member of this House to look through the records of that Parliament of James II., formed as it was of Irish Catholic Gentlemen, and who had suffered long and grievously at the hands of Protestants, and find a single act or a single word in reference to the doctrine of toleration and equality of creeds which might not be now adopted to the honour of any of the most enlightened communities of to-day. I cast back, therefore, upon the right hon. Gentleman the imputation he has made, and I say that what I know to be true of myself, and believe to be true of my countrymen—what I know to be true of myself I solemnly declare is this—that so far from having felt the feeling of religious bigotry, I have never been able even to understand it. I believe that every peasant in Ireland has for that base and detestable sentiment the same strong feeling; and when intriguing politicians talk to us about the danger of establishing the Roman Catholic Church, although there are ample precautions against ecclesiastical supremacy in the Bill, still, if there were no precautions, I say that the Catholic Church in Ireland rests, and will rest, as all other Churches rest, on the moral strength which belong to it by the value of its work and the preciousness of its ministrations to the people. I would invite the right hon. Gentleman to look to our Protestant Leader. When he was attacked in high ecclesiastical quarters, and when an effort was made by base and disreputable intrigues to level against him the supreme authority of the Catholic Church, and when it appeared for a moment as if that supreme authority were about to be exercised in his case, history records that the Catholic people of Ireland, devoted to their Church and devoted to their country, and the Catholic priests of Ireland, devoted to their Church and to their country, but having in their mind a clear and fixed distinction between the spheres of religious duty and that of political liberty, never in one moment wavered their devotion to their Protestant Leader. Well, Sir, we have to deal not only with the critics of this measure, but with the prophets of evil. The former have attributed to the voluntary establishment of a mode of union between the two countries all the follies and all the calamities that could follow from the most bloody revolution. On the other hand, the prophets of evil have declared that the future Irish Parliament will be guilty of all the follies that could be attributed to men who are a compound of knaves and lunatics—I will not say lunatics, because if you admit a lunatic's premises you will generally find that his conclusions are just. I will rather say imbecile, for he is wrong and silly all through. It is said that this Bill leads to separation. A shell might almost be thrown from Holyhead to Kingstown; a telegram would bring troops and ships to the cities of Ireland in a day; your barracks, your forts, and your magazines are already in the country. When I hear this argument from Englishmen, I confess that, as an Irishman, I can only feel wonderment; but if I were an Englishman, conscious—proudly conscious—of what the energy of my race had done in making this Island one of the foremost nations in the world, in carrying its commerce and flag to the uttermost ends of the earth, and in maintaining up to this moment the commercial empire of the seas—if, I say, I was an Englishman conscious of the qualities of my race, I should resent as an injury and an insult the offering of any such argument to the British nation. No; the Irish people have suffered too bitterly and too long to play any idle tricks, and the House may rest assured that when they obtain their Parliament they will choose the most competent men in Ireland for the conduct of its affairs, and that those affairs will be conducted with wisdom, dignity, and good faith. There are guarantees in the Bill, and there are guarantees out of it. The two real guarantees for the maintenance of the Empire are physical force and the free consent of the people. The possession of physical force will remain with England. The free consent of the people of Ireland rests upon their interest and their affections. Their interest will be bound to you by this measure of political freedom, and their affection is sure to follow. I say, therefore, that with regard to the two permanent bases of the security of the Empire that one of them remains in undiminished force and the other will be increased. Talk about the Viceroy and the Crown. Two years ago I saw Lord Spencer pass my window in the City of Dublin. He galloped by, casting frightened glances from side to side, surrounded by a body of Guards with drawn swords in their hands. He galloped through like a General in an enemy's country. I mentioned the name of Lord Spencer, and I say there never was an Administration that will be spoken of with such bated breath by the fireside of every man in Ireland as his. But the Irish people know how to forgive and to forget. I say a light has been shed upon the character of Lord Spencer by his magnanimous conduct on this question. His conduct sheds honour upon the name of Englishmen. The Irish people perceive his constancy in trying one course, and, finding that failed, adopting another. If Lord Spencer returned to Ireland to-morrow his bodyguard would be, not the Dragoons of the British Army, but the cheering multitude of the Loyal majority of Ireland. [*Cheers.*] The hon. and gallant Member for North Armagh cheers that statement. [Major SAUNDERSON: No, no!] I thought I distinguished a disapproving sound from the vicinity of the hon. and gallant Member. I am willing to say that I think the disloyal minority would keep away. The other day Lord Aberdeen made a progress through the South of Ireland. He went as the Viceroy of the Queen and as the Colleague of the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister. He was met at Kenmare by a Protestant rector and by a Catholic priest, and each of them presented an address on behalf of his congregation, and each of those addresses testified to the full belief of the people that the settlement proposed by the right hon. Gentleman would not only be accepted by the people of Ireland, but that it would be found to work out hereafter the pacification and contentment of that country. The National League band went to the railway station and met Lord Aberdeen; and what airs do you think they played? They played "God Save the Queen" and then they played "God Save Ireland;" and His Excellency very aptly and very justly remarked that he rejoiced at the new and promising combination between nationality and loyalty. I am bound to say that I read in the papers that they played "God Save the Queen" rather badly; it was an air at which they had had not much particular practice; and, in fact, there is a report that these energetic musicians stayed up all night in order to learn it. We can scarcely wonder at it, for the last time "God Save the King" was heard in Kenmare was in the year 1795, and the coincidence is instructive, for in that year Lord Fitzwilliam, a former messenger of peace to Ireland—a former messenger, whose mission, by unfortunate and miserable intrigues and by base passions, proved abortive—paid his visit to Kenmare. I hope the present mission may prove more successful. Before I sit down I must protest with all my force against the insinuation which has been made that we have put our case before the people of Britain accompanied by any threats or by any menaces. We have stood out of this controversy; we have allowed it to be freely discussed between the British people and their Leaders. If we intervene even at the present stage it is because it is no longer possible for us to be silent—it is because it is now essential that our views and opinions should be known. The people of Ireland have suffered bitterly in the past. They are now passing through a time of terrible trial, and I claim from men of all Parties in this House the admission that the Irish people are behaving with the most remarkable patience. The threats do not come from us. The threats come from the "Loyal minority." The threats come from those who have never been loyal to you—from those who have never been loyal to anything but to their own selfish interest and their own sordid gain. They now threaten to be disloyal to you and traitors to the Throne unless you allow them to keep their feet where their feet have been for so long—upon the necks of the Irish people. I do not know where the right hon. Member for West Birmingham found the growing determination on the part of Ulster to resist this Bill. Did he find it in the form of the Protestant Home Rule Association of Belfast? Did he find it in the address of 500 leading Protestants of Ulster recently presented to the Prime Minister congratulating him on his policy and hoping for its success? Did he find it in advertisements in the Press informing the police where they could find the Snider rifles, or did he find it in the Orange triumvirate above the Gangway? With regard to the hon. and gallant Member for North Down (Colonel Waring), with his threat of war, there seems to be a tone of Don Quixote in his character something more pathetic than formidable. I do not apprehend any danger from the hon. and gallant Gentleman, nor from the hon. Member for South Belfast (Mr. Johnston). The hon. Member for South Belfast rushed from a meeting of his supporters the other day with the exclamation—"I am going to London to stop Mr. Morley's Arms Bill?" Well, he came to London, he saw the Bill, and he was conquered, and he has since been denounced for his recreancy by the Tory organ in Ulster, because, instead of defeating the right hon. Gentleman's Bill, he walked into the Lobby with the Government as neatly as ever a ewe followed a bellwether through a hedge. The hon. Member seems to be under the impression that the British Army will not fight him. I never heard that the British Army—especially the 30,000 Catholic soldiers in the ranks—had transferred their allegiance from Her Majesty Queen Victoria to King William of Ballykilbeg. That Monarch may be excellent in many respects, but he labours under two disqualifications—he has no commissariat and he has no exchequer. Without these two qualifications it is quite impossible to keep any army in the field. The hon. Gentleman threatens that he will go through the land with the Bible in one hand and the sword in the other. [An hon. MEMBER: The rifle] — yes; with the Bible in one hand and the rifle in the other. That is an old tableau—it has not the merit of novelty—and I must say that, aware as I am that the hon. Gentleman has devoted the vigour of his career to peaceful piscatorial pursuits, I fear that he may do some harm to others with his Bible and some injury to himself with his rifle. But seriously, Sir, I think that the hon. Gentleman at his time of life would do well to consider whether even the enthusiastic sons of King William, when he makes his heroic speeches, are not thinking in their own secret hearts that he would fill an arm-chair much better than line a ditch. Probably, Sir, most of them suspect that a night-cap would come more readily to his hand than the rifle. But the chief of the triumvirate is the hon. and gallant Member for North Armagh (Major Saunderson). He differs a good deal from the hon. Member for South Belfast (Mr. Johnston), who is the dupe of his own imagination. The hon. and gallant Member for North Armagh sees through himself quite clearly, and it is not this kind of a Paladin that the British Army would be afraid of. What he relies on is the credulity of the British people. I can shed some light on the method of the hon. and gallant Gentleman, for lately in a speech in Ireland he said—

> "I have had an opportunity of speaking at Chester and at Plymouth, and I have spoken in other places. I invariably saw this—that there was nothing which elicited their enthusiasm so much as when I told them that the Ulster men were ready to strike at the proper time for their defence. I intend to repeat that again and again. I said distinctly in the House of Commons that our right arms shall shrivel before we consent to be ruled by Parnell. The rest will follow as a matter of course."

I should be sorry to see anything occur to mar the statuesque appearance and martial vigour of the hon. and gallant Gentleman; but I cannot help thinking that perhaps in view of such a contingency the best service his right arm could fulfil would be to shrivel, as otherwise he may be compelled to break his word or else get himself into serious trouble. But the hon. and gallant Gentleman conducts his operations on a system, and he has explained to his friends how he does it. He has told them that if he attacked his opponents directly, you, Sir, would call him to Order. "There are Parliamentary objections," he said, "to calling a spade a spade." And then with some ingenuity I discovered the method of what may be called vicarious vituperation. Well, Sir, we are thankful to the hon. and gallant Gentleman for the hint. I know some quotations which would greatly entertain the House, and the hon. and gallant Gentleman says—

> "I am happy to say you may call a man anything if it is only in a quotation."

I have no doubt, Mr. Speaker, that you will feel yourself indebted to me for enabling you to appreciate the spirit of the hon. and gallant Gentleman's speeches in future debates in this House. But the point of my revelation of the system of the hon. and gallant Gentleman is this—that an hon. and gallant Gentleman, who, when he desires to attack his fellow-Members, does not do it on his own responsibility, but throws a shield of inverted commas between himself and the epithet, is not in my opinion the kind of man who in any emergency would face the British or any other Army. The only importance these threats have acquired has been derived from the patronage which they have received. The local inciters to disorder in Ulster are what an able journal opposed to this Bill described them—"mere fire eaters and feather heads," with this exception, that while the fire they consume is imaginary the feathers in their head are real. The noble Lord the Member for Paddington (Lord Randolph Churchill) tells Ulster men that "by Heavens, their privileges are worth fighting for." When he asks them whether they are as good men as their forefathers in 1798 he awakens all the memories of horror and outrage and ruin inflicted upon a helpless and defenceless people, and in urging Ulster to charge with all its chivalry revives memories which set men's blood in flame. It is then that the conduct of hon. Gentlemen who are playing a game of "bluff," and of dependence upon the credulity of the people, acquires a seriousness not its own. Lord Salisbury, when the hon. and gallant Gentleman (Major Saunderson) at St. James's Hall repeated the dire threats about the shrivelling of his right arm, was so struck with the conclusiveness of the argument that he said to attempt to add force to it would be like trying to paint the lily. Lord Salisbury does not stick at a trifle, but he will not try to paint the Orange lily. He does not know this particular lily as well as we do. This particular lily stands in no need of painting. It is able to change colour of itself. It was buff once; it is orange now, and some day or other it will be green. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham has placed himself in alliance with the Heads of the Tory Party in inciting a certain section of the Protestants of Ulster to the resistance of the law. He has told them that if they are "really in earnest" they are certain to have their way. What does he mean by being "really in earnest?" I think the terms are plain enough. He used these threats at a time when threats were hurtling through the air, and we heard of armed bodies of Orangemen and of the despatch of Snider rifles. Does the right hon. Gentleman expect us to believe that when he asks an excited body of factionaries in Ulster to prove that they are really in earnest he means anything else than that the will of this Parliament and the authority of the Crown should be defied by force of arms? What otherwise can he mean? The will of the men of Ulster upon this Irish question will not be traversed until the Irish Parliament comes into existence and endeavours to assert its authority; and if the men of Ulster at that stage accept the advice of the right hon. Gentleman, they will be in the position of manifest traitors to the Crown, and I do not see what can save them and the Heads of the Tory Party from the taint of constructive treason. I think, Sir, it is time that the Oath of a Privy Councillor should be read at the Table of this House. I think it is time that this House should consider the advisability of presenting an Address to the Crown inviting Her Gracious Majesty to revise the list of Privy Councillors. They talk of threats if you pass this Bill. Sir, if you pass this Bill you will have overruled these threats of the turbulent and violent minority, devoid of political power and influence in Ireland. If you fail to pass this Bill, you will have yielded to the threats of that minority. Ireland will hold it so. The Irish people all over the world will believe it, and I beg the House to remember how fatal a lesson it would be to leave it on record that, after having used the scaffold and the penal cell from generation to generation, Irishmen who merely asked the right that you now say should be conceded were refused the concession of that national right, because a faction of the people of Ireland—who were never loyal to anything except their own passions and selfishness—threatened to rise against you. Sir, guarantees have been spoken of—the guarantee that this House has for the future of Ireland is one that cannot be questioned—the great guarantee is the gratitude of the people of Ireland to the Prime Minister. He has not yet succeeded; but we are grateful to him for the intention and the desire as if success were already in his hands. Moreover, that we are grateful to him—deeply grateful to him—for having in the presence of mean and unworthy attacks upon ourselves and our people declared in the face of England and the world his confidence in us and in them. We shall never abuse that confidence. It is not a half-confidence that we in return offer the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister. We appreciate the difficulties that surround him. We estimate the forces by which he is beset. We had hoped that it might have been possible for him a few days ago to have pressed forward the Bill this Session; but, reviewing in my own mind all the forces opposed to him and the character of the tactics sure to be pursued with reference to the matter, I thought and believed that after carefully reviewing the three courses indicated by him at the Foreign Office, that he announced the course most likely to defeat obstructive tactics, and accomplish a generous policy for Ireland. He has told us that he will press on this Bill, and that he anticipates at present no material amendment except with regard to that portion referring to the retention of Irish Members. For my own part, I am not sorry that the enmity to the Prime Minister and his Bill at the present moment has unequivocally expressed itself. The grievance of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Birmingham is not against the Prime Minister and his Bill; his grievance is that he is not Prime Minister of England at the present moment. He is the victim of a precocious ambition. He sat for some time on the box of the Liberal coach; not like the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Edinburgh (Mr. Goschen), who was tied behind it, and who has made his progress in that reluctant manner, kicking and shouting every inch of the way. No, Sir. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Birmingham sat on the box, but he made a slight mistake as to his position there. Now, while he did not drive the coach, but only sat on the box beside the driver, still sometimes he wished to take the reins, to apply the whip, to put on the drag, sometimes to pull up, sometimes to turn aside, sometimes to regulate the pace. But, the driver, on the other hand, who had made several journeys, and had never had any serious mishap, naturally desired to regulate the pace himself. I have no doubt that the country will agree that the driver was perfectly right in his determination to do so. The right hon. Member for Birmingham not being able to regulate the pace, he wished to upset the coach. Well, the coach may be upset, but it can be set up again, and what then will become of the worthy who pulled out the lynch-pin? I think it is no evil, if the struggle is to come, that the fight shall begin at the first barricade, and the sooner the fight begins the sooner it will be ended. Sir, we have confidence in this House. This House is the first-born of the Democracy of Great Britain. I have always believed—and I still refuse to believe the contrary—that the House will be true to its origin. If it should not be so there is, happily, an appeal. We look with confidence to the appeal from this House to the country, if it is necessary. The people of England were never responsible for the shame and the guilt of misgovernment of Ireland. It was the national shame, but it never was their shame. They were misled and misinformed by a cunning Government class and by an unscrupulous Press. Now, for the first time, the people of England know the truth, and they have been told that truth with an eloquence, and a comprehensiveness, and a force that no other living man could approach. At the time of the Union only a fraction of the people had been within the pale of the Constitution; but now for the first time they know the truth, for the first time they have the power, and although the right hon. Member for East Edinburgh (Mr. Goschen), and his kind would have kept millions of Englishmen out of the franchise if they could, though they appeal to the country against the Prime Minister, I believe the appeal to England, to the men to whom the Prime Minister gave political force, will result in their using that political force in the name of justice, and that the right hon. Gentleman will be supported by a force that will be irresistible. Sir, this is a struggle between a giant and a throng of liliputians. The time is against the pigmies. They may press in upon that point, they may beset him sore, but he can call out his reserves. The liliputians succeeded in binding a countryman of the right hon. Gentleman—one named Gulliver—they bound him with very slender pack thread, but they did it because they caught him asleep. Now, I have observed the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister for some years, and I have noticed that in the course of a long Sitting he has sometimes appeared to slumber in his place; but if any hon. Gentleman tries—no matter how obscure the Member—to refer to Bulgaria or Mid Lothian, or even Kilmainham, the right hon. Gentleman immediately opened one of his eyes, keeping the other, I presume, in reserve for emergencies. From that I gather that to catch the right hon. Gentleman asleep in public matters is not by any means easy. All the right hon. Gentleman has to do in this struggle is to keep wide awake—the Bill will be secure, and England will enable him to win. The noble Marquess the Member for Rossendale said that the Bill was dead. Sir, the Bill is not dead. The Bill is alive, and it will live; it will thrive in the hands of a living Irish nation. But I will tell the noble Marquess what is dead—his Party is dead. His Party is one of husks shed by the Liberal Party, and these husks are represented by territorial Whigs and sham Radicals. The Marquess of Salisbury took upon himself to state that in a few days this Bill would be a matter of history—it will be a matter of history, but it will be a history of one chapter closed and another opened—it will be a history of a chapter that records the end of a chapter which lasted 700 years—a chapter unequalled in misery and in shame, a chapter of tyranny, retaliation, and of persecution. It will mark the opening of a better and a happier chapter—of a chapter to last, I hope, through the ages yet to come—a chapter of justice and of mutual kindliness—a chapter of prosperity and peace. Sir, I believe that in the Hall of the Irish Legislative Chamber—opposite the statue of Charles James Fox—that one great Englishman, before our time, who had the wisdom and the greatness to appreciate the justice of the Irish cause, will stand the statue of the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister. We who will have remembered him in his greatness—we who have seen him and heard him—will know how he feared nothing, how he dared everything where his head and conscience led him to champion the Irish cause. His memory will be a beneficent influence to the future time. History, the impartial justifier of right, will, when the passions of this struggle are stilled, when everyone of us is lying quiet in our grave, cherish his memory as one who brought to an end the woful and bitter fight between two nobly-gifted nations—the struggle between the English and the Irish people—and generations of Englishmen and of Irishmen yet unborn will bless his memory as that of him who initiated and achieved between Great Britain and Ireland a settlement sought for by this Empire, beneficial to Great Britain, satisfying to Ireland, and honourable to both our nations.

Mr. CRAIG SELLAR (Lanarkshire, Partick) said, he had listened, as he was sure hon. Gentlemen generally had listened, to the last speech with admiration and interest. It was rare that they heard a speech of greater brilliancy or humour. He thought the existence of the hon. Member for Sligo (Mr. Sexton) was in itself an argument against the exclusion of the Irish Members. The House would be poorer if it wanted the power and eloquence and humour of the hon. Member. He wished, however, to bring the discussion back from the higher flights to which the hon. Member had raised it, and to deal with the subject in a more prosaic way, in order to bring some of the statements that had been made to the plain test of facts. He wished to say a few words upon a single aspect—and it might be a small aspect —of this great question which had not been touched on in this debate. It was one of very great importance, and one which went so deep into the social fabric of the Protestant community in Ireland, and might be so far-reaching in its effects for generations of Irishmen yet unborn, that he must direct attention to it. He alluded to the effect which this Bill, if it were passed into law, must inevitably have on the future of the education of the youth of Ireland. A few weeks ago he was present, in a Committee Room upstairs, at a meeting of Scottish Members, when they were addressed by three illustrious members of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland—the Moderator of the General Assembly and two of his reverend brethren. These gentlemen spoke to them in earnest, simple language, with no bitterness or sectarian animosity, but they spoke the language of conviction. They told them that though heretofore they had lived on terms of friendship and brotherhood with the clergy of the Roman Catholic Church, they looked with alarm and dismay on the proposals which they were now discussing. They told them how the Catholic clergy were active workers on the National League, and how they were working for the ascendancy of the Catholic Church. They told them what their main object was. It was to get the supreme control over the education of the youth of Ireland. What they said, and the manner in which they said it, with no bitterness or animosity, but with a settled and a painful conviction, made a deep impression on his mind, and, he thought, on the minds of all who heard it. With that impression on his mind, the question he wished to ask was this—Was this Presbyterian deputation right or was it wrong, when the members of it told them that the control of the education of the youth of Ireland was the goal at which the Roman Catholic hierarchy and priesthood of Ireland were aiming, and which they must reach if this Bill were allowed to pass? As he desired to confine his remarks to a corner of this subject, so he would confine them to the case of the Protestant minority in Ireland. There could be no objection to the Catholic majority conducting their educational system and their educational methods in whatever way seemed best to them. If they preferred a denominational to a national system where the Catholic population was alone affected, no one could take exception. In Scotland they preferred a national system, and they had a national system, but they safeguarded the rights of the Catholic and Episcopalian minority; and if he felt that they could trust the Irish Parliament and the Irish Executive to safeguard the rights of the Protestant minorities throughout Ireland, he should feel, on this point, less reluctant than he did to support the scheme of the Government. But, in looking at the scheme of the Government, he found the Government did not themselves trust the Irish Parliament or the Irish Executive in matters of education and religion. The Bill contained no less than five distinct limitations in the powers of the Irish Legislature on these subjects. They prohibited the Irish Legislature from making any laws (1) for the establishment or endowment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; (2) for imposing any disability or conferring any privilege on account of religious belief; (3) from abrogating or derogating from the right to establish or maintain any place of denominational education, or any denominational institution or charity; (4) prejudicially affecting the right of any child to attend a school receiving public money without attending the religious instruction of that school; (5) impairing without leave the rights, property, or privileges of any existing Corporation. When he read these limitations and restrictions, whether he believed in their efficacy or not, he saw by them that the Government did not trust the Irish Legislature to safeguard the rights of the minorities; and if the Government did not trust it, he asked himself what will this Irish Parliament and this Irish Executive necessarily be? He asked that question, and he answered it in the words of the Nationalist Party themselves. The answer was to be found in *The United Ireland* of April 10, and this was the organ of the Nationalist Party. The editor was one of the most conspicuous Members of the National Party, and this was what that paper said only a few weeks ago upon this subject—

> "A National Parliament controlling Irish affairs from College Green would not be a revolutionary novelty. It would be only regularizing a system of government which is already obeyed from Donegal to Cork. The National League has already proved itself the most beneficent and capable Government with which Ireland has been for centuries endowed."

That, Sir, is a plain answer to the plain question, What will the Irish Parliament and the Irish Executive necessarily be? When he considered this, he understood how it was that the Government would not trust this Irish Legislature which it proposed to set up, and why all these limitations and restrictions were introduced into the Bill—well, what hope would there be that the rights of the Protestant minority would be safeguarded when the National League had become supreme? Would not the priests look for their reward when the League was supreme? Of course they would; and what would their reward be? That reward would be the control of the education of the youth of Ireland. There was no manner of doubt that control of the education of Ireland in all its branches—University, middle, and elementary—was what the priests had struggled for for many a year, and which, when the League was supreme, they meant to have. This was admitted by the hon. Member for Longford (Mr. Justin M'Carthy). But if the House required any proof of this he could supply it. Ireland, as everyone knew, had had a national system of education since 1833, and the basis of that system was united secular and separate religious instruction. Until the other night he had understood that this system was a good system. In the old days, if he mistook not, his right hon. Friend the Vice President of the Council (Sir Lyon Playfair) considered the system was a good system, though the results were hardly adequate. But these were in the old days—the pre-salvation days. —the days before his right hon. Friend had gone to Leeds and had become a Home Ruler. Now, he told them they had been on the wrong track. We gave education to Ireland according to English ideas. "We only gave"—he quoted his right hon. Friend's words—"the sort of education which fitted people to go to prison." Surely his right hon. Friend's conversion to these Nationality doctrines of education must have been of very recent growth. Why, Sir, it will be in the recollection of the House—at any rate, it was well in the recollection of Scottish Members—that only a few months ago, when the Scottish Members, speaking for their constituents, were desirous of having education in Scotland according to Scottish ideas under a Scottish Secretary, exactly as Irish education was under an Irish Secretary, his right hon. Friend, almost alone among the Scottish Members, opposed it. He got a Select Committee formed to report against Scottish education being managed by the Scottish Secretary in this House, and out of it he preached the gospel against it—he even resigned his Scottish seat as a protest against it—and now he was a convert, at least as far as Ireland went; he was for giving education according to Irish ideas, because education according to

English ideas only fitted Irishmen to go to prison. He (Mr. Craig Sellar) supposed the right hon. Gentleman was now for giving education to the Scotch according to Scotch ideas. He hoped it might be so, and perhaps they should have him back among them as a Scottish Member reconciled. As to whether the priests and the Bishops in Ireland were working to secure the control of Irish education, the hon. Member pointed to the action of these clergy with regard to the "model schools" to show that, so far as elementary education goes, they are working to that end. These schools had always been the objects of their hostility. Although they had turned out some of the best teachers in Ireland, they were regarded as "intrinsically evil" by the Bishops. Parents were forbidden, under the severest ecclesiastical penalties, from sendiug their children to these schools; and clerical managers, of whom there were a great many in Ireland, were interdicted from employing teachers who were trained there. The reason of this hostility was well explained by one of the most distinguished of the Irish Commissioners—Sir Robert Kane—who said that the interdict had been carried out with the object of putting education in the hands of the Church authorities and establishing the Christian Brothers in place of the present schools. There could be no doubt in the mind of any man that throughout the whole of Ireland, Catholic and Protestant, the object of the Catholic hierarchy was to get control over the elementary education. With regard to higher education, he would not weary the House with argument. He would only quote *The Dublin Review*, a paper originally started by Cardinal Wiseman, and which was the authorized exponent of the views of the clergy. Every article in the paper was submitted to three censors, who examined its bearings on faith, morals, and other matters; and it might be therefore regarded as the true exponent of the views of the hierarchy with regard to middle education. That paper, while admitting that higher education opened a larger avenue to Catholic youth, expressed a preference that Catholic youth should be uninstructed rather than that they should be tempted to doubt the truth of their religion. In other words, it said that ignorance was the best protection for Catholic youth against infidelity. That quotation, he thought, was sufficient to show the *animus* of the clergy towards middle education. The third point he wished to bring forward was with respect to Trinity College, Dublin. The relations of Trinity College and the Catholic hierarchy had often been the subject of discussion in that House. Some time ago the present Chancellor of the Exchequer (Sir William Harcourt), speaking on the matter, said that if he thought the Bill which he was then speaking on would not do justice to Trinity College he would vote against it. He said that Trinity College was the "intellectual eye" of Ireland, and to hand it over to the Roman Catholics would be like permitting Ultramontane wreckers to put out all the lights on the coast of Galway. Archbishop Walsh had declared that so long as the central fortress of education in Ireland, which was not Catholic, was allowed to stand so long would it be impossible for any statesman, English or Irish, to deal with the question of education in Ireland. The hon. Member for the City of Dublin (Mr. Sullivan) had also declared that Trinity College was part of the machinery for the subjugation of Ireland, that it was a branch of English arrangements and institutions in Ireland, and was simply an English fortress. How far would they be able to attain their ends if this Bill became law? Trinity College was open to all religions, on equal terms, and without distinction. Students of any denomination, and student of every denomination and every religion, were free, as he understood it, to compete for every prize and every scholarship, and the Governing Body were subject to no religious tests. It was freer than any of our Colleges in Oxford or Cambridge, and yet, because it was a "non-Catholic"—not an "anti-Catholic"—institution, it came under the denunciation of the hierarchy. Now, what might be its fate under this Bill? Its endowments might be confiscated by taxation, and this taxation might be appropriated to any purpose which the Irish Legislature—namely, the National Legislature—might think fit, subject to the assent of the Queen in Council. Out of these revenues, therefore, another and exclusively Catholic University could be endowed, and the "intellectual eye of Ireland" would be put out, the lighthouse on the coast of ignorance and bigotry would be destroyed at the bidding of the "Ultramontane wreckers." But the same object could be effected by indirect means under this Bill. The rights of existing Corporations might be set aside by the Queen in Council on an Address presented by the Legislative Body of Ireland. As he said before, the priests had been active workers on the League. The Irish Legislature would simply be the National League. The priests had helped the League to "come to its own," as the Jacobite song said; the priests were to have their reward, and the first share of the spoils of victory which the priests would have would be that the constitution of Trinity College should be abolished in favour of a Body of a different religious complexion, and that the curriculum should be remodelled in accordance with Ultramontane ideas. The "gagging clauses" of the discarded and discredited University Bill of 1873 would be passed and put in force, and the study of history and of philosophy would be excluded from the curriculum. His right hon. Friend the Vice President of the Council argued with much eloquence against this proposal in 1873. But that was in the days in which he was a Scottish Representative, and before he found salvation in his formulary about educating Ireland according to Irish ideas. But even if those subjects were retained in the curriculum, the study of history would be confined to these fragmentary extracts and one-sided text-books, which the Church approved, and the study of philosophy to formal logic and mediæval theology. The whole spirit of free inquiry would henceforth be stifled and extinguished, and a University which for centuries had been the home of unfettered science and speculation would become a mere training school of Catholic orthodoxy. But even without applying to the Queen in Council the majority in the Irish Legislature could transform the character of Trinity College. Great powers were vested in the Crown—that is, the Lord Lieutenant—under the Caroline Statutes for recasting the internal arrangements in the College. Hitherto these powers had not been used, except on the motion of the College itself. But there was nothing to prevent a Lord Lieutenant, acting on the advice of responsible Ministers, from carrying out all the changes which the Bishops demanded. A Parliament hostile to secular education could, without infringing a clause in the Bill, establish Catholic ascendancy inside the University. In short, Trinity College would be at the mercy of the Irish Executive for the time being, and the influences which it represented. Similarly the Irish Executive would have entire control over the appointments to the Queen's College, and even the great Presbyterian College at Belfast, in the very centre of Ulster Protestantism, could, by judicious appointments, be so manipulated that none but Catholics could attend it. He should not go down the scale from University to middle, and from middle to elementary education; but the same reasoning applied all through. Appointments on the Examining Body and on the National Board would, of course, be in the hands of a Catholic Executive, supported by a Catholic Parliament, and acting upon a Catholic Lord Lieutenant. The appointment of Inspectors would lie in the Executive, the power of granting and withholding grants, the appointment of teachers—all these would be in the hands of the Legislature—that is, of the National League. The truth was, the word "religion" need never be mentioned in the Irish Legislature, nor the words "religious endowment," or "religious disqualification," and yet elementary education could be placed under the absolute control of the Catholic Church. All that was required was a good working majority on the National Board. Then, such Inspectors and teachers as did not fall in with the views of the Board would be dismissed, grants would be withheld from heretical and nonconforming schools, and in every school throughout Ireland religion could be, and would be, according to the logical and consistent theory of Catholic education, mixed up with secular learning. Even if a Conscience Clause were introduced it would avail nothing. The stamp and impress of Catholicism would still be effectually placed upon secular education. The Catholic religion would be established and endowed in everything except in name. That was quite right in Catholic Ireland if it was only provided that the scattered Protestants in the South and West were safeguarded. He did not ask for ascendancy, but only fair play. But they would not get fair play under this Bill. The Protestant community in the South and West would find itself, even in the non-Catholic part of Ulster, obliged to choose between two alternatives—that of accepting a system of so-called national education, guided and controlled by the Catholic hierarchy, or providing schools for itself out of resources which would be hopelessly inadequate to the task. He did not think this latter alternative was possible in the present state of trade. What the Protestants of Ireland would have to face, if this Bill were allowed to pass, would be the establishment and endowment by indirect means of a single denomination—the denomination, he admitted, of the majority, but without the shadow even of protection for the consciences and claims of the minority. This was only one aspect—one corner of this question. But this aspect, this corner alone, was enough to make him and he thought the great majority of his countrymen look with anything but favour on the provisions of this Bill. Allusion had been made in the debate to "Home Rule for Scotland," and the Prime Minister, in his recent Manifesto, put on this gaudy fly, and threw it over the people both of Scotland and of Wales to see if those nationalities would rise to it. He had no right to speak for the people of Wales. But from what he knew of them he had very much doubt if the Welsh people would be moved even by such skilful angling as that. But he had watched Scottish opinion pretty closely, and he was bound to say that, so far as his reading of Scottish opinion went, there was no demand for anything of the kind in the sense given to it in this Bill. There was a demand, and a very legitimate demand, for extended and amended local government in Scotland to manage affairs in counties and burghs on a representative instead of a nomination system. They fought the elections upon this, and they expected that before now they should have had a measure on the subject. There was a demand for this, and that demand went some way. It maintained, and rightly maintained, that there were many matters of local government—such as gas and water works, railways, bridges, harbours, tramways, and such things as were the subjects of private legislation — that these things could be done much better and much more satisfactorily in Scotland than in London; that industrial undertakings of that nature were warped and cramped and prohibited by the necessity of coming to the Imperial Parliament. To that extent there was a strong, reasonable, practical, and legitimate demand for Home Rule in Scotland—if they liked to christen it by such a name—and that was a demand which, in his opinion, ought to be granted. For the fulfilment of that demand he had worked, and should continue to work, either outside or inside Parliament, as hard as any man. But if, without presumption, he might venture to say a few words to his Colleagues from Scotland, he would ask them—Would they, or any man among them, look at such a proposal as this Irish scheme if it were offered to Scotland? Let him mention a case or two. Would they consent to be excluded from the Imperial Parliament, from all participation in the consideration of Foreign and Colonial and Imperial affairs, even at the price of a Statutory Parliament in Edinburgh? Would they consent to allow the whole Imperial policy with regard to our Indian Dependencies, which, to a large extent, had been made, and consolidated, and governed by Scotsmen, to be moulded and directed by England without their having a voice in the direction? Would they consent to have their Colonial policy, which might affect for weal or woe the lives of thousands of Scotsmen in Canada, Australia, and New Zealand, to be guided exclusively by Englishmen, and the Scottish Members not to be allowed to say a word or raise a finger in the matter? Would they consent to hand over the Imperial Army and Navy, with the glorious deeds of which the names of so many illustrious Scotsmen were honourably associated—would they consent to hand over the Army and Navy of the Empire to the exclusive control of Englishmen assembled in that Parliament from which they were excluded? Scotland and Scotsmen had borne no humble part in the development of trade and navigation in the British Empire. But Scotland and Scotsmen would, if such a Bill were to be passed for Scotland, be excluded from passing any law or taking part in the discussion of any law affecting the trade and navigation of the Empire. Would any of his Colleagues consent to that? He might go through the whole list of these distinctions of limitation, and he might ask his Colleagues if they would accept any one of them, and he was perfectly certain they would not. Nay, he went further. If, last November, the Liberal Representatives for Scotland had gone to their constituencies with nothing to offer them—no reform in Procedure, no reform in the Land Laws, no reform in Local Government—nothing but this barren and impracticable measure to be offered to Ireland or to Scotland—if they had gone before the people of Scotland with nothing but this, would 60 of them have been returned? Would 30? Would the Prime Minister himself have been returned for Mid Lothian? No, Sir. We and our fantastic projects of Home Rule would have been scouted from one end of Scotland to the other. And yet that was what the Bill proposed to do for Ireland, and hon. Members on that side of the House told them that they would gladly accept these degrading conditions when applied to Ireland, and they adulated the Ministry and licked the hand of the Minister who offered them. He did not doubt the sincerity of their acceptance, nor the sincerity of their adulation, though he could not but remember the execration with which the Ministry, and that Member of the Ministry who more perhaps than any other Minister was responsible for the Bill—he meant Earl Spencer, because without Earl Spencer's co-operation the Prime Minister could not have formed his Administration—he could not but remember the execrations which only a few months ago were heaped upon this Ministry and upon that Minister by those who now adulated them. He did not doubt the sincerity of this adulation. But he did doubt if their acceptance now and their adulation were the true measure of the acceptance of this Bill in Ireland. Their professions bound themselves; they did not bind the Irish nation. They bound themselves; they did not bind their successors in Irish agitation—

"The evil that men do lives after them,
The good is oft interred with their bones."

He did not believe that the pledges and promises of the hon. Member for Cork (Mr. Parnell) had any binding effect. He believed that the acceptance of this measure, however genuine it may be for the moment, would not survive a single Dublin Parliament. It would be regarded as a mere stepping-stone to further demands—demands which would be pressed on every candidate for a seat in the Dublin Parliament. Majorities would be returned and Ministries formed upon these demands, and these demands, coming from a Statutory Parliament duly elected in Dublin, would be regarded as the Constitutional expression of Irish opinion, and which, in the end, perhaps, after a bitter Parliamentary struggle in which great historical Parties might again be rent asunder and broken to pieces, would be granted by what remained of the Imperial Parliament. It was because he saw no finality in this project, because he saw in it nothing but material for fresh agitation in Ireland, that he strenuously opposed it. The President of the Local Government Board told them the other day that he had "a message of peace on his lips, and an olive branch in his hand." This was not the first olive branch that had been sent to Ireland of late years from the Imperial Parliament. The Act for the Disestablishment of the Irish Church was an olive branch; the Land Act of 1873 was an olive branch; the Land Act of 1881 was an olive branch; and the extension of the Franchise was an olive branch. The Liberal Party was persuaded to pass those olive branches on the promise given on each occasion that it was a message of peace and a final settlement. But every one of these olive branches brought forth nothing but Dead Sea apples—beautiful to look at, but with nothing but dust inside them. And after all these messages of peace they were no nearer the settlement than they were. The more they gave the more was demanded. The demands got larger and larger; a land agitation had grown to a national agitation, and a national agitation had grown to a separatist agitation. He said there was no finality to these demands; and it was because he saw no finality in this measure—only an infinity of mischief—that with great regret and great reluctance he had come to the determination that he could not support the second reading.

MR. INCE (Islington, E.) said, he had listened with the respect due to his hon. Friend who had just sat down (Mr. Craig Sellar), whose abilities and exertions on behalf of the Liberal cause they all recognized, and he had endeavoured to ascertain from him what he had endeavoured to ascertain from the speech of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham (Mr. J. Chamberlain)—namely, what on earth the question of what might be good or desirable or what might be wanted for Scotland had got to do with this Bill. The Scottish Members, faithfully representing their constituents, no doubt did not want Home Rule; did it follow from that that the Irish people should not have it? The difference between the two cases was that the Irish people desired a thing which the Scottish people did not desire. His hon. Friend might as well complain that a pigmy declined to purchase the clothes of a giant. He had listened with profound astonishment and great regret to the speech of the right hon. Member for West Birmingham. He confessed that he did not understand the right hon. Gentleman's attitude. The right hon. Gentleman appeared to be perfectly satisfied with the principle of the Bill, and was anxious that it should be known that he was in favour of Home Rule. They were all very anxious just now to let their opinions be known to everybody. The only thing displeasing to the right hon. Gentleman was the form of the Bill. But he thought they had got rid of the form of the Bill. If there was one thing which had been made clear, it was that in voting for the second reading they were simply voting for the principle of the Bill, which was Home Rule for Ireland. He could understand and appreciate the attitude of the noble Marquess the Member for Rossendale, who was altogether opposed to Home Rule, and was in favour of doing nothing for Ireland. But the right hon. Member for West Birmingham, who avowed that he was a Home Ruler when most of them were thinking of other things, and who had not changed his opinions, was adopting what to him appeared an utterly unintelligible course. If the right hon. Gentleman had attended the meeting at the Foreign Office—as he might well have done—he would probably have been satisfied with the explanations of the Prime Minister, which went far to meet the objections which he had raised to the Bill. And he must say this of the objections of the right hon. Gentleman—that the Government had undertaken to make alterations tending to meet the views he had contended for, and to make those alterations before the Bill was again presented to the House. But even as the Bill stood, with the alterations proposed by the Government, he could not see that the Bill failed to fall in with the object which the right hon. Gentleman seemed to have so much at heart—namely, that the supremacy of Parliament should be maintained, and that the Irish Members should be retained at Westminster. The doctrine of the supremacy of Parliament was, of course, a question of Constitutional law, the answer to which must be gathered from the opinions of Constitutional lawyers. In support of this doctrine he quoted from a book written in the early portion of the 17th century, entitled "Privileges and Practice of the Parliaments in England, collected out of the Common Laws of this land," in which it was laid down that all Acts and Statutes in England were made "by the consent of the whole Realm." In other words, the House of Commons, in the eye of the law, was not a House of Delegates—it was "the Commons of England," and, with the Crown and the other Estates (the Lords Spiritual and Temporal), made up "the whole Realm"—a Body competent to do whatsoever it saw fit. That doctrine, laid down in 1640, was not then new—a little book in black letter, written by Lord Chief Justice Fortescue, in the time of Henry VI., contained precisely the same statement of the law. This doctrine of the absolute supremacy of an Act of the English Legislature did not rest on mere *dicta*—it had been put in execution within the present Reign. In 1833 slavery was, by general Act of the Imperial Parliament, abolished throughout the whole of the British Dominions. Some of the Colonies did not take kindly to the Act abolishing slavery, and among these the Colonies of the West Indies. Jamaica failed to take the proper steps to give effect to this alteration of the law. Jamaica at that time had a local Legislature; but the Imperial Parliament, on Jamaica's failure in duty, in the first year of the present Reign, passed an Act in which, over the head of the local Legislature, it directed that proper means should be taken for effectuating the release of the slaves. The matter did not stop there. The Legislative Assembly at Jamaica took umbrage at what Parliament had done, and refused to vote Supplies. Thereupon the Imperial Parliament passed a further Act, enabling, in need, the Governor of Jamaica, with the advice of his Council, and notwithstanding the dissent of the Assembly, to raise the moneys necessary for carrying on the Government of the Colony. Thus the House would see that, notwithstanding the existence of a local Legislature in Jamaica, the House of that day had found no difficulty in the way of asserting its supremacy. He would avow that he was by no means pleased to see a Bill of this kind introduced into the House, and he should have been very glad if the necessity for its introduction had not existed. But he could not shut his eyes to the fact that the condition of Ireland was such as demanded redress at the hands of that Assembly. It was said by some opponents of the measure that there were two races in Ireland, and in support of that assertion stress was laid on the fact that Ireland was the home of two distinctly separate religions. Those who argued in that way might say equally well that Brighton contained a separate nation because there were so many Jews there. Difference of religion did not constitute difference of race. As to the allegation that the people of Ulster would be overborne by the adherents of hon. Members below the Gangway, he thought that if there was any danger it was rather the other way, for the Gentlemen of Ulster had the sinews of war. Much as he should like to see things go on as they had gone on hitherto, in view of the state to which Ireland had been reduced by the incompetency of the English Government and of the English garrison at Dublin Castle, he could not refuse his assent to a measure which, if not absolutely final, would at any rate hold good for a considerable time, and would bring peace and quiet to the people of Ireland.

MR. DAWSON (Leeds, E.) said, that he could not support this measure, because he believed it was neither in the interests of Great Britain nor of Ireland; but if he believed there was no alternative to it but 20 years' coercion, he would have supported it, although he did not approve of it. But he believed that the Marquess of Salisbury's policy had been wrongly described as 20 years' coercion. The objections and doubts which he had in reference to the Bill had, in the first place, been instilled into his mind by the conduct of those who had brought the Bill into the House. It had been described as a Bill of unparalleled gravity; but instead of being, as might have been imagined, the outcome of prolonged contemplation, it was the production of a Government which, with the exception of the Chief Secretary for Ireland, was composed of Members who had previously denounced such a measure. The Under Secretary for the Local Government Board (Mr. Borlase), in his Election address, said that "Home Rule had been rendered impossible by the action of those who supported it." The Chancellor of the Exchequer (Sir William Harcourt), at Lowestoft, denounced a fancied alliance of the Tories and Parnellites; and remembering his declarations on the subject of Home Rule, and comparing them with his present views, he (Mr. Dawson) felt he might say—*Quantum mutatus ab illo, Hectore.* Then there was the Secretary of State for War (Mr. Campbell-Bannerman), who, at Culross, in November, 1885, after denouncing as a political hotchpotch any plan of National Councils for England, Scotland, Ireland, and Wales, said that a separate Parliament and Government for Ireland would cause great difficulties, and that he

> "Did not think it would be likely to be consented to by Whig or Tory, because it would not be consistent with the maintenance of the integrity of the Empire and the duty to the Crown."

Hon. Members were told that because a Bill brought forward in such haste as this had been laid before them by the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister they were bound to pass it because Home Rule had thereby been made inevitable. Death was doubtless inevitable, but that was no reason why people should be invited to cut their own throats. Nothing was easier than to use this word "inevitable" as an argument. For instance, in 1862 the Prime Minister, in a celebrated speech that he then made, had advised the Northern States to cast loose the Southern States, because, he said—

> "Just as in business transactions you could not keep in partnership a partner who was determined to leave you;"

and he then said that such separation

was "inevitable." But the Northern States refused that advice, and separation did not and never would take place. It was desirable that the House should know exactly what they were discussing. This measure could scarcely be characterized as a Bill, because it was avowedly never intended to become law; and it was not an abstract Resolution, because it condescended to details which could not be included in an abstract Resolution, and which had been modified from time to time in obedience to the dictation of the right hon. Member for West Birmingham. Therefore, they seemed to be discussing a sort of hermaphrodite. The hon. Gentleman who had just sat down (Mr. Ince) had said he could not understand the attitude of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham on the question of the alterations to be made in the Bill. They were told that by reading this Bill a second time they would be merely affirming a general principle; and yet they were informed by the Prime Minister that this measure had been his daily and nightly thought for months, and he had occupied three hours and a-half in explaining the various details of the measure, the general principle of which he might have stated in a few minutes. But by reading the Bill a second time would the House of Commons, in fact, be merely approving a general principle? The right hon. Gentleman had stated that the only alterations that would be made when the measure was reintroduced would be in Clauses 24 and 39; and when the noble Lord the Member for Paddington (Lord Randolph Churchill) suggested that the Bill was to be "reconstructed," the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister emphatically cried "Never, never!" while he had pointedly referred to the new Bill which was to be introduced in the Autumn Session as "the Bill." They were told that a second reading only affirmed the central principle of a Bill and not its details. But this Bill contained details, each of which was of importance, superior to an ordinary Bill, and they could not be left out of consideration in voting on the second reading. For instance, there was the point of the constitution of the Irish Parliament. They were asked to establish an Upper Order with property qualifications. He thought this was an old exploded Tory principle. The democracy of England seemed to be appealed to by every hon. Member below the Gangway on both sides of the House, and the democracy of England was asked by the Government to go back to a Tory principle 150 years ago, and so produce complication. That was a very important thing to be asked to go back to 150 or 200 years ago. Then, as to the financial condition of Ireland, that was not permitted to be discussed. But what about England's security for Ireland's tribute? Here he protested against Ireland being called upon to pay a tribute. He wished to point out what had been said by the hon. Member for Sligo (Mr. Sexton), who gave the House to understand that he would not have the Irish Parliament controlled. This was a most striking part of the hon. Gentleman's speech, who said he protested against the Irish Legislature being controlled by the English House of Commons. And yet this most important point was not to be raised on the second reading, but was to be relegated to Committee. In that case, the English Parliament were not to be permitted to consider the question of Irish landlords which might arise under the land scheme, and this similarly was to be referred to the Committee stage. There was one reason why he thought the House ought to consider these important particulars before passing the second reading of this Bill. If the House consented to read the Bill a second time the opponents would be met by this difficulty, that while they might disapprove of the Bill, they might also be divided on some points of detail, and they would find that in Committee, being divided among themselves, they would be overwhelmed by the Government. They were told that foreign opinions were in favour of this Bill. He could not forget that the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister was deserted by some of his former Colleagues. He was deserted by the right hon. Member for Rossendale (the Marquess of Hartington), by the right hon. Member for the Border Burghs (Mr. Trevelyan), and by the right hon. Member for West Birmingham (Mr. J. Chamberlain), and he did not know how many more; and, deserted by his former Colleagues, the Prime Minister was forced to fly for solace to some American senator. Why should the English House of Commons be asked to pass a Bill like this? Why should the opinion of foreign countries be brought to bear upon the opinion of the House of Commons? Let every country manage its own affairs. The Prime Minister had referred to what he called analogous cases. The House had been asked to look at the case of Norway and Sweden; and the Government, he believed, had been asked to lay upon the Table something of a statement regarding those two countries, but they were told that there was something of a delicate nature in those statements, and that they could not be produced. Then the Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs (Mr. Bryce) laid great stress on the case of Denmark and Iceland; but the next day he found there was a grave difficulty there—a grave Constitutional question; and in Austria and Hungary a Constitutional crisis was now proceeding. These examples were not such as to allay suspicion regarding the satisfactory and peaceful working of this Bill. One great reason why he opposed the Bill was that the Government were already pursuing that policy of judicious mixture which the Prime Minister had condemned—that policy of coercion and conciliation. [*Cries of* "No!"] Yes; they had brought in and passed a measure to prevent Irishmen carrying arms. If the people of Ireland had not a right to carry arms—and if this did not partake of the character of coercion he did not know what coercion was—they had no right to govern themselves. For himself, he took no part in the Arms Bill, and he should always find it very difficult to give coercion. Here they were offered a Constitution, but they could not be trusted with a gun. Was not this irrational and inconsistent? If they could not be trusted with arms, that was an argument against their being allowed Home Rule. What were the reasons for bringing in the Arms Bill? The Government had justified the Arms Bill not in view of the present condition of Ireland, but on account of what the condition of Ireland might be if this Bill was passed. What a comment was this on the Bill itself. They were told that if civil war arose from the passing of this Bill it would be unjustifiable; but it seemed to him that if the Governing Body were to break its part of the contract those who had entered into the contract with it would be released from performing their part. If the right hon. Gentleman feared the circumstances out of which it arose, he was right in bringing in that Arms Bill; but how serious was the position of affairs, and how grave was the position of the Government which brought it in. They had been told there would be civil war; but this he was not going to argue. The mere fact that the possibility of such a thing could be discussed to his mind condemned the measure which made it possible. The President of the Local Government Board (Mr. Stansfeld) the other night derided the idea of there being two nations in Ulster; but the hon. Member for Sligo had said that, at any rate, in Down and Antrim there were only Englishmen and Scotchmen. [*Cries of* "No!"] Well, he did not want to look upon any body of his fellow-countrymen as foreigners, nor did he wish to look upon any laws which might be made by them as coming in a foreign garb; but he did protest against a Bill which dealt with them as the present measure proposed to do. Then, with regard to the safeguards in the Bill, they would be better out of it altogether, and simply for the reason that as long as there remained a single safeguard for the rights of the minorities in Ireland, so long they would place a blot on the Bill and an argument against it which they could never take away. What was the only kind of Assembly that ought to govern any country? Ought it not to be an Assembly which they could trust to deal out equal laws for everybody—to give to the rich man the same laws as were to be given to the poor man? Every single safeguard that was placed on the Bill was a confession that the Irish Legislature would not be a Body of that character. If such a degrading insinuation was placed on that Body, how could they expect that the Unionist minority should view its policy with any confidence? Now, he could not believe that this Bill would be a final settlement of the Irish Question. It fell far short of the views expressed by the Irish Members. It seemed to him that that was a difficult dilemma for the Government to get over. The hon. Member for South Tyrone (Mr. W. O'Brien) had been reported in his own newspaper as having said, in a speech made on the 23rd of August last year—

> "When the complete programme of the Land League was accomplished, landlordism would vanish from the country, and the soil of Ireland would be free and its people with no master but the Almighty, and no friend but the green flag of the independent Irish nation."

There had been several other speeches made by Irish Members of a similar character, though some of them had been denied as being inaccurately reported. The words of the hon. Member for Cork (Mr. Parnell) as to the last link between England and Ireland had been reported in a verbatim report in *The Irish World.* The hon. Member for South Londonderry (Mr. T. M. Healy), speaking on April 20, a fortnight after that measure was introduced, was reported in *The Freeman's Journal* to have said—

> "Let that Bill perish or let it succeed, the cause of Ireland would continue. The Irish race would pursue their mission, and would never cease until they had made their country a land free and glorious in the civilized world."

What was the mission of the Irish race there referred to? It was that the separation movement should go on until the green flag of Ireland floated over Dublin. That work was to be continued whether that Bill succeeded or not; and he asked whether, in the face of that statement from a distinguished Leader of the Party below the Gangway, the House could be deluded into expecting that Bill to be a final settlement of the Irish Question? The Government said if the Bill failed it could be repealed; but did hon. Gentlemen who were going to support the Bill think that after it became law it could be repealed by a simple Act of Parliament in that House? Would not the Irish people struggle hard to prevent its repeal? And though the struggle might be futile, still any Bill, the repeal of which would have to be carried out by force, the House surely ought to pause long before it passed. He confessed frankly that if he did believe it was to be a final settlement of the question—if he believed that by a measure of that kind they would ever attain a final settlement of the question—if he thought that the Bill would bring peace and prosperity to Ireland, to bring about a real union of affection and mutual interest between the two countries, to strengthen and not to impair the strength and integrity of the Empire, he declared solemnly that he

would vote for it; but if he could not believe this—if he believed it would impair the strength and integrity of the Empire, that it would bring upon Ireland a long series of intestine disturbances, commotions, and troubles; that it would disturb the foundations of property, not of landed property, but in all securities—he appealed to hon. Members for Ireland whether he would not be false to his country if he voted in favour of the Bill? They would never get a final settlement of the Irish Question until they got a Bill which would deal out fair and equal justice to all persons alike in Ireland, and that the present Bill would not do. He did not share the views of those who said that there would be religious persecution if the Bill were passed; but he feared it might be the cause of religious intolerance and religious animosity being superadded to terrible political discussions, and if it passed into law there would come a day for many in Ireland and for many in this country when they would look back on the passing of the measure with grief. He felt himself bound to vote against the second reading.

Mr. MAGNIAC (Bedford, N., Biggleswade) said, he had been struck with the observation made by the hon. Member for Sligo (Mr. Sexton) in his remarkable speech to the effect that at last the English people were beginning to learn the truth about Ireland. Some of the speeches which they had heard that night, and certainly some which they had heard yesterday and on Friday last, had shown that they had much to learn about that country. What they were now learning would, he hoped, reach the heart of the English people. He believed it would, although he confessed to some disappointment that more than one hon. Member on the other side of the House had frequently made the inquiry why that measure had been brought forward. There was, he thought, one reason, and a commanding reason, why it was brought forward. They had spent many long and anxious nights in the last Parliament in passing the Franchise Bill. That Franchise Bill was carried by great majorities, and its main object was to give electoral rights to the people of this country and also to the people of Scotland and of Ireland. If any confirmation were required as to the social change which had been effected by the passing of the Franchise Bill, he thought that the eloquent terms in which that change was described by his hon. Friend the Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. A. Morley) would leave no doubt in the mind of anyone as to what had occurred. There was a passage spoken by the Leader of the Opposition (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach) which showed that he held the same opinion with regard to the magnitude of the change effected. He said—

> "Parliament has granted to Ireland complete political freedom in Parliamentary election by the ballot and the extension of the franchise, and it is absolutely inconsistent with that complete political freedom to continue permanently the old practice of governing Ireland by a system of coercion."

He thought this was a striking proof of the change which had been effected, and it constituted a sufficient answer to hon. Members who had asked why this Bill had been brought in. The Bill introduced by the Prime Minister was founded on the basis of free and representative institutions. That seemed to him to comprise a very large part, if not the whole, of the case. In dealing at some length with the financial part of the question, the hon. Member (Mr. A. Morley) showed that the present Expenditure in Ireland was £9,000,000. This amount was derived from money collected from the Irish taxpayers, £7,000,000; and from the English taxpayers, £2,000,000. The proposal of the Bill was that there should be expended in Ireland £6,000,000, instead of £9,000,000, the result being that there would be a flow of 1,000,000 Irish sovereigns from Ireland into England annually. He thought that this was a financial condition of affairs which might lead to grave trouble and grave commercial disaster. Besides this there would be withdrawals of an expenditure of £2,000,000 of English money, resulting in a difference of expenditure in Ireland of £3,000,000. It was impossible to believe that the withdrawal of such a sum as that from the currency of the country would not have a very serious effect on the Irish Revenue. It was further possible that the sum of £50,000,000, spoken of in reference to the Land Question, would in the long run reach £100,000,000. This would lead to an additional drain upon Ireland of between £3,000,000 and £4,000,000 for Interest and Sinking Fund, a charge which no country could stand. It would be equivalent to £1,200,000,000 or £1,300,000,000 National Debt in England, or a payment annually of £40,000,000 or £50,000,000. He thought one great advantage of the Bill would be that it would lead the English people to see at what an enormous cost they were governing, or misgoverning, Ireland, and he thought it would also show Ireland that there was no disposition to deal with her in a niggardly spirit. He did not believe the Irish Members were by any means irreconcilable. It had not been any more pleasant to them than to him to sit up all night; but, with arrangements for them to give more attention to Irish Business, the old obstruction would disappear, or it ought to be put down with the strong hand. If proper arrangements were not made for the conduct of Irish Business, the House of Commons had itself to blame. The Irish Members had no right to barter away the claim of those who might come after them to take part in the deliberations of the Imperial Parliament. Those who did not accept the Bill ought to ask what were the alternatives presented to them. That of Local Boards was not accepted as the required remedy. Then there was the alternative scheme of the right hon. Member for West Birmingham (Mr. J. Chamberlain), which he had no hesitation in saying he did not understand. It had been put before them in so crude a manner that it was no shame to say that until they knew more about it they would have nothing to do with it. The Leader of the Tory Party (the Marquess of Salisbury) had also put forward a plan in these words—

> "My alternative policy is that Parliament should enable the Government of England to govern Ireland."

What they wanted was not that England should govern Ireland, but that Ireland should govern Ireland. The Marquess of Salisbury's was the most impossible scheme that had yet been put forward, for the only way of carrying it out would be for Parliament at once to repeal that part of the Franchise Act which related to Ireland. He did not think they were prepared to accept such a responsibility as that. He did not believe in any specific for Ireland. He believed they would have to work out the salvation of Ireland by much trouble and much labour; it could not be done by a stroke of the pen, nor by the passing of any measure in that House; but they would have to apply many minds and much thought and labour to the question. The Prime Minister had said that the history of Ireland was one long series of internal controversies. Two Parties were contending in Ireland, and it was their aim and desire to reconcile those differences. That was the task that was set before them, and that was the task to which the House had to apply itself. Hon. Members opposite asked what proof there was that anything was required to be done in Ireland. There was the agrarian difficulty arising from two causes, an artificial and a natural cause; there was the finance question and the representation of Ireland; and there was Ireland itself divided into two camps. Those were the difficulties which they had to deal with, and he was not aware that any other remedies had yet been applied but coercion and corruption. There was one alternative, and one only, which had not yet been tried, and that was to throw the responsibility for the government of Ireland upon Ireland itself. The right hon. Member for West Birmingham disliked the measure and the plan proposed by the Bill, though approving of the principle, and therefore proposed to vote against it. They had been told that they ought to prefer their country to their Party and vote against this Bill. That argument was a very old friend indeed; but he invariably found when it came to be examined that it was the Liberal Party which it was proposed to set aside. Believing that the Liberal Party and the welfare of his country were synonymous, he should disregard the advice and vote for the principle of the Bill—namely, self-government for Ireland in her domestic affairs, subject to the supremacy of the Imperial Parliament.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT) (Derby): The thing that has struck me very much in the discussion on the general principle of this measure is, that the great mass of the opponents of the Bill attack those who have promoted it not so much because it is in itself inexpedient or inopportune, but because, in their view, to propose a separate Parliament for Ireland is a thing which is, in some sense or other, inconsistent with the principle of the British Constitution, that it is ruinous to this Empire, and that it is an idea which it is almost treason to entertain. A view of that kind coming from ignorant persons might perhaps be understood, but that anybody should advance such a view in this House is a thing which to me is entirely inexplicable. One would suppose that Ireland never had a separate Parliament of its own, to listen to the language we sometimes hear; but, in this House, those who have had to do with the construction of the edifice in which we are now collected have certainly taken pains to remind all those hon. Members of the history of our Parliamentary Institutions, their different features, and their gradual growth. In St. Stephen's Hall, leading up from the Halls of the Plantagents to this Chamber, there are statues of the worthies who were the founders of the English Constitution. You see there the statues of Falkland, Clarendon, Chatham, Walpole, Pitt, and Fox; in the very vestibule of the building are two statues at the entrance to St. Stephen's Chapel which represent two illustrious Irish statesmen. One of them is Edmund Burke, and the other is Henry Grattan. Burke's work in English politics is known to all; but the fame of Henry Grattan rests upon one great work which he performed in Ireland and for Ireland, and the title of Grattan to this place in the Walhalla of the English Constitution rests upon the achievement of establishing a separate Parliament in Ireland, and upon his success in obtaining the consent of English statesmen and of the English Parliament to the Declaration of Irish Rights. Now, when we are told that to establish a separate Parliament in Ireland is something destructive of the British Constitution, let me remind the House what were the words of the Declaration of Rights as drawn by Grattan. They were—

> "To assure His Majesty that by our fundamental laws and franchises—laws and franchises which we on the part of the nation do claim as her birthright—the subjects of this Kingdom cannot be bound, affected, or obliged by any legislation, save only by the King, Lords, and Commons of this His Majesty's realm of Ireland, nor is there any other body of men who have power or authority to make laws for the same. To assure His Majesty that His Majesty's subjects of Ireland conceive that in this privilege is contained the very essence

> of their liberty, and that they tender it as they do their lives, and have with one voice declared and protested against the interposition of any other Parliament in the legislation of this country."

It is upon that Declaration of Rights that the fame of Henry Grattan rests, and it is because of that Declaration of Rights that his statue stands in St. Stephen's Hall. Well, that was no new doctrine at that time. Grattan, by his genius and eloquence, established it, and gave Parliamentary effect to it; but it had been declared many years before by the greatest writer of the Tory Party, and the man who had the greatest influence, perhaps, until the time of Grattan, over the Irish people of any man among them—I mean Dean Swift. In a perfectly well-known passage in *The Drapier Letters* in that great controversy, in which Swift proved himself to be more than a match for Walpole, he says—

> "It is true, indeed, that within the memory of man the Parliaments of England have sometimes assumed the power of binding this Kingdom by laws enacted there, wherein they were at first openly opposed—as far as truth, reason, and justice are capable of opposing—by the famous Mr. Molineux, an English gentleman born here, as well as by several of the greatest patriots and best Whigs in England: but the love and torrent of power prevailed. Indeed, the arguments on both sides were invincible. For, in reason, all government without the consent of the governed is the very definition of slavery; but, in fact, 11 men, well armed, will certainly subdue one single man in his shirt. But I have done: for those who have used to cramp liberty have gone so far as to resent even the liberty of complaining, although a man upon the rack was never known to be refused the liberty of roaring as loud as he thought fit."

That was the view of the great Tory writer of the last century. Well, now, when the Declaration of Rights was made by Grattan, how was it received in England? Was it received with the horror and indignation which now meets the claim for an Irish Parliament? I will endeavour to bring before the House how the matter was then dealt with. It arose at a very critical period in the history of the English Constitution. The liberties of Ireland were asserted at the moment when the liberties of America were established. It was part of that great controversy at a time certainly when the principles of the relations of the Mother Country to the Dependencies were as much discussed and as well understood as they were at any time, I suppose, of our Constitution. There were giants, it was said, in those days—great statesmen who discussed the principles upon which the Constitution rested, especially in regard to those relations; and certainly it might be said, in the words of a famous quotation of Pitt, that—"Liberty dawned upon Ireland from the West," for it was precisely at the time of the fall of the Administration of Lord North that the Declaration of Rights made by Grattan was accepted by the Parliament of England. Now, it is a very curious coincidence that at the time when Grattan made that Declaration of Rights a Tory Government was in power, and the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland was Lord Carlisle, a direct ancestor of my noble Friend the Member for Rossendale (the Marquess of Hartington), and he wrote to the Secretary of State in England a despatch in these words—

> "Your Lordships cannot be ignorant that the actual exercise of the authority of the British Parliament in Ireland was utterly and literally impracticable long before I arrived in that Kingdom. There was not a magistrate or Revenue officer there attached to or dependent on the British Government who could venture to enforce an English law. The attempt would have been madness, as it was certain to receive a great and decided resistance. There was not a jury in the Kingdom who would find a verdict under a British Act."

And again he writes—

> "It is beyond a doubt that the practicability of governing Ireland by English laws is become utterly visionary. (That was in the old days of Protestant ascendancy.) It is with me equally beyond a doubt that Ireland may be well and happily governed by its own laws. It is, however, by no means so clear that if the present moment is neglected, this country will not be driven into a state of confusion, the end of which no man can foresee or limit."

That was the language of the Tory Lord Lieutenant under the Government of Lord North in 1782, and I rather suspect, if we could see the secret despatches of last year, we should find that not very different language was held by the last Tory Lord Lieutenant. I have challenged right hon. Gentlemen opposite with regard to the expression of opinion of Lord Carnarvon, and we have never had that expression of opinion given to us. Well, there is another very curious thing about the establishment of the independent Parliament of Ireland. The Irish Secretary at that time was a man of great ability, but rather a shifty politician—Mr. Eden, afterwards Lord Auckland — hurried over to England, just as the new Administration was being formed, in order that he might anticipate that Administration by declaring in favour of the policy of Grattan. He came to the British Parliament, in post haste, to propose the Repeal of the Act of George I. Well, Sir, the Government was formed; the Duke of Portland—and the noble Marquess will have respect for his memory and authority, for he also was, later on, the Leader of a Whig secession—went over to Ireland, and from there he wrote thus—

> "If you delay or refuse, the Liberal Government cannot exist here in its present form, and the sooner you recall your Lieutenant and renounce all claim to the country, the better. But, on the contrary, if you can bring your minds to concede largely and handsomely, I am persuaded you may make any use of this people, or anything that they are worth, that you can want."

Oh, what "fools and cowards and traitors" were the statesmen of those days! Referring to the advice of the Whig Lord Lieutenant on that subject, Fox said—

> "Unwilling subjects are little better than enemies; it would be better not to have subjects at all than to have such as would be continually on the watch to seize the opportunity of making themselves free. If this country should attempt to coerce Ireland, and succeed in the attempt, the consequence would be that at the breaking out of any war with any foreign Power the first step must be to send troops over to secure Ireland, instead of calling upon her to give a willing support to the common cause."

Has not that been the case with Ireland ever since the Union? ["No, no!"] All I can say is, that if I have read history aright, it has been the case since the Union to an extent which was not the case before. I will give you some facts—I am coming to that. This, then, was the view that was taken of the state of Ireland by those statesmen; and when people are told not to be intimidated, I would say that there were then hundreds and thousands of Volunteers, mostly Protestants, with arms in their hands. How did the British Parliament, directed by the Tory Lord Lieutenant and the Whig Lord Lieutenant, receive the Declaration of Rights made by Grattan? How did George III., who was not regarded generally as a coward, or a fool, or a traitor, receive it? He directed the Whig Lord Lieutenant (the Duke of Portland) to answer the Declaration of Rights made by Grattan, and these are the words of the Duke of Portland on the subject—

> "By the magnanimity of the King and the wisdom of the Parliament of Great Britain, I have to assure you that immediate attention has been paid to your representations. These benevolent intentions of His Majesty, and the willingness of his Parliament of Great Britain to second his gracious purposes, are unaccompanied by any stipulation or condition whatever."

So, by the unanimous voice of both Parties in the State, that Declaration of Grattan was accepted and acted upon. Now, what was done upon it? The Act which restrained the liberties of the Parliament of Ireland was the Act of George I.; and let me remind the House what was that Parliamentary record. It was—

> "That the said Kingdom of Ireland hath been, and is of right and ought to be, subordinate unto and dependent upon the Imperial Crown of Great Britain, as being inseparably united and annexed thereto, and that the King's Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and the Commons of Great Britain in Parliament assembled, hath of right, and ought to have, full power and authority to make laws and statutes of sufficient force and validity to bind the two Kingdoms and the Kingdom of Ireland."

That was the Statute of George I. But what did Parliament do in the year 1782 with that Statute? They repealed it, and they substituted for it this Declaration—

> "That the said right claimed by the people of Ireland, to be bound only by laws enacted by His Majesty and the Parliament of that Kingdom in all cases whatever, shall be, and it is hereby declared to be, established and ascertained for ever, and shall at no time hereafter be questioned or questionable."

That Declaration is as explicit, and declared itself to be as final, as any declaration to be found in the Act of Union itself. Well, Sir, but I said it was unanimous. Well, it was very nearly unanimous. There was not a voice raised against it. There was not a vote given against it, either in the House of Commons, or in the House of Lords. But I am wrong in saying it was absolutely unanimous. There was one person whose mind was disturbed, and it was disturbed on the question of the supremacy of Parliament. That was a great Prerogative lawyer (Lord Loughborough)—the man who made the memorable attack upon Franklin in the

Privy Council. This Perogative lawyer was somewhat disturbed as to the effect which Grattan's Parliament might have upon the supremacy of the English Legislature. But there was a lawyer in those days who declined to argúe questions of this kind upon demurrer, who looked at the great political aspects of the question, and that was the great legal adviser and light of the Whig Party, Lord Camden; and in answer to the technical argument on the supremacy of the English Parliament in the House of Lords, Lord Camden said—

> "The possession of a right never to be asserted was, in his opinion, of no value to any man or any State. Why, then, should the learned Lord object to the repeal of an Act declaring such an empty right? Would the learned Lord say distinctly what he meant to grant to Ireland?"

That is a question which, I think, I might address to some of my legal Friends. Lord Camden continues—

> "How far would he resist their claims? If not, to object to what was proposed without marking out any line of conduct was no satisfactory information to the House, nor agreeable to the learned Lord's understanding, which was by no means indecisive."

If I may venture to borrow the language of Lord Camden, I may address that question to my learned Friends who are so much disturbed and exercised on the subject of the supremacy. Now, we have had an appeal to the wisdom of our forefathers. They have appealed to Cæsar; let them go to Cæsar. I have endeavoured to lay before the House what was the view of the wisdom of our forefathers on this question. Do you think that records of that description can be erased and forgotten as if they had never been? Do you suppose it is not the recollection of these things which live in the memory of the Irish nation, and that they look back to them, and have looked back to them, for generations, as the Jews by the waters of Babylon looked back to the times when they were better off? It may be, and has been, said—"Oh, but Grattan's Parliament, which was then established, was a mistake; it did not answer; the arrangements which were then made broke down altogether." And here I come to a point at which the noble Lord (Lord George Hamilton) seemed to challenge what I said just now. I said at that time that Ireland, under the Parliament of Grattan, had become a source of strength, and not of weakness, to the Empire, as it had been before. There is very remarkable testimony upon this point. The noble Lord the Member for East Leicestershire (Lord John Manners) made, the other night, an attack, which I believed to be quite unfounded, on the history of Grattan's Parliament. He said that that Parliament had totally failed. Now, Mr. Burke, who knew something of the question, and who had always been, and was in 1782, an enthusiastic supporter of the independence of the Irish Parliament, towards the close of his days, when he had become a Whig seceder, bore his testimony to the success of the Irish Parliament. In one of his letters, when he was invoking and stimulating Pitt to continue the Great War, and pointing out the great resources that England possessed at that time for carrying on the war, he contrasted the condition of Ireland then with the condition of Ireland as it had been at former periods during the great wars of Marlborough. And this is what Burke says in his letter on "A Regicide Peace" in the year 1796, when Grattan's Parliament had been in operation for 14 years—

> "Ireland, now so large a source of the common opulence and power, and which wisely managed might be made much more beneficial and much more effective, was then the heaviest of burdens. An army not much less than 40,000 men was drawn from the general effort to keep that Kingdom in a poor, unfruitful, and resourceless subjection."

Mr. Lecky, who is an historical authority, and is now a member of the Patriotic Union, wrote a few years ago that, at that time, the whole military establishment of Ireland was 12,000 men, and that in the event of a foreign war it would have been possible to have withdrawn a considerable portion of that force for the general defence of the Empire, there being no serious or general disaffection prevailing among the Irish people. I am not quite sure that he is speaking there of the exact period of Grattan's Parliament, but, at all events, he is speaking of Ireland before the Union. Could that be said of Ireland at any time since the Union? Is there any time since the Union of which you could say that the whole military establishment of Ireland was 12,000 men, and that in the event of war it would have been possible to have withdrawn a considerable portion of them?

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL (Paddington, S.): Under Lord Beaconsfield's Government.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: The noble Lord says "under Lord Beaconsfield's Government," a Government which closed its reign in Ireland by the declaration that Ireland was in a state of veiled rebellion. We all recollect very well the letter which was addressed to the Duke of Marlborough. We all know what was the cause of the Rebellion of 1798—it was the extraordinary and abominably bad faith which was shown to the Irish people. Our pledges then made to the Catholics were not fulfilled, and it was that which brought about the state of things which ended in the Rebellion, and the Rebellion brought about the attempt to establish the Union. If I am not detaining the House too long, I should like to read a sentence or two of what Mr. Lecky says about the Union. He says—

> "Theorists may argue that it would be better for Ireland to become in every respect a mere Province of England. They may contend that a union of Legislature, accompanied by a corresponding fusion of characters and identification of hopes, interests, and desires, would strengthen the Empire; but, as a matter of fact, this was not what was effected in 1800. The measure of Pitt centralized, but it did not unite, or rather by uniting the Legislatures it divided the nations. In a country where the sentiment of nationality was as intense as in any part of Europe it destroyed the National Legislature contrary to the manifest wish of the people, and by means so corrupt, treacherous, and shameful that they are never likely to be forgotten. . . . . More than 70 years have passed since the boasted measure of Pitt, and it is unfortunately incontestable that the lower orders in Ireland are as hostile to the system of government under which they live as the Hungarian people have ever been to Austrian or the Roman people to Papal rule; that Irish disloyalty is multiplying enemies of England wherever the English tongue is spoken; and that the national sentiment runs so strongly that multitudes of Irish Catholics look back with deep affection to the Irish Parliament, although no Catholic could sit within its walls, and although it was only during the last seven years of its independent existence that Catholics could vote for its Members. Among the opponents of the Union were many of the most loyal as well as nearly all the ablest men in Ireland; and Lord Charlemont, who died shortly before the measure was consummated, summed up the feelings of many in the emphatic sentence with which he protested against it. 'It would more than any other measure,' he said, 'contribute to the separation of the two countries, the perpetual connection of which is one of the warmest wishes of my heart.' In fact, the Union of 1800 was not only a great crime, but was also, like most crimes, a great blunder. The manner in which it was carried was not only morally scandalous, it also entirely vitiated it as a work of statesmanship. . . . . Carried as it was prematurely, in defiance of the national sentiment of the people, and of the protests of the unbribed talent of the country, it has deranged the whole course of political development, driven a large portion of the people into sullen disloyalty, and almost destroyed healthy public opinion."

Well, Sir, I do not subscribe to the view that Mr. Lecky takes of the conduct of Pitt in that matter. He thinks that Mr. Pitt deliberately brought about, as I understand it, the Rebellion by refusing the rights of the Catholics, and that he refused reform because he wanted to carry the Union. However, I will not enter into that controversy; but the question is, was the statement true? Has the condition of things between England and Ireland been better since the Union than before? I confess, as far as I can judge from observation and reading, it seems to me to have become worse and to be growing worse every day. If that be so, what are the objections to reverting to a policy not identical, but in many respects similar, to that which our ancestors adopted under similar circumstances, which I have tried to depict? It is said—"Oh, but if you give Ireland a Parliament you will destroy the unity of the Empire." Well, Ireland had a Parliament, an independent Parliament, far more independent than any proposed in this Bill. Was there, then, no unity in the British Empire during the great Administration of Mr. Pitt from 1782 to 1800, a period of which the Tory Party are more proud than of any period of their political history? Is there no unity of the Empire now in relation to the Colonies? My right hon. Friend the Member for West Birmingham (Mr. J. Chamberlain) says the Colonies are absolutely independent; but are we not talking about the "unity of an Empire" of which the Colonies are most important portions? Therefore, to say that the establishment of an independent Parliament affects the question of the unity of the Empire, is, I venture to say, to use phrases which are inappropriate. But there is another objection—the objection as to the supremacy of Parliament. That is a different thing altogether from the unity of the Empire; and it is said that the establishment of a separate Parliament necessarily affects the supremacy of the Imperial Parliament. Why, of course, it does. If you delegate part of your authority to another person, you do, to a certain degree, reduce your own authority. Now, on this subject of the supremacy of Parliament, my right hon. and learned Friend the Member for Bury (Sir Henry James) asserted this proposition, that if you establish a Parliament for any purpose or to any extent with an independent authority of its own, the country becomes a foreign country; and, having challenged me to agree to that proposition, I asked him a question to which he did not give an answer—Was Ireland a foreign country under Grattan's Parliament? Now, that is a test question. My right hon. and learned Friend never attempted to answer it; but he escaped the urgency of my question by taking refuge in a resource at which I was astonished. He quoted an anonymous writer; and he thought under cover of the authority of an anonymous writer to establish his position. Now, I have no objection to my right hon. and learned Friend studying anonymous writers; there are some anonymous writers for whom I have a great respect. But I would recommend my right hon. and learned Friend, if he takes to studying anonymous writers, to take the pains to read their letters, and not to satisfy himself with single sentences which he may pick up out of the pages of a text-book. With some trouble I obtained a copy of the letter of the anonymous writer to whom my right hon. and learned Friend alluded, and, to my great edification and satisfaction, I found that, by a singular prescience of anticipation, that anonymous writer had laid down the very principles of this Bill as the proper principles that ought to govern the relations of Imperial and subordinate Parliaments. I would not have referred to it unless my right hon. and learned Friend had challenged me; but it appears that the letter was written with reference to the question of the right of the Imperial Parliament to deal with matters in Canada, and it arose out of the Merchant Shipping Act. There were persons ignorant enough to assert that the Imperial Parliament could not legislate with reference to merchant shipping in Canada, and this letter seems to have been written to discuss the question of the relations of the Imperial Parliament to the Dominion Parliament. It said—

> "The whole question of the relations of the Imperial authority to the Representative Colonies is one of great delicacy. It requires consummate prudence and statesmanship to reconcile the Metropolitan supremacy with the worthy spirit of Colonial independence. As a matter of abstract right, the Mother Country has never parted with the claim to supreme authority of the Imperial Legislature. If it did so, it would dissolve the Imperial tie and convert the Colonies into foreign and independent States. The principle on which the Mother Country has acted has been to concede, in the largest measure, local independence, and to assert its authority only when Imperial interests are substantially involved. To this principle the Colonies have cheerfully adhered. In all matters in which the Imperial Legislature does not expressly, or by necessary implication, interfere, the Colonial Legislature is independent. The principle, as I understand it, is this—the Constitutional supremacy of the Imperial Legislature is of right universal, but in practice it is never exercised in local as distinguished from Imperial interests, or in any case where its application would not be generally recognized as just and reasonable. What those cases are must be determined by practical statesmanship. The real problem of politics is to distinguish between that which you have a right to do and that which it is right you should do."

I do not know that if I were to endeavour to explain what I understood to be the doctrine of the supremacy of Parliament, as laid down in this Bill, I should do it in different words from those which I have quoted. The situation with reference to the Colonies and that with reference to Ireland, according to this Bill, are really the same, although the end is attained in a different way. In the case of the Colonies, there is in the Act of 1865 an express reservation of universal power; but, as is pointed out in the passage to which I have referred, that power is not, and ought not, to be exercised in the matters of local interest which have been conceded to the Colony. The proper phrase to employ is, that it would be unconstitutional to exercise such a power. Now, by this Bill the power of the Imperial Parliament is not taken away. It is nowhere taken away. But there is given in local affairs a concurrent right to the Irish Parliament; and there, again, I say it would be most unconstitutional for the English Parliament to interfere with that concurrent right. But this Bill does what is not done in the case of the Colonies, it specifices particularly the Imperial matters on which the Imperial Parliament has an exclusive authority. That is what I have to say in answer to the challenge of my right hon. and learned Friend. But I must call attention to the most extraordinary statement made to-night by my right hon. Friend the Member for West Birmingham. He says—and this is the head and front of our offending—

> "Your Bill impairs, if it does not destroy, the supremacy of Parliament."

He says—

> "What I contend for is that there shall be a Parliament which shall be supreme in every particular over the Parliament of Ireland."

And he explained that he meant not merely supremacy of right, but a supremacy that would be habitually exercised. Well, if that is so, what is the use of having any Parliament at all? It would be merely establishing a squabble. If you are to have one Parliament constantly exercised in fighting another Parliament on the same matters, you had better have no such Parliament at all. And, therefore, how he can say he is in favour of the principle of this Bill I cannot understand. Amongst his plans—he has many, but they do not last long, they inevitably disappear—is federalism. But he shrinks from federalism, because he has pointed out that terrible consequences would ensue, for it would endanger the House of Lords, and might destroy the Monarchy. But to-night he has a new plan. He is not going to the country on the principle of this Bill, he is going on the method. That is the great issue before the country; not whether there is to be an Irish Parliament; not whether there is to be Home Rule—that is the principle of the Bill, and he agrees with that—but he is going to the country, because he does not believe we have adopted the proper method. He says that the proper method ought to be to rely on the Canadian example—the relation not of the Dominion Parliament to the Imperial Parliament, but of the Dominion Parliament of Canada to the Provincial Parliaments of Canada. That is his last plan. What are these relations? Is the Dominion Parliament of Canada supreme over all affairs? ["No!"] Most distinctly it is not. In the 91st section of the Canadian Act you will find the exclusive powers of the Dominion Parliament, and in the next section the exclusive powers of the Provincial Parliaments. But that is not all. What are the matters as to which the powers are exclusive? The Provincial Parliaments have, in the first place, authority to amend the constitution of the Provinces. This is the brand new plan of my right hon. Friend which we are to adopt. What is the next thing upon which the Provincial Parliaments are to be our model? The Provincial Legislature—

> "Shall have exclusive authority over direct taxation within the Province, the establishments, and tenure of Provincial offices,"

—that is to say, command of the Executive; but this is not all—hear this, men of Ulster, and tremble—

> "and over the property and civil rights in the Province."

These are the exclusive rights of these Parliaments which my right hon. Friend suggests as the model for the Irish Parliament. But even that is not all. There is another exclusive right which my right hon. Friend's plan will give to the Parliament of Ireland. I do not know whether my right hon. Friend the Member for the Border Burghs (Mr. Trevelyan) is here, but I believe he is a great advocate for the rejection of the second reading, on the ground of the interference by this Bill with the administration of justice in Ireland; and it may interest him to learn that the Provincial Parliament, which is to be the model for the Irish Parliament, has exclusive authorityover—

> "The administration of justice in the Province, including the constitution, maintenance, and organization of Provincial Courts, both of Civil and Criminal Jurisdiction."

This is the plan with which my right hon. Friend is going to destroy the Government. This is his last patent plan.

Mr. T. P. O'CONNOR (Liverpool, Scotland): His second last.

Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT: Then, my right hon. Friend insisted very much on the power which he said the Dominion Parliament had of making all the laws of the various Provinces the same—of assimilating the laws of the various Provinces.

Mr. JOSEPH CHAMBERLAIN (Birmingham, W.): No.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: Then I withdraw that; but there is such a power given to the Dominion Parliament to assimilate the law of the various Provinces. It is not unnatural that such a power should be possessed by the supreme Parliament. But under what conditions is the power given?—

> "That any Act of Parliament of Canada making provision for such uniformity shall not have effect in any Province unless and until it is adopted and enacted into law by the Legislature."

All I can say is that our plan leaves the Parliament at Westminster much more supreme than it would be according to the plan of my right hon. Friend. Then there is the great question of the protection of minorities. I confess I am a little astonished at the quarter from which that claim for protection comes. When the Union took place, what protection was there for the Catholic majority in Ireland? What protection was there for the men who had to wait a whole generation before securing their civil rights? From Grattan's Parliament they had some chance; but when that was abolished, and they were left at the mercy of the Protestant Parliament at Westminster, what protection were they given? There was no attempt made at all to protect them. Then we are told that if we do not take care we shall have war made upon us by the Orangemen. Well, I am not disposed myself to take these things very seriously. I do not think they will frighten sensible men; and I thought that the hon. Member for Sligo (Mr. Sexton) treated that matter this evening very much as it deserved. If we are going to have the Oriflamme raised in Ballykilbeg, and if the hon. and gallant Member for North Armagh (Major Saunderson) is going to assail us with bombs, and if, as I think the noble Lord the Member for South Paddington (Lord Randolph Churchill), when challenged, said that he would do, he is going to render his personal assistance, then, of course, that makes the thing very formidable. But if we are to have terrible dangers of this description, I think we must invoke the melodramatic valour of my right hon. Friend the Member for East Edinburgh (Mr. Goschen)—we must send for our family solicitor, and make our wills and do our duty. We have heard a great deal about menaces on this occasion; but the menaces come, I think, from the loyal and patriotic minority. My hon. and gallant Friend the Member for North Armagh says that if Russia had corrupted a certain amount of Members of this House to get a Bill passed, and the Bill was passed by a majority consisting of the men so bribed, would we not be justified in employing all the powers we possess to resist such a measure? Will the Orange Members apply that doctrine to the Act of Union? If resistance is justified under these circumstances, there is no insurrection and no rebellion that has taken place in Ireland in this century which, according to the doctrine of the hon. and gallant Member for North Armagh, was not entirely justifiable. If, again, the doctrine contended for by the noble Lord the Member for South Paddington be true, that if an Act establishing an independent Parliament in Ireland may be properly resisted by force by the minority, I want to know is not that a justification for resistance; is it not an entire justification for the majority in Ireland against the Act of Union? I do not know whether the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for the University of Dublin (Mr. Plunket) is here; but this is what the Mr. Plunket of that period said—

> "I say, circumstanced as you are, pass this Act and it will be a mere nullity, and no man in Ireland will be bound to obey it. I make this assertion deliberately; I repeat it, and I call upon anyone to take down my words. Yourselves you can extinguish, but Parliament you cannot extinguish; it is enthroned in the hearts of the Irish people and enshrined in the Constitution."

That is a statement in regard to the doing away with an independent Parliament at that time. And there was a great Tory lawyer, Mr. Saurin, who said that if that

> "Legislative Union should be forced upon the country against the will of its inhabitants it would be a nullity, and resistance to it would be a struggle against usurpation—not a resistance against law."

Well, he held the doctrine of the noble Lord the Member for South Paddington. He said—

> "You may make it binding as a law, but you cannot make it obligatory on conscience. It will be obeyed as long as England is strong; but resistance to it will be a duty, and the ex-

hibition of that resistance will be a mere question of prudence."

You will thus see that two can play at that game; and if one set of men are to use this kind of language another set would be equally entitled to use it; but, in my opinion, it is equally unjustifiable whichever side may employ it. I say, then, that, so far as I can observe, the Act of Union has not united the two people. We propose a plan falling far short of Grattan's Parliament—a plan which we believe will satisfy the aspirations and the national demands of the Irish people, and we have reason to think so. Well, that is a policy of conciliation to Ireland. Now, I ask what other policy is there? I do not ask my right hon. Friend the Member for East Edinburgh, because I do not remember that within the last 10 years he has ever supported any policy of the Liberal Party, or that at a critical moment he has ever failed to give a Tory vote. And therefore he is acting in his right and according to his custom on this question. I do not ask my right hon. Friend the Member for the Border Burghs, because he says that a very little alteration in the Bill would make it suit him; and, therefore, he entreats everybody to vote against its second reading. We asked before for a plan, and we have now got a plan—a plan from a very important quarter—namely, from the regular Opposition. My right hon. Friend at the head of the Government said, a few weeks ago, that his plan had many enemies, but had no rival. But, Sir, it has a rival now, and it is between these two rival plans that the people of this country will be called upon to decide. What is that plan? Lord Salisbury defined it perfectly accurately in his speech to the Union of Conservative Associations. He said—"Our policy to-day is the traditional policy of the Tory Party." That is the policy which my noble Friend the Member for Rossendale and my right hon. Friend the Member for West Birmingham are going to support. We know what is the traditional policy of the Tory Party towards Ireland. The sacred traditions of the Liberal Party—above all, those of the Whig Party—have been to oppose the traditional policy of the Tory Party towards Ireland. Our policy is, no doubt, a policy of confidence in the Irish nation. [*Laughter.*] Oh, yes, you laugh; and it is because you adopt the opposite policy that we take issue with you. Now, let us hear what is Lord Salisbury's definition. I say our policy is a policy of confidence in the Irish nation. The policy of Lord Salisbury is a policy of defiance and distrust. As Lord Salisbury seems to complain very much that his sentiments are misrepresented, I will be careful to quote his actual words. He says—

> "We are asked to have confidence in the Irish people. Confidence depends upon the people in whom you are to confide. You would not confide representative institutions to Hottentots."

That is a pleasant conciliatory style of language, which is likely to remove the irritation and the troubles of Ireland! Depend upon it, Sir, it is this insolent spirit which makes British rule hated in Ireland, which makes the Irish people ungovernable; and no people with any spirit could be governed in a spirit of this kind. But let us go on. Lord Salisbury said—

> "When you come to narrow it down, you will find that what is called self-government, but what is really government by the majority, works admirably when it is confided to a people of the Teutonic race, but that it does not work so well when people of other races are called upon to join them."

Self-government, then, is the exclusive privilege of the Teutonic race. If that is so, the reason given by the noble Marquess is an eternal and ineradicable incapacity on the part of the Irish people for self-government. Now, having tabooed the Irish people on the ground of their race, Lord Salisbury goes on to the question of religion. He says—

> "In Ireland, owing to the character of the people and the history of the country, the Roman Catholics have been singularly exposed to the temptation to misuse for political purposes an organization meant for high spiritual ends."

I think I know, in this country, too, an organization meant for high spiritual ends which is greatly misused for political purposes. Well, then, he goes on—

> "Your confidence is seriously diminished, because this tremendous, this grievously misused weapon, the Catholic Church, is in the hands of their opponents."

That is, the opponents of the minority. So we are not to give self-government to the Irish because they are not Teutonic, and we are not to give self-government to Ireland because the majority of Irishmen are Roman Catholics. That is the traditional policy of the Tory Party. That is the rival policy, and it is well the country should know it. I am delighted—no, I am not delighted, I am sorry—that the noble Lord the Member for South Paddington (Lord Randolph Churchill) adopts these principles of hatred of race. But he is a young man, and I hope he will live to improve the Tory Party. Let me go on to Lord Salisbury's panacea for the conciliation of Ireland. He says—

> "Covering all these considerations, there is one ground why, for this purpose, I can never advise my countrymen to place confidence in the inhabitants of Ireland. That is, because they are a deeply divided people, and confidence is only fitly reposed upon a homogeneous people."

That is an astounding doctrine—that where people are divided they are not fit for representative institutions. I should have thought that, on matters of religion, people in this country are at least as much divided as people in Ireland. These, then, are the disqualifications for representative institutions, and therefore, says Lord Salisbury, advising the Conservative organizations—

> "Repel with indignation and contempt anyone who asks, because we have confided in the British people, that therefore we should confide in a people who differ from them in every respect, who differ from them above all in this—that they are deeply divided among themselves."

Therefore this doctrine of indignation and contempt allows no confidence to be placed in a people because they differ from you in race and religion. That is the traditional policy of the Tory Party. Well, but what is the result of such a policy as that? It must be eternal and unquenchable hatred. No people can accept the government of any race upon terms such as these, expressed in language of contumelious insult. Then Lord Salisbury says—

> "My alternative policy is, that the Government of England should be enabled to govern Ireland. Apply that recipe honestly, consistently, and resolutely for 20 years."

We are asked for a policy of finality; this is a policy of 20 years, a sort of 20 years' penal servitude, which is expected to reform the culprit, and then, after 20 years of Lord Salisbury's plank bed—possibly a ticket of leave at the end of that time—

> "you will find that Ireland will be fit to accept any gifts in the way of local government"

—they are not to have local government for 20 years—

> "and any repeal of the Coercion Laws you may think fit to give them."

Well, you have applied that "tradition" for four times 20 years since the Union, and what good have you done? Is Ireland now fit, in the opinion of Lord Salisbury, to receive local self-government, or the repeal of the Coercion Laws? Lord Salisbury had a perfect right to appeal to the Tory Party in defence and support of such principles as these; but how can the Liberal Party be appealed to to support principles which are foreign to everything they profess, and to everything they have done? I should have thought that even the right hon. Member for East Edinburgh would have shrunk from a policy founded upon disqualifications of race and of religion. Is the noble Marquess the Member for Rossendale, in the name of Whig principles, going to support, either from the inside or from the outside, this policy? We are accustomed to new forms of Radicalism; but is the new Radicalism of Birmingham founded upon disqualifications of race and of religion? Next to the policy of Lord Salisbury, the most important thing to know is, what is the view of my noble Friend the Member for Rossendale? He went two days after this speech was made—after this declaration of war upon Ireland, for I can call it nothing else, from Lord Salisbury—he went to Bradford to make, as he always does make, a most able and effective speech; but in that speech there was not a single word of disclaimer of those principles, which declaration followed almost immediately after he had stood side by side with Lord Salisbury upon the platform of the Opera House. We have a right to know from the noble Lord and those who act with him whether those are the principles of the Whig Party? At Bradford my noble Friend criticized our Bill; he said very little of his own views, and it is a remarkable circumstance, considering the manner in which they have been acting together, that he did not say a word of disclaimer on this reference of Lord Salisbury to Ireland. All that he did was to say he felt great, if not insuperable, difficulty in attempting to create for Ireland a separate Legislature. He said that coming straight from the meeting at Devonshire House, of which the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham said that he and the noble Marquess were in substantial accord. Now, here is a declaration by my noble Friend that he is against any separate Legislature for Ireland, and a declaration by my right hon. Friend the Member for West Birmingham, who is in substantial accord with him, that he is in favour of the principle of this Bill. I think the country will want to know something of the relations of this combination which has met together to destroy this Bill and this Government. They will like to know how far my noble Friend the Member for Rossendale, and how far my right hon. Friend the Member for West Birmingham are going to support the programme, the principles, and the language of Lord Salisbury. Why, Sir, do not let my noble Friend imagine that he can disengage himself from the responsibility for the programme of Lord Salisbury. If he should defeat this Government, and find himself in possession of a Parliamentary majority, one of two things must happen—either he must support Lord Salisbury, or Lord Salisbury must support him. I will take both events, and I will consider them. Lord Salisbury has given the noble Marquess very fair warning as to what his situation will be. In the same speech Lord Salisbury said—

> "Do not let all that has taken place make you (that is, the Conservative Associations) forget that you are the most powerful Party in this matter; that it will be the Conservative Party that will furnish far the larger part of the votes in the Lobby to which the coming victory will be due—it will be mainly your power and your action which will secure the victory. Accept assistance if it is given to you, but trust to your own right arm."

Trust to your own right arm to carry out the traditional policy of the Tory Party. My noble Friend and my right hon. Friend the Member for West Birmingham are to be the catspaws to pull the chestnuts out of the fire for the Tory Leader. Why, Sir, if my noble Friend has the conduct of affairs with the support of this most numerous Party in the Lobby, it must be on the terms of accepting their principles and carrying out their policy. If, on the other hand, he has to support Lord Salisbury and his Government, it can only be by supporting the same principles and carrying out the traditional policy of the Tory Party. Now, Sir, it is very well that the country should understand exactly the position in which we are placed. ["Hear, hear!"] Oh, yes; your Party in the country will understand it thoroughly; all I want is that our Party in the country should understand it too, and that they should see exactly what is the meaning of these combinations and manœuvres. I am afraid I have detained the House too long already; but I must say I do not believe that these combinations to overthrow this Bill, and to overthrow its author, will receive the sanction of the majority of the people of this country. It was singular testimony which was borne by my right hon. Friend the Member for West Birmingham, who said that the democracy of England is enthusiastically in favour of Home Rule. He said so; but I think that passage of his speech was not cheered by Gentlemen opposite. I think my right hon. Friend is quite right; but if the democracy of England is in favour of Home Rule, and if my right hon. Friend is in favour of the principle of this Bill, why is he trying to destroy the Bill—why is he trying, by going upon method and detail, to throw this Party into confusion, and to bring about results which I am sure he ought, and which I think he will, deplore? Sir, if he is in favour of Home Rule, and of the principle of this Bill, why is he going to act with my noble Friend the Member for Rossendale? I understand my noble Friend to say, honestly and straightforwardly, he is against the principle of the Bill. He finds the greatest difficulty in accepting, in any shape or form, the doctrine of a separate Legislature for Ireland. Well, Sir, I believe that whether these combinations wreck this Bill or not, they cannot destroy the principle of this Bill. My noble Friend the Member for Rossendale said, in one of his speeches, that a policy adopted by the Liberal Party always in the end succeeds. Well, my noble Friend will, I am sure, admit that he and his Friends do not represent, on this question, the majority of the Liberal Party. Even with the combination of my right hon. Friend the Member for West Birmingham and his supporters, they do not amount to a third of the Members of the Liberal Party in this House, and one-half of them say they are in favour of the principle of this Bill. Well, then, the principle of this Bill is adopted by the Liberal Party in the House of Commons, and it will be sanctioned by the Liberal Party throughout the country. Therefore, you may destroy the Bill for to-day; you may destroy the Government that sits upon these Benches; but you will not destroy the principle upon which this Bill is founded. It will be taken up, and it will be pursued, and it will be carried on by the Liberal Party until it is finally accomplished. I know the great object is to overthrow the author of this Bill. That is the true principle and feeling which binds all the sections of the Opposition together. [Mr. Radcliffe Cooke (Newington, W.): No.] An hon. Gentleman says he does not wish to overthrow the author of the Bill; then I hope he will give us his vote—that is a point on which the Liberals of the country have yet to pronounce an opinion. This I will tell hon. Gentlemen opposite—that, whether we are in a majority or in a minority, either in this House or in the country, there is one thing to which we will pledge ourselves; and that is, whether in Office or out of Office, we will offer a constant and determined resistance to the traditional principles of the Tory Party, and to the policy which Lord Salisbury has declared.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Debate be now adjourned."—(*Mr. T. P. O'Connor.*)

Sir MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH (Bristol, W.): On this Motion I should like to ask the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister a question with regard to the probable termination of the debate. It has been pretty freely stated outside the House that, in all probability, the division could be taken on Thursday. [*Cries of* "No, no!" *and* "Monday!"] I do not know what the views of Her Majesty's Government may be; but it certainly would be convenient to the House that some definite time should be fixed. I hope that if it is impossible to take the division on Thursday, at any rate the right hon. Gentleman will be able to fix it for Friday.

Mr. PARNELL (Cork): I merely wish to point out, before the Prime Minister answers the question put to him, that several prominent Members—very prominent Members—on the Conservative side of the House have not yet spoken, although the debate has now lasted several weeks. I think it will be found, on examination, to have been usually the custom in this House for the supporters of a Motion directed against the second reading of a Bill to speak first, and to allow those who are in favour of the second reading to follow them. In view of the abstention—the marked abstention—of prominent Conservative Leaders from this debate, I think the Prime Minister ought to consider whether he ought to consent to do that which would practically amount to putting the *clôture* on the present debate until we have seen what use the prominent Members of the Front Opposition Bench are going to make of the opportunity for debate which has been so abundantly afforded them; otherwise we shall probably have this result—that those right hon. Gentlemen who, apparently, have deliberately held themselves back until the last moment will rise in the last few hours and shut out several supporters of the Bill from being heard.

Mr. ILLINGWORTH (Bradford, W.): Before the Prime Minister replies I desire to make an appeal to him and to the House on the special ground of the position in which we find ourselves. In my recollection there never was an occasion on which there was so much peculiarity about a debate as there is about the present. There are no less than three corners to the opposition to this measure. I do not hesitate to say that hon. Members on this side of the House who are opposed to the Bill have, in proportion to their numbers, absorbed the greater share of the time devoted to the consideration of the measure, though not at all against the wish and desire of those who support the Bill. But I think the privilege that these right hon. and hon. Gentlemen have exercised does carry along with it some claim upon the part of many of the supporters of the Bill to be heard before the debate is closed. Sir, there was a desire, a week ago, on the part of the opponents of the Bill, that the debate should be closed. I appeal to the House whether it would have been fair to the country, in the emergency in which this question was found, that it should have been left in the dark as to the discussion which has been going on during the past week; and now I appeal to the right hon. Gentleman that he should at least give us until Monday in next week, in order that the question may be fairly thrashed out. We have been given to understand that very shortly we shall go before the constituencies. Surely, Sir, nothing can be more fitting than that this question should be fully stated from all sides and in all particulars by Members of Parliament before they go to the constituencies, in order that the country should be well advised and well informed upon the merits of this great controversy. I venture, with some confidence, to make an appeal to the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister not unduly to close this debate, but to give further opportunities to hon. Members on this side of the House, as well as to the Members of the Opposition and Nationalist Party, who have a disposition to make still further contributions to the discussion.

Mr. BRADLAUGH (Northampton): Before the right hon. Gentleman gives any pledge as the closing of the debate, I also wish to make an appeal to him, on behalf of myself and other Radicals who have not yet been heard, and who do want to express our views on this Bill—views which we believe have the sanction of the constituencies of the country—not to close the debate until we have been heard.

Lord GEORGE HAMILTON (Middlesex, Ealing): As the hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell) has stated that few Members of the Front Opposition Bench—[Mr. Parnell: Prominent Members.]—that few prominent Members of the Front Opposition Bench have spoken, and that, at the last moment, a considerable number of other Members who wish to speak may be crushed out by the prominent Members of the Front Opposition Bench, I wish to observe that three Members of the late Cabinet, the Attorney General of the late Government, and two other Members of the late Government, making six in all, have spoken. I believe that, although they may not be, in the opinion of the hon. Member for the City of Cork, prominent Members, that is a considerable contribution numerically from any one quarter of the House. So far as the prolongation of the debate is concerned, we on this side of the House are tolerably satisfied with the expression of opinion which has already been made; and I believe I may say that, with the exception of the right hon. Gentleman the Leader of the Opposition (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach), who may wish to address the House, there is no likelihood of the debate being unduly prolonged by any other Member on this side of the House addressing the House. Under these circumstances, the hon. Gentleman the Member for the City of Cork will see there is no likelihood of any prominent Member of his Party being precluded from addressing the House by the action of the Members of the Front Opposition Bench.

The FIRST LORD of the TREASURY (Mr. W. E. Gladstone) Edinburgh, Mid Lothian): It was unfortunate that last week this question of the prolongation of the debate came to be mixed up with different controversial matter. I think that, to a considerable extent, that controversial matter has now passed out of view; and I believe, as far as I am aware, that the Representatives of the different sections of the House who usually communicate upon subjects of this kind have addressed themselves to the consideration of the question without any reference to motive in the prolongation of the debate. I am glad of that. Now, Sir, it is only a very limited share that the Government can take in attempting to regulate the length of a debate of this description; plainly, we must have regard to the number of factions and sections into which the House is divided upon this subject. As I stated on a former occasion, we cannot undertake to exercise too great pressure. As far as the Government are concerned, we should be extremely well pleased if the debate could terminate on Friday night; that is what we should prefer; but I cannot undertake to say more. I cannot venture to interfere with the liberties of Members of the House.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Debate *further adjourned* till *Thursday.*

### JURORS' DETENTION BILL.—[BILL 202.]

(*Mr. Lockwood, Mr. Crompton, Mr. Finlay, Mr. Baggallay.*)

CONSIDERATION.

Bill, as amended, *considered.*

Preamble.

MR. T.M. HEALY (Londonderry, S.): This is a very excellent Bill, and I do not see why it should not apply to Ireland. Therefore, I propose to amend the Preamble by leaving out "and Wales," in order to insert "Wales and Ireland."

Amendment proposed, in page 1, line 3, to leave out "and Wales," in order to insert "and Ireland." — (*Mr. T. M. Healy.*)

Question, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Bill," put, and *negatived.*

Question, "That the words proposed be there inserted," put, and *agreed to.*

Preamble, as amended, *agreed to.*

MR. LOCKWOOD (York): I do not know whether the House will allow the Bill to be read a third time now.

MR. SPEAKER: The third reading cannot be taken now, in consequence of the Amendment which has been introduced.

MR. T. M. HEALY: Can it not be taken, Sir, if there is a general assent on the part of the House?

MR. GIBSON (Liverpool, Walton): Considering that no Member of the Government has spoken on the Amendment which has been introduced, I think it will be well to postpone the third reading until Thursday.

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE HOME DEPARTMENT (Mr. BROADHURST) (Birmingham, Bordesley): The Amendment was accepted by the Government; but, under the circumstances, I would advise the hon. and learned Member for York (Mr. Lockwood) to defer the third reading until Thursday.

Bill to be read the third time *To-morrow.*

### BANKRUPTCY (AGRICULTURAL LABOURERS' WAGES) BILL.

CONSIDERATION OF LORDS AMENDMENTS.

Lords Amendments *considered,* and *agreed to.*

MR. E. STANHOPE (Lincolnshire, Horncastle): I have a verbal Amendment to make, Sir, to the Lords Amendment, which is, to leave out the word "Registrar," in order to insert the word "Court."

Motion made, and Question, "To amend the Lords Amendment, by leaving out the word "Registrar," and inserting the word "Court,"—(*Mr. E. Stanhope,*)—put, and *agreed to.*

### WAYS AND MEANS.

*Considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

*Resolved,* That, on a day to be fixed by the Commissioners of the Treasury, the Duties of Customs now payable on Wine shall cease, and in lieu thereof there shall be charged and paid the duties following (that is to say):—

| | *s.* | *d.* |
|---|---|---|
| Wine not exceeding 30 degrees of proof spirit the gallon | 1 | 0 |
| Wine exceeding 30, but not exceeding 42, degrees of proof spirit the gallon | 2 | 6 |
| And for every degree, or part of a degree, beyond the highest above charged, an additional duty the gallon | 0 | 3 |

The word "degree" does not include fractions of the next higher degree.

"Wine" includes lees of wine.—(*Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer.*)

Resolution to be reported upon *Thursday.*

Committee to sit again *To-morrow.*

## *MOTIONS.*

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### QUARRIES REGULATION BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Secretary Childers, Bill for the Regulation of Quarries, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. Secretary Childers and Mr. Broadhurst.

Bill *presented,* and read the first time. [Bill 250.]

### CONVEYANCING (SCOTLAND) ACTS AMENDMENT BILL.

On Motion of The Lord Advocate, Bill to amend "The Conveyancing (Scotland) Act, 1874," and "The Conveyancing (Scotland) Act (1874) Amendment Act, 1879," *ordered* to be brought in by The Lord Advocate and Mr. Solicitor General for Scotland.

Bill *presented,* and read the first time. [Bill 251.]

### POOR LAW LOANS AND RELIEF (SCOTLAND) BILL.

On Motion of The Lord Advocate, Bill to make provision for the Borrowing of Money by Parochial Boards; and for other purposes relating to the Relief of the Poor in Scotland, *ordered* to be brought in by The Lord Advocate and Mr. Solicitor General for Scotland.

Bill *presented,* and read the first time. [Bill 252.]

### RAILWAY REGULATION BILL.

*Ordered*, That the Select Committee on Railway Regulation Bill do consist of Sixteen Members:—The Committee was accordingly *nominated* of,— Mr. CHARLES ACLAND, Mr. J. C. BOLTON, Mr. WILLIAM COOK, Mr. CHANNING, Mr. KIMBER, Sir JOSEPH PEASE, Mr. BARRY, Mr. BIGGAR, Mr. SEELY, Mr. MAITLAND, Mr. JOHN WILSON, MR. PLUNKET, Baron HENRY DE WORMS, Sir GEORGE RUSSELL, Colonel MAKINS, and Mr. LLEWELLYN, with power to send for persons, papers, and records.

*Ordered*, That Five be the quorum.—(*Mr. Charles Acland.*)

House adjourned at a quarter after One o'clock.

## HOUSE OF COMMONS,

*Wednesday*, 2*nd June*, 1886.

MINUTES.] — SELECT COMMITTEE — *Special Report* — Police and Sanitary Regulations [No. 178].

PUBLIC BILLS — *Ordered* — *First Reading* — Steam Engines and Boilers * [253]; Deeds of Arrangement * [254]; Sanitary Registration of Buildings * [255].

*Second Reading*—Registration of Voters (Ireland) [13], *debate adjourned.*

*Select Committee*—Peterhead Harbour of Refuge [2:2], *nominated.*

*Third Reading*—Jurors' Detention * [202], and *passed.*

PROVISIONAL ORDER BILL—*Report*—Police and Improvement (Scotland) (Leith) * [187].

## *MOTION.*

### SITTINGS AND ADJOURNMENT OF THE HOUSE—ASCENSION DAY—COMMITTEES.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That Committees shall not sit To-morrow, being Ascension Day, until Two of the clock, and have leave to sit until Six of the clock, notwithstanding the sitting of the House."—(*Mr. John Morley.*)

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL (Kirkcaldy, &c.) said, that, having opposed the Motion for the Adjournment of the House over the Derby Day, he felt bound to oppose the present Motion, although on slightly different grounds. He had opposed the Motion for Adjournment over the Derby Day on the ground that it was a bad thing to encourage the gambling that took place on that occasion. He was not going to say that he thought that it was a bad thing to go to church on Ascension Day. If any hon. Member wanted to go to church on Ascension Day he had not the slightest objection; but he opposed the Motion on the ground that he believed that nobody wanted to go to church on Ascension Day. ["Oh, oh!"] He repeated that he believed there was no considerable number of Members who wanted to go to church to-morrow. Being a Presbyterian, he knew nothing about those Saints' days. If, however, any considerable number of hon. Members really wanted to go to church to-morrow, although he thought it was rather hard on the Business of the House that it should be postponed, he would be willing to withdraw his objection. If not, he thought it extremely undesirable that the Business of the House should be delayed. There was still important Business before the Committees, and, as the time was short, some of the Bills might be lost if the Motion were agreed to. If the Committees did not meet until 2 o'clock, he was quite sure, considering the absorbing interest centred in the debate to be resumed to-morrow, that hon. Members would not be got to sit after 4 o'clock; and therefore, under those circumstances, he must oppose the Motion.

Question put.

The House *divided*:—Ayes 63; Noes 22: Majority 41.—(Div. List, No. 114.)

## *ORDER OF THE DAY.*

### REGISTRATION OF VOTERS (IRELAND) BILL.—[BILL 13.]

(*Mr. Dillon, Mr. Maurice Healy, Mr. Chance, Mr. Timothy Healy, Mr. Harrington, Mr. Small.*)

SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

MR. DILLON (Mayo, E.), in moving that the Bill be now read a second time, said, that the measure was a very simple one, and he ventured to hope that it would recommend itself to the common sense of the House. He would not occupy much of their time in discussing the subject, and did not propose going into the details of the Bill, which were necessarily somewhat technical. It had always seemed to him that the object of a Registration Bill ought to be—first, to facilitate the placing on the list of everyone who had a right to be on it; secondly, to do that with the least possible expense and trouble; and, thirdly, to do it in such a way, as far as possible by an Act of that House, as to leave as few loopholes as possible for the ingenuity of lawyers and their agents to defeat the object of the Legislature. The Bill was one drafted on the experience gained at the last Registration Sessions. The details could only be understood by men who had attended the Courts, and had watched the difficulties which arose, owing to the interpretation of the various Acts of Parliament. Therefore, as he had said, he would not trouble the House by a lengthened discussion of the details; but there was one clause to which he must refer, as it, perhaps, might be considered by some hon. Members to be in the nature of a revolutionary one—namely, that the payment of rates should not be necessarily a preliminary for securing the vote. The payment of rates and the exercise of a vote were two separate and distinct things, absolutely apart; and he had always held and believed that the joining of them together was a radical mistake from the outset. The rate collectors should be given every power—and they had ample power—to collect the rates; but what could be the object of joining these two things together, which had no natural connection? In his opinion, the object was—at least it worked that way—to deprive the voter of his vote; and this system of connecting the payment of rates with the object of obtaining the franchise had worked as an obstruction to the payment of the rates. In a district that he took an interest in—Strabane—the Board of Guardians, where the rates notoriously might have been collected as the sitting of the Revision Courts were coming on, carried a motion, granting to the rate collectors a very extended period to collect the rates, with no object but to secure that the rates be not collected in time; for, of course, they would not collect until the last moment, and people would not pay until the last moment. Thus, instead of facilitating the payment of the rates, the existing system had exactly the opposite effect; and it was a public scandal that any part of an Act of Parliament should be used with a view to trick people entitled to the franchise out of their just rights. It had done no good, and had resulted in an enormous amount of legal chicanery. The two things, the payment of rates and the franchise, should be kept separate, and the result would be that the rates would be better collected, instead of being unfavourably affected. He was sure, in conclusion, that the Bill would recommend itself to the favour of the House. He would, therefore, move the second reading, and hoped the House would accept the measure.

MR. MAURICE HEALY (Cork), in seconding the Motion, said, there were one or two provisions in the Bill which were more or less of a technical character, which he, as one who had had some experience of Registration and Revision Courts, might venture to give an explanation of. The Bill did not lay down any new electoral principle. It did not propose to lay down any fresh extension of the Parliamentary franchise to any new class. Experience had shown that the existing law had failed to remove a number of defects and technicalities, and he would urge that no man should be deprived of the franchise on account of any difficulty in the law. Now, he maintained—and he believed hon. Members in all quarters of the House would agree with him—that the present state of the law was absurd as regarded the period of qualification. The various Reform and Registration Acts provided, and very properly provided, that no mere visitor to a constituency should vote in that constituency. That was a perfectly just and perfectly reasonable condition of things. He would, however, point out that a voter who qualified a week before the revision of July of this year would not be entitled to exercise the franchise for about two years and a-half. He desired to call attention to the fact that, while it was desirable to prevent mere casual visitors to a constituency from voting, the present Act went far beyond what was required in that direction. He therefore thought that the reduction of the period of qualification from 12 months to six months was a most reasonable provision in the Bill. The clause abolishing the necessity for payment of rates had been described as a "revolutionary proposal;" but he believed that he could show that it was not such a revolutionary proposal as it looked. There was already no necessity for the payment of rates by leaseholders or freemen under certain conditions. The Bill, therefore, he contended, so far from being a revolutionary proposal, merely attempted to directly effect what Parliament had been endeavouring to do for the past 10 or 11 years indirectly. Since the Reform Act of 1832, Parliament had always made it a necessary portion of the qualification appertaining to the franchise that the individual should be rated or have paid rates. In 1867 Parliament established a household qualification; but no sooner had that been done than legislation on the subject was speedily seen to be necessary to effect a reform regarding payment of rating, as it was seen that there was a certain class of occupiers who could not be rated. There was also in England a large class of occupiers who could not be rated. There was also a power in England given to overseers to make an arrangement with landlords and tenants, in order that the landlord should be considered the tenant and pay all the rates. This, by making an allowance of from 10 to 15 per cent upon the rates for the facilities afforded for their collection from a wealthy and solvent landlord, put a premium on disfranchisement. Under certain circumstances, under succeeding Acts, lodgers were deemed to be rated, and it was held that rating was not necessary. There was a large class of persons whom it was unjust, unfair, and unreasonable to disfranchise, because they were not liable to pay rates; when for others it was provided, because they paid rates in an indirect manner, that it should not be necessary for them to pay rates. There was also what was known as the "split house" difficulty—a difficulty which was that a claimant for the franchise did not occupy the whole house himself, but occupied a separate dwelling in the house, consisting of a few rooms. By a decision of the Court of Appeal about three years ago some of these persons had the franchise. There were also cases in which the landlord to whom the tenants paid their rents resided in part of the house, and in this case it was contended that the tenants were lodgers, and not householders. In cases of this sort, where tenants paid rents to the landlord for their rooms, it was held by Revising Barristers in England and the Superior Courts that the individuals were entitled to the franchise, notwithstanding the fact that the landlord had resided on the premises. The Bill proposed to amend the law in this and the other respects he had indicated, and he hoped that it would meet with the approval of the House.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."—(*Mr. Dillon.*)

MR. LEWIS (Londonderry), in moving that the Bill be read a second time that day six months, said, it was another illustration of the bad habit of hon. Gentlemen below the Gangway in not allowing the House to know of the provisions of the Bill until the last possible moment. The Bill appeared on the Order Book four months ago, and yet it was only delivered yesterday. No one reading the title of the Bill would have the slightest idea what it was. It was totally misleading, for it was no more a Registration Bill than the Home Rule Bill was a Registration Bill. It was really a new Reform Bill under the guise of a Registration Bill. He was perfectly astonished to hear the hon. Member speak of the Bill as removing the technical difficulties in the way of registration. The 7th clause, certainly, did deal with registration; but it was already in the Irish Registration Bill of last year. Thus, the only part of the Bill which dealt with registration was unnecessary, and all the rest was a Reform Bill. They were told that it was their duty to assimilate the law between England and Ireland; but this was no attempt to assimilate the law, but to make the law in Ireland dissimilar to that in England. What was this Bill, which really should be in the charge of the Government? There was a small narrowing of the period of occupation. He was not saying whether that was right or wrong. But whatever might be their opinion on that point, it was a vital, not a technical matter. Then there was the question that the non-payment of rates should not be a disqualification in voting, which was also one of the vital principles of the Bill. Why, it was conceded by all Parties that they must hold on to the payment of rates in connection with the duties of citizenship. The hon. Member opposite (Mr. Dillon) said that it was a mean and scandalous system that the persons should be defrauded of their votes because they did not pay their rates, and he (Mr. Lewis) hoped the country would understand that proposition, for there was no justification for the representation that that condition defrauded men of their votes.

Mr. DILLON: I beg your pardon; what I said was, that it was a public scandal to make use of that provision in order to defraud persons of their votes by postponing the date for the payment of rates for that purpose.

Mr. LEWIS: Well, I did not profess to make an exact quotation from the hon. Member's speech. I did not hope to do so, and have left off quoting from the speeches of hon. Members below the Gangway, because I find they are always able to deny them.

Mr. DILLON: I beg to ask you, Mr. Speaker, whether that observation is in Order? I repeated accurately what I had said.

Mr. SPEAKER: The hon. Gentleman the Member for Londonderry, I am sure, will accept the disclaimer of the hon. Gentleman (Mr. Dillon).

Mr. LEWIS: I have only repeated what was said in the hearing of the House. [*Cries of* "Withdraw!"] I decline to withdraw; but I accept the disclaimer of the hon. Member. As regards the Strabane Board of Guardians, I think the majority of the Guardians are Nationalists. [*Cries of* "No, no!"] Well, whether that is so or not, the collectors should give the voter several weeks' notice, in order that he may be in time to pay his rates and get the franchise.

Mr. MAURICE HEALY: Is the hon. Member aware that provision only lasted for one year?

Mr. LEWIS continued to say that the Bill laid down the principle that, for the franchise, no more paying of rates was necessary. Under the Registration Act of 1878, rather by inference than intention, this state of things was arrived at—that a person occupying an unfurnished room at 1*s.* a-week was to be declared a householder, provided the landlord did not reside on the premises. But this Bill proposed that every person who paid 1*s.* a-week for an unfurnished room, and paid no rates, was entitled to the franchise, though, under the present law, he would be entitled only if he held unfurnished rooms at not less than £12 a-year. This perpetual nibbling at conditions which were considered necessary safeguards of the franchise was most injurious, and it would be better if hon. Gentlemen told the House at once that they proposed to confer universal suffrage. But with regard to the lodger franchise hon. Gentlemen below the Gangway acted very differently. In Ireland the lodger franchise was mostly a Conservative element, and in the borough which he represented there were 70 or 80 lodger voters, of whom nine or 10 belonged to the Nationalist Party, and the rest to the Conservative. That fact rankled in the breast of hon. Gentlemen. By the present law, if a lodger, whose right to vote had been admitted, wanted to claim in subsequent years, the fact that he held the same lodgings on the same conditions was *primâ facie* proof of his right. But it was now proposed that, in his case, the mere service of a notice of objection, without stating the grounds upon which the objection rested, was enough to destroy that *primâ facie* right. Hon. Gentlemen therefore proposed to abolish the law for the protection of the lodger voter. If this Bill met with the sanction of the Government, he thought he was entitled to say that they were utterly regardless of the provisions of their own measure. Those Gentlemen who wanted to do away with technical difficulties proposed actually to create them with regard to the lodger. Did the Government intend to give their *imprimatur* to a proposal which would virtually destroy the lodger franchise in Ireland, simply because it was a Conservative element? He hoped the House would not be so absurd as to give its sanction to a measure which was practically a new Reform Bill, introduced in the dying hours of this Parliament. If brought in at all, it ought to have been introduced on the responsibility of the Government, and should be applied to the whole country. The Bill had two principles, the one to destroy all the safeguards of the franchise, which seemed to be impediments to the Liberals, and the other to create impediments for those who were not Liberals. He maintained that the Bill ought to be rejected, and he therefore moved that it be read a second time that day six months.

Colonel WARING (Down, N.) said, that he did not intend to detain the House for any length of time. He only desired to second the Motion for postponing the second reading of the Bill to that day six months, which had been made by his hon. Friend the Member for Londonderry (Mr. Lewis). They had been told by the hon. Gentleman the Member for East Mayo (Mr. Dillon) that the Bill was a very simple one. He (Colonel Waring) quite concurred in that description; for, in his opinion, it was in reality a very simple Bill. It was a Bill which might be contained in a single clause, and it ought to be entitled "A Bill to establish Manhood Suffrage in Ireland." That object, which was the real object of the measure, might, however, have been attained in a manner much more simple than that employed in this Bill. The reduction of the period of residence might very well be left to be discussed on the Bill, which he understood on good authority, was in the contemplation of the Government to introduce, and which would not be open to the objection he took to this Bill, and to all similar Bills—namely, that it applied only to Ireland. If it were considered desirable, and for the good of the United Kingdom, that the period of residence to qualify for a vote should be reduced to six months, he saw no reasons why it should not be so reduced in Ireland. But if, on the other hand, it was not considered good to apply such a change to England and Scotland, he saw no reason to except Ireland from the operation of the existing Registration Act. They were told that the payment of rates was an unreasonable thing to exact. They were also told that there were classes in Ireland who were not rated at all, and in respect to whom rates should not be required to be paid before registration. But, as a matter of fact, these persons were rated in the names of the owners who were on the rate-book; and, although the landlords were called upon to pay the rates, there was no reason why these rates should not be required to be paid like any others. Notices were served upon all landlords that they should supply the necessary information. Therefore, there need not be any disfranchisement because the landlords had not paid the rates in due course, for it must not be forgotten that it was in the power of tenants to pay the rates, although this had been neglected by their landlords. They could pay, and then deduct the rates so paid from their rent. They were told that the so-called privileged classes in Ireland were not obliged to pay rates, but that rates on property must always be paid. The rate collector would always take good care to secure payment of those rates, if there was anything on the property from which immediate payment could be exacted. The 5th clause had been alluded to by the hon. Member in charge of the Bill. Practically, it would make every occupier of a room an occupier of a house, and would also reduce the qualification for lodgers from £10 a-year to 1*s.* a-week, or nothing at all, or possibly to 1*d.* But there was another clause which had not been referred to by the Mover or Seconder of the second reading, or by his hon. Friend the Member for Londonderry. That was the 6th clause, which would have the effect of disfranchising large classes of persons who were registered in respect of property on which they did not reside. Suppose that he (Colonel Waring) were registered for an occupation franchise, and not having a property qualification besides, were to leave home, and let his house for four months, then, under the clause, he should lose his vote—["No, no!"] He was bound to take the denial of hon. Members below the Gangway that that was their intention; but he thought most distinctly that it would be the effect of the Bill. As to the question of the alteration of the time when the Register was to come into force, that had been dealt with by the hon. Member for Londonderry. He (Colonel Waring) thought that it should be the shortest period possible, and he did not object to the shortening proposed by the Bill, provided that the law applied equally to all parts of the United Kingdom. He thought, however, that the subject should be dealt with by the Government, and should be done by an act of general application. When the last Reform Bill was under discussion, one great argument for the extension of the franchise in Ireland was that it was desirable to assimilate the franchise in all parts of the United Kingdom. But now they were going to do exactly the reverse by the Bill, which proposed to make different laws for Ireland, and for the rest of the United Kingdom. Entertaining as he did the strongest objection to such a course, he would second the Amendment of the hon. Member for Londonderry that the Bill should be read a second time that day six months.

Amendment proposed, to leave out the word "now," and at the end of the Question to add the words "upon this day six months."—(*Mr. Lewis.*)

Question proposed, "That the word 'now' stand part of the Question."

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE (Chelsea) said, that the hon. and gallant Gentleman who had just sat down (Colonel Waring) had not added much to the speech of the Mover of the Amendment (Mr. Lewis). He thought the hon. and gallant Member was mistaken as to the probable force of Clause 6; and he was of opinion that that clause, if applied to England, would not be likely to have a large operation. The hon. Member for Londonderry was undoubtedly one of the highest authorities in the House on questions of registration, and had done great service on Committees which had investigated the subject. He was, indeed, the last man who should demand more time for the consideration of a Registration Bill; because he (Sir Charles W. Dilke) thought that, while some hon. Members might have had reason to complain that they had not had time to consider the Bill, the hon. Member would be able, in five minutes, to understand any registration question that might be put before him. The hon. Gentleman considered Clause 7 unnecessary; but it seemed to him (Sir Charles W. Dilke) a valuable clause, inasmuch as the chief thing it did was to get rid of the last six lines of Clause 4 of the Act of 1878. The hon. Gentleman was severe on the Bill and those who proposed it, because he said it was desirable in general to assimilate the laws of England and Ireland. He (Sir Charles W. Dilke) was disposed to agree with the hon. Gentleman that it was desirable to assimilate as far as possible, and he should like to make the Bill apply to England and Scotland, as well as to Ireland. He would support the hon. Gentleman in his opposition to some of the clauses. For instance, he could not concur in the views of hon. Members below the Gangway in regard to Clause 8 dealing with the lodger franchise. The Lodger Clause, so far as England was concerned, was, no doubt, at first very favourable to the Liberal Party, though it had now become more favourable to Conservatives; but, whatever its Party effect, he did not think anyone would desire to throw restrictions in the way of lodger claims, and he should support the hon. Member in his opposition to Clause 8 of the Bill. No doubt there was a danger of manufacturing fraudulent lodger votes. There were cases where a large number of sons living with their father were put on the Register at nominal amounts as rent; and, if those rents were added up, the total would very much exceed the rent of the house in which they were living. But that was a reflection on the Revising Barristers, whose duty it was to prevent this being done, and who had power to very severely cross-examine a lodger when he first claimed the franchise. ["No, no!"]

MR. CHANCE (Kilkenny, S.): Will the right hon. Gentleman allow me to correct him? By a slip in the Act of 1868 it has been held that a lodger, coming up for the first time, can claim his vote by a declaration.

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE said, he could not, of course, speak of the action of Revising Barristers in Ireland; but in England he had attended Revising Courts, and even since the decision to which the hon. Member had just referred he had found that the first claim of lodgers had been very strictly scrutinized. He believed the law as it stood was, if well carried out, sufficient to prevent lodgers getting on the Register improperly; and he thought that, on the whole, it was very well carried out. Clause 9 he considered to be nonsense, and he would be inclined, if anything, to go a great deal further, hoping some day to see a system of registration adopted throughout the Three Kingdoms which would be a self-acting system, and by which a fresh Register would be brought into force much more frequently than once a-year. At the same time, he doubted whether it was a good clause in itself, although, to some extent, it tended in that direction. Having said so much on points in which he agreed with the hon. Gentleman (Mr. Lewis), he now came to the clauses which he concurred in, and which enabled him warmly to support the second reading. Clause 3, which shortened the period of qualification by residence, was undoubtedly very important, and he was glad it had not been opposed on its merits by anyone. In London the working classes were in the habit, in a very great number of cases, of frequently leaving their residences; but that was caused very largely by following their work. He thought that there was a growing feeling in the country that the present period of residence, which was dealt with in Clause 3, should be shortened. The present requirement of one year's residence practically raised the qualification to an average of two years. Moreover, it crowded the Register with dummies—the names of persons who were dead or removed—and that greatly increased the chances of personation and the expenses of elections in finding out the addresses of persons who had removed. On a London Register, for instance, of 10,000 voters, it would be found that about 3,000 had now removed; and, in many cases, there was no possibility of tracing their addresses. Even with a residential qualification of six months, as proposed by the Bill, it would, on the average, be a year and a-half, under the present system of registration, before one could get on the Register. Taking the case of a man who came into a house on 21st January next, that man would not, even under the Bill, get on the Register until 1889, because he would be too late for the Register of 1888. If they were to take a yearly period of registration, in his opinion the actual being in the premises at a particular date before that began ought to be sufficient to qualify. Therefore, in his opinion, six months was even too long a period; but, in order to meet the approval of the House, he would suggest that a single term of three months should be sufficient. They would then get an average of a year and three months, instead of, as at present, an average of two years. As to the clause relating to the payment of rates—Clause 4—the hon. Member opposite (Mr. Lewis) spoke of the payment of rates as a vital principle; but it would be found, as a matter of fact, that no one in the very poorest quarters of the great towns was disfranchised for the non-payment of rates, for the occupiers of tenements cases got the franchise independently of that——

Mr. LEWIS: But the landlord pays the rates.

Sir CHARLES W. DILKE said, he admitted that; but the rate had no connection with their rent. The landlord got their rents out of them, whether he paid their rates or not. Therefore the people who were disfranchised were disfranchised by no fault of their own, but by the neglect of their landlord to pay their rates. The tenant simply paid so much a-year rent and took no account of rates. He agreed with the author of the Bill that the payment of rates had no real connection with the actual exercise of the franchise. The theory that the one was indispensable to the other was substantially destroyed years ago when the compound householder was created by the Rating Act of 1869, and there only remained a constructive connection. To his mind, it was a question whether they ought not to go much further in the direction of Clause 5, as he doubted very much whether there was any ground for maintaining the distinction the law now made between the lodger franchise and the household franchise; and if it was possible to get rid of that distinction they ought to do so, for it had proved to be enormously costly, both in the preparation of the Register and at elections, and both to the candidates and the authorities of the place, by the preparation of the two lists of lodgers and householders. The distinction caused many hardships, besides involving the keeping of two Registers, and he would be glad to get rid of it altogether. The clause in the Bill was a step in that direction, and was, therefore, entitled to support. The hon. Member for Londonderry would therefore see that he (Sir Charles W. Dilke) was in agreement with him on two of the clauses; but, on the main clause, he was opposed to him. It was most desirable that the House should agree to the second reading, in order that in Committee they should consider whether they could not improve it; and it was a matter deserving of every consideration whether the provisions of the Bill should not apply to England. They would be fortified in that point of view by the acceptance of the Bill before the House.

Mr. CROMPTON (Staffordshire, Leek), in supporting the Bill, said, he felt bound to congratulate the hon. Member (Mr. Dillon) upon having introduced a Bill which he (Mr. Crompton) looked upon as one of the most valuable yet brought forward, not only as regarded the provisions of the Bill itself, but as having elicited the speech which had just been made by the right hon. Baronet (Sir Charles W. Dilke) in favour of carrying some of the clauses not only for Ireland, but also for this country. He had been delighted to see the way in which the legislation they desired for Ireland was conducted by the Irish Members. He thought if they were to take their action in regard to this measure as a sample of what would happen during the whole of a Session, it must be regarded as promising well for the legislation they would see when the Irish people carried on their legislative functions in their own country, as, no doubt, they would before long. And there could be equally no doubt that they were in advance of English Members in all these social matters, which they seemed to have studied so carefully and well. With regard to the objections raised, the hon. Member (Mr. Lewis) asked whether the House wanted a Reform Bill every year, and argued that it was not wise to have a great Reform measure settled by a Parliament and then have a new one introduced every succeeding Session. But there was no point or force in the argument based on that consideration; and the only answer he (Mr. Crompton) had to give was that the Reform Bill of a year and a-half ago was one that had been carried through by the agreement between the two Front Benches, the rest of the House having practically nothing to do with it. It seemed to him that that measure could only be regarded as a mere instalment of the Reform which most hon. Members desired to see brought about in the course of a few years. The present Bill seemed to him to go far in the direction of establishing some of the important points to which he thought attention ought to be directed. It was, in the first place, a great step, for instance, in the direction of residential manhood suffrage. In the next place, it would get rid of the absurdity of the present system, under which a voter was not entitled to be put on the Register till the rates were paid; and, in the third place, it went very far towards doing away with the distinction at present made between lodgers and tenants. With regard to the question of payment of rates, he had always thought that when the compound householder point was settled, after the 1867 Reform Act, it really put an end to the system that had prevailed up to then, and since then they had got the service franchise, which was not dependent on the payment of rates at all; so that when it was seen that whether a man had a vote or not did not depend on whether he paid the rates, or someone else paid them for him, it would seem to be high time to put an end to a system such as that with which this measure proposed to deal. As to the question of the distinction made between lodgers and householders, he need add very little to what had been said by the right hon. Baronet who had just spoken. It was monstrous that a man should be considered to be a householder if he occupied a room in a house in which his landlord did not reside, and that he should be held to be simply a lodger if the landlord lived in some other part of the house. Moreover, he never could understand why there should be a limit of £10 in the lodger franchise. Practically speaking, the £10 limitation reduced the lodger franchise almost to a farce. The statistics as to the number of lodgers before the late Reform Bill showed that the number put upon the franchise was something over 20,000 lodgers for the whole of England and Wales; and of that number something like 15,000 were in London; so that throughout the rest of England and Wales there were not more than 6,000 or 7,000 lodgers on the Register. It certainly seemed a farce to give a franchise of that kind when it was found that so few persons were willing to take advantage of it. He approved of the clause in the Bill dealing with the lodger franchise, and that was one of the grounds on which he should give his vote for the measure. With regard to the 8th section of the Bill, he thought there might be some penalty introduced in case of objections that ought not to be made, and as to the 9th section he did not see much force in the objection that had been made to it. They knew that the Municipal Register commenced on the 1st of November, and the Parliamentary Register on the 1st of January, and he did not see that there was any reason why the Parliamentary Register should not commence at the earlier period. On the grounds he had stated he had great pleasure in supporting the second reading of the Bill.

MR. KIMBER (Wandsworth), in opposing the Bill, said, they were told by hon. Members from Ireland that they desired to have laws which would place their country on an equal footing with England and the rest of the United Kingdom. He did not at all complain that the Bill should emanate from the Irish Benches—he thought that laws relating to Irish affairs might reasonably emanate from a Grand Committee of the Irish Members themselves. In providing for the representation of the people especial care should be taken that the laws should be based on equality. He quite agreed with the statement that the present law was household suffrage regulated by the payment of rates and rents. But what was the effect of the Bill? It would effect a radical alteration in the representation in Ireland, for it really proposed to establish "manhood suffrage," and should more correctly be called a Manhood Suffrage Bill. It destroyed household suffrage, and evaded the principle of representation and taxation going together. Another objection to the Bill was that it would put the representation of Ireland on a different basis from that of England and Scotland. If it were accepted, English Members would be elected to Parliament upon an entirely different qualification to that of the Irish Members. He was disposed to agree that the period of residence might be shortened; but, if so, this should be extended to England. If the Bill were good for Ireland it would be equally good for the rest of the country; and, in his opinion, the subject ought to be dealt with by the Government in a general measure applicable to the whole of the United Kingdom. It was for Parliament to consider, first, whether the principle of the Bill was a right one to carry out for the whole of the United Kingdom.

Mr. T. H. BOLTON (St. Pancras, N.), in supporting the Bill, said, he hoped it might be possible, when the House got into Committee, so to extend its machinery as to provide for a complete and efficient system of registration. He quite agreed with the right hon. Baronet (Sir Charles W. Dilke) that it was unnecessary to maintain the distinction between lodgers and householders. The 8th clause of the Bill, as it stood, would have a disfranchising effect with regard to the occupants of furnished lodgings, and would give them a great deal of unnecessary trouble. A slight alteration of the clause relating to household franchise would make it applicable to lodgers also, and there would then be no necessity for special legislation for lodgers. He would suggest that the Register, when it had been settled, should be final. Anything in the nature of the investigation that took place in the case of the Stepney Election was a scandal to the Election Law of the country. He cordially agreed with the suggestion that the Bill should be made applicable to England, and he hoped that the Government would take the matter in hand and enlarge the scope of the measure. In his opinion the Revising Barristers could settle the voters' list in September; it could be printed in October, and come into operation in November.

Mr. SMALL (Down, S.) said, he thought that the Irish Party ought to feel complimented at the almost general desire of the House to have their Bill extended to England and Scotland. The clause relating to the lodger franchise had met with some opposition; but as one who had been engaged in the actual work of registration in Ireland, he could state that, under the present state of the law with regard to the admission of lodgers, many thousands were put on the Register who had no claim to the franchise. In the city of Londonderry the majority in favour of the sitting Member at the General Election was only 27, while there were no less than 75 to 80 Conservative lodgers on the Register. Therefore, if the law on the lodger franchise had been strictly administered in the way advocated by the right hon. Baronet the Member for Chelsea (Sir Charles W. Dilke), the hon. Gentleman who had moved the rejection of the Bill (Mr. Lewis) would not now be representing Londonderry; but the Representative of that City would be sitting among his (Mr. Small's) hon. Friends. As the law now stood, if a man made a declaration as a lodger it was taken as *primâ facie* evidence, and he was not called upon to give evidence in the witness-box, even if his vote were objected to, until the objectors had given some evidence. The Bill, however, made it necessary for him to come forward and give positive evidence on oath before his vote was *primâ facie* admitted. If the House would not accept the clause, some further safeguards were required against the admission of unqualified lodgers. Hon. Gentlemen above the Gangway who had opposed the Bill were without experience of the Irish Registration Courts, and he trusted that

English and Scotch Members would be convinced by the statements of his hon. Friends.

MR. SHIRESS WILL (Montrose, &c.) said, that the discussion showed that the principles raised by the Bill commended themselves to the Representatives of other parts of the United Kingdom beyond Ireland. The objection to the Bill, on which the greatest force was laid, was that this measure could not be extended to the United Kingdom; but they might make their minds quite easy upon that score, because, if the Bill passed its second reading, whether it be competent to extend its provisions to the United Kingdom in Committee or not, they knew enough now of the advantages of the principles embraced in the Bill to be certain that a very short time would be taken to make them law through the United Kingdom. As to the Residence Clause, he thought it would be found that there was really no reason why the limit of residence should be six months rather than three or two months. If they took the case of that class of voters who were obliged to change their residence, not from wantonness, but because of necessity, it was monstrous that they should be disfranchised. He was disposed to go even further than the Bill; and he thought that, ultimately, it would have to be this—that, for instance, if a man qualified as a voter in Division A should be obliged to change his residence to Division B, he should be able to carry with him a certificate which would entitle him to be put on the Register, as a matter of course, in Division B. He should be entitled to take his citizenship and his qualification with him, just as he took his personal character and personal effects. The second great principle of the Bill was to destroy the false connection between the franchise and the payment of rates. He knew it had been said that the intention of that connection was to deprive a man of his vote if unable to pay his rates. He, however, believed the real reason was that the payment of rates was to be a sort of evidence of good citizenship. If that ground were examined, however, he did not think it could stand, because it might with equal justice be said that a man should have paid his Dog Tax and his Income Tax before being put on the Register. With regard to the lodger, if they displaced his *primâ facie* right when he claimed to be put on the Register, they compelled him to lose a day's work in order to establish it, and on that account he thought the clause in question ought not to be pressed. This measure was full of good principles, and he hoped the House would give it a second reading.

THE CHIEF SECRETARY FOR IRELAND (Mr. JOHN MORLEY) (Newcastle-on-Tyne) said, they spent their Wednesday afternoons in that House in a manner which had a most agreeable uniformity. They always had an Irish debate upon some measure or other, and the rule seemed to be this—they generally agreed, in the first place, that the principle of the Bill was good; in the second place, that the Bill needed some alteration in detail; in the third place, that it ought to be applied to England; and, in the fourth place, that it ought to be read a second time. He thought they were about to follow the usual Wednesday rule on that occasion, for there had been no variation, and there had been no opinion expressed that it would be contrary to propriety to extend the principle of the Bill to Great Britain. Indeed, one of the arguments against the Bill was that it did not apply to Great Britain, and the hon. Member for Londonderry (Mr. Lewis) and the hon. and gallant Member for North Down (Colonel Waring) both said they objected to any legislation which affected Ireland only. Well, he saw no objection to extending the principle of the Bill to Great Britain. There was, however, this to be said—that in the present position of the mind of the Government as to registration generally, his right hon. Friend sitting near him (Mr. Stansfeld) did intend, if circumstances permitted, to bring in a Registration Bill which should deal with the whole of the United Kingdom. Therefore, in all that he (Mr. John Morley) said on the present Bill, he must be understood to reserve his opinion as to the expediency of passing a Bill relating to Ireland alone, and rather to point to the wish of the Government to deal with the question as a whole, and to deal with it as promptly as circumstances would allow. Whether they would be permitted to deal with it rapidly enough to affect an Election that might take place next year, he did not know, and the introduction of such a Bill might be in the dim and distant future. The discussion had turned principally on Clauses 4 and 8. Some remarks of considerable importance had also been made on Clauses 2 and 3, which affected the question of residence for qualification. The hon. Member for Wandsworth (Mr. Kimber) denied the hardship of the present residential requirement; but he (Mr. John Morley) agreed with his right hon. Friend (Sir Charles W. Dilke) that considerable hardship might and did arise. It was incontrovertible that, under the present system, a man might go into occupation of premises on the 21st of January, 1887; he would not have completed his six months' occupation on the 20th July; and that being the case, he could not be on the Register for 1888, and, therefore, would have no power to exercise his vote until 1st January, 1889. The hon. Member for Wandsworth had objected to that statement; but, as he (Mr. John Morley) had said, it was perfectly incontrovertible. It was quite obvious that it might happen, and did happen, as they all knew, for there was not the six months' previous occupation that the law required. He agreed with the right hon. Baronet that that was a very undesirable and indefensible state of the law. There had been a very general agreement that six months, irrespective of the date of commencement, as proposed in the 3rd clause, would be a very fair and reasonable period for giving a man a qualification. On the 8th clause, affecting the lodger vote, he shared entirely the view of his right hon. Friend the Member for Chelsea. It seemed to him to be a very doubtful and retrograde step to cast on a lodger, when an objection was made to his name, the onus and obligation of establishing his claim, and to relieve the objector of all liability whatever from specifying the particular ground of his objection. What would then happen, he supposed, would be this—the agents of the two Parties would serve notices of objection wholesale to all lodger claimants, and that would throw upon them a very heavy burden indeed. As had been remarked by his hon. Friend the Member for Montrose (Mr. Shiress Will), the lodger who sought to establish his claim would have to do so by losing a day's work. He had not heard from any hon. Gentleman how far this lodger question affected Ireland—whether or not there was a great area over which it operated. In Great Britain, however, the lodger question was almost exclusively a London question. In his own constituency they had 31,000 voters on the Register, and he believed at the last General Election, there were only 78 of them lodger voters. He believed that the same statistics applied in the rest of the large Provincial towns in England. Although it might not be the case in Ireland, that was not a reason why they should assent to what could not but be regarded as a disfranchising clause. The proposition of the 4th clause was the proposition around which the most strenuous part of the debate had turned. That clause related to the payment of rates, and the question was whether the payment of rates should continue to be the condition of the exercise of the franchise on the present terms. Upon that point he was not prepared to anticipate the President of the Local Government Board, and say that the spirit of that clause would be incorporated in the measure that he would bring before the House. The hon. Member for Londonderry was certainly not so very far wrong when he described the Bill containing this clause as, in some degree, being not so much a Registration Bill as a Franchise Bill; but it was much less a Franchise Bill than might, from the mere statements and terms of the clause, appear to be the case. Under the existing law, a man occupying a house, to be entitled to exercise the franchise, must not only be rated to the poor, but must have paid all rates due from him before January 5th. But what was the value of those requirements? It was found, after the passing of the Act of 1867, that the rating requirements were absolutely unworkable, and Parliament had consequently to pass an amending Act. The result of the Registration Act of 1869 and of the Franchise Act of 1884 was, that it was enough, if someone were rated; and, whether anyone was rated or not, the occupier was to have the franchise. These provisions were framed with a view to cover householders; but they applied also to servants occupying their master's premises. If an occupier paid his rent, including the rates, in one sum, he ought not to be disqualified, as he was under the existing law, because his landlord had not done what he ought to have done. Not only that, but the farmer, who from neglect or from other motives, failed to pay the rates in time, might disfranchise all the labourers who occupied cottages on his farm. That was a very great grievance and injustice, and would amount to a fraud on the intention of the Act. With respect to the remaining clauses, there were many points that could be considered in Committee. The 5th clause seemed to put the occupiers of unfurnished rooms on the footing of tenants, instead of lodgers. Of course, a man, by becoming a tenant instead of a lodger, avoided the necessity of making an annual claim; he was not bound by the £10 valuation, and the period of qualification was shortened to six months. That clause, he must say, had very little to object to in it. The 6th clause touched a point not yet discussed as regarded England—that where there was household qualification, there would be a compulsory one to adopt. He thought that the hon. Member for Londonderry had, if he (Mr. John Morley) understood him rightly, made a point, when he referred to the case of a landlord, who was also an occupier, losing his franchise as an occupier. Was the landlord, in that case, to lose his right to exercise the franchise as an owner?

Mr. T. C. HARRINGTON (Dublin Harbour) said, that the Bill only applied in cases where the two qualifications were co-existent. The owner, in that case, would have to elect which qualification he would select.

Mr. JOHN MORLEY said, he could not understand how, in that case, by what automatic system it happened that if his qualification as occupier ceased, his qualification of owner gave him a right to vote. The 7th clause dealt with the point of registration, and was one that could be best considered in Committee. He regretted that the Bill, while professing to open up so large and important a subject, did not cover the whole ground in a direction in which those who were favourable to the measure were anxious to move. The point of successive occupation, for instance, was one of importance. It had been raised by the hon. Member (Mr. Lewis), but the point was not put high enough. There were difficulties in the way of continuous registration, as regarded the way in which to carry it out, inasmuch as the list required time to print, and could only be issued once a year, and, consequently, great hardships were inflicted. It might, however, be considered whether they could not have supplemental lists issued, perhaps once a quarter, which should contain the names of all those who had died and those who had become entitled to be inserted on the Register. He should, also, not have been sorry to see the Municipal Franchise system combined with that of the Registration of Parliamentary Electors. He thought it would be found a convenience to have the same system of registration of electors for all purposes. The position of the Government towards the Bill was this—whilst, as he had shown, they emphatically dissented from more than one of the provisions of the Bill, whilst they thought that other provisions were of greater importance than could be dealt with on a Wednesday afternoon, and of too great importance to be dealt with in an isolated measure of this kind, yet they believed that it contained such useful and efficient proposals for remedying undeniable evils, that the Government would assent to, and support, the second reading of the Bill.

Sir JOHN GORST (Chatham) said, he had listened to the extraordinary announcement which had just been made with some surprise. He had, most emphatically, to complain of the manner in which the Bill before the House had been introduced. He wished to remind the House that that question of registration was one of the points which had been put before the country by the Prime Minister in his authorized Election programme—it was also one of those few subjects which, at the last General Election, was put before the country as a subject the Liberal Party, if returned to power, was really in earnest in desiring to see carried. Considering that circumstance, he thought it was somewhat remarkable, in dealing with the subject, that for the greater part of the afternoon the general supporters of Her Majesty's Government were conspicuous by their absence. The right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary had sat alone on the Government Bench for the greater part of the time; and the right hon. Gentleman who was now by his side (Mr. Stansfeld), while present, did not join in the discussion. This, however, was not a Registration Bill; it was very much more like a new Franchise Bill which was being discussed before a thin House on a Wednesday afternoon. It was also extraordinary that the House should be asked to embark upon the consideration of a Bill of that character without the slightest assistance or guidance from the Government. If there were an independent Assembly in Dublin, he doubted greatly whether hon. Members below the Gangway would think of submitting to it so extremely vague and ill-considered a measure as that now before the House. Although the Bill had been introduced early in January, and although since then there had been ample time for the consideration and alteration of clauses, and for the Government to lay their proposals before the House, this Bill was only circulated amongst hon. Members the previous day. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Chelsea (Sir Charles W. Dilke) said that the hon. Member for Londonderry (Mr. Lewis) was perfectly capable of understanding a Registration Bill after five minutes' perusal. Well, there were many other hon. Members who could not do so, and he held that more time ought to be given before a decision was come to. It should have been circulated throughout the country, so that the constituencies and officers concerned in the registration should be able to examine and express an opinion upon it. He objected to the extraordinary manner in which the Bill had been introduced by a private Member, who proposed that it should be applied to Ireland, while the right hon. Baronet the Member for Chelsea had announced that he, and the Government also, apparently, were quite willing to extend the application of this Bill to England.

Sir CHARLES W. DILKE explained that he had only spoken for himself.

Sir JOHN GORST said, that the case stood thus. A Bill for Ireland was brought in by a private Member. The Government then put up a confederate to say that the Bill might with advantage be extended to England.

Sir CHARLES W. DILKE said, he took exception to the suggestion of the hon. and learned Gentleman with regard to him. He had had no communication whatever with the Government on the subject.

Sir JOHN GORST said, he would retract the suggestion that there had been any common action between the right hon. Baronet and the Government, or that he had been in any way their confederate. He hoped, however, he would be pardoned for saying that his close proximity to the Chief Secretary for Ireland in so small a House would necessarily attract attention, especially when it was seen by everyone—in fact, no one could help noticing it—that they had conversed together a great deal. He thought it was certainly premature that the House should be called upon to read a second time this unconsidered and ill-digested measure. Almost every clause of it might form the subject of debate by the House. As to form and construction, he regarded the Bill as one containing a number of abstract resolutions or propositions—some relating to the franchise, others to the subject of registration—which could not possibly assist the House, and might very greatly embarrass it in the future when it should come to the consideration of the measure dealing with registration which the President of the Local Government Board was shortly to lay before Parliament. He could not think that hon. Members below the Gangway intended it as a serious amendment of the Law of Registration in Ireland. Though the Chief Secretary for Ireland had objected to almost every clause of this ill-considered and ill-digested measure, it appeared that it was to form the basis on which the House was hereafter to be called upon to legislate, in accordance with the authorized programme brought forward at the last General Election.

Mr. JOHN MORLEY said, he must deny that he had said anything which would bear the interpretation of the hon. and learned Gentleman.

Sir JOHN GORST asked why it was, then, that the Government intended to support the second reading? He could understand them if they supported it merely as an affirmation of an abstract principle; but, after having asked the House to affirm that principle, he was astonished when the right hon. Gentleman told them that the Government were not going to adopt that abstract principle as the basis of their subsequent legislation. It appeared to him that the right hon. Gentleman was on the horns of a dilemma. If they wanted to alter the franchise, as this Bill did, the Government of the day was bound to bring in a new Reform Bill. The 1st clause of the measure proposed to alter the period of residence. Now, that undoubtedly was a portion of franchise. Were they going at that period of the Session, and at so critical a moment, to attempt to pass a new Franchise Bill? Surely the law as to the franchise could not rightly be changed at the suggestion of a private Member in a thin House on a Wednesday afternoon. They ought rather themselves have introduced such a measure if they desired to deal with the matter. The objections which could be raised against the 1st clause applied with equal force to the 2nd. The 5th clause contained an attempt to define the term householder. That subject was also one which could only properly find a place in a Franchise Bill. The Courts had placed one interpretation on the term, and the clause would put another upon it. He did not know that the definition in that Bill was more clear or more defensible than the definition given by the Judges; but the distinction between a householder and a lodger was no doubt a question well worthy of the attention of the House and of the Government; and if the Government would come forward with a well-considered proposition to provide a more satisfactory definition, he for one would be ready to receive it with the most perfect candour. The speeches they had heard as to the payment of rates were most amusing. The payment of rates appeared to be considered as a matter too trifling to be worth preserving. He remembered the day when rates and residence were believed to be the great safeguards to the exercise of the franchise. He was aware that a great number of these safeguards had been whittled away by the Act of 1869 and succeeding Acts. He believed, however, that the payment of rates was a most important safeguard which should not be lightly interfered with. Another proposal in the Bill was, that those persons who were both householders and owners should only be registered as occupiers. Now, when a man got upon the County Register as a 40*s.* freeholder, he remained there without further trouble to himself; and if an objector to his vote failed to make good his objection he was liable to costs. He was, therefore, in a better position as to permanence on the Register as an owner than as an occupier. Moreover, the rights of those men were reserved by the last Reform Act; and if that clause of the present Bill applied to England —he could not speak as to the case of Ireland—it might have a disfranchising effect. The House was now asked to read a second time a Bill containing, first, a number of abstract propositions on the franchise of great importance, and requiring great consideration; and, secondly, a number of abstract propositions on registration which were universally condemned; and that the right hon. Gentleman opposite recognized as a proper function for the House of Commons on Wednesday afternoon. The hon. Member for the Leek Division of Staffordshire (Mr. Crompton) and some other speakers that day had frankly avowed themselves to be advocates of Residential Manhood Suffrage. Were the Government prepared to ask the House to pass an abstract Resolution in favour of Residential Manhood Suffrage? If so, let them say so. It had been said by the hon. Member that the Representation of the People Act was the result of an agreement between the Front Benches on the two sides of the House. That was a mistake. The Redistribution of Seats Bill was the result of such an agreement; but the Franchise Bill was discussed by the House on its merits. In former Sessions he had himself advocated Uniformity of Franchise Law for England and Ireland, and he adhered to that course still. They were told that the Government were in favour of the principle of the present Bill, and that they were not averse to the extension of its principle to England. If so, he would like the President of the Local Government Board to tell the House whether the principles of registration as expounded in that Bill, and which they were asked to affirm that afternoon, would be found embodied in the Bill which the Government would themselves introduce? He had himself been disposed to move the adjournment of the debate; but he now thought it would be better that the House should hear from the right hon. Gentleman a responsible and serious statement of the intentions of the Government on that subject; and, after hearing such a statement, the House would then be able to determine what course it should take on the present occasion.

THE PRESIDENT OF THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD (Mr. STANSFELD) (Halifax) said, he thought that the hon. and learned Gentleman who had just spoken had raised unnecessary difficulty as to the second reading of a private Member's Bill. He had treated the Bill as a *ballon d'essai*, sent forth with the knowledge and connivance, if not at the request, of the Government, to ascertain the feeling and temper of the House with regard to proposals which he (Mr. Stansfeld) himself might hereafter bring forward. As to that suggestion of the hon. and learned Gentleman, all he had to say was, that he had taken no part whatever in the initiation or in the progress of that discussion; but undoubtedly, if he had understood that the right hon. Baronet the Member for Chelsea (Sir Charles W. Dilke) was going to propose, or suggest, that the provisions of that Bill should be extended to Great Britain, he should have made it a point, at whatever official inconvenience, of being present at the commencement of the debate. It was, undoubtedly, the fact that his appearance in the House at a late hour was an evidence that he had not deemed it his duty to be there at an earlier stage of the discussion, feeling that the Government were well represented by his right hon. Friend the Chief Secretary for Ireland. Neither he nor his right hon. Friend was responsible for that Bill. They could not prevent the introduction of private Members' Bills; but, at the same time, when such Bills came before the House, they were entitled to fair consideration on their merits. Nor did he see the advisability, or the sense, or the policy, of applying too stiff and rigid a rule of refusing to consider even the second reading of a Bill to which they might give a general concurrence, without pledging themselves to every clause and detail in it. He was not in any way authorized, or prepared, to make any distinct announcement as to what might be the contents of the Government Bill, which he hoped shortly to be able to introduce. It would not be right that he should do so; nor would it be convenient that he should state his personal views on the various subjects comprised in the clauses of that Bill. But he might say he was sure that the opinion of the Government, the opinion of the Liberal Party, the opinion, too, he believed he might say, subject to correction, of the Conservative Party—indeed, the opinion of men of all Parties—was tending to this result—that after they had established household suffrage in the counties, as well as the boroughs of the whole United Kingdom, the days of unnecessary restrictions were over, and that the principles of their system of registration must be the removal of all petty hindrances, and the simplification and facilitation of the registration of all those persons throughout the Kingdom who were duly qualified to vote. It had been said that unless the Government were prepared to support a scheme of Residential Manhood Suffrage, they must vote against the Bill. But the Bill did not contain a scheme of that kind. What was proposed was a reduction in the period of qualification; and, while he could not pledge the Government, he would express his own individual opinion that they were almost all coming to the conclusion that it would be desirable to reduce the period, and to facilitate the registration of qualified persons. The gist of the Bill was contained in Clauses 3, 4, and 5. Their purpose was to shorten the period of residence and to do away with the necessity of the payment of rates. As he had said, he was not prepared to make, on that occasion, any distinct announcement as to the intentions of the Government, nor would it be right for him to make such an announcement, as he hoped himself to introduce shortly a Registration Bill dealing with the subjects to which the clauses which he had named referred. He might say, however, that the tendency of their minds was in the direction of simplification. The Bill before the House, if read a second time, would certainly require considerable emendation in Committee; for, at present, it was too scanty. But he saw no reason for voting against the measure, or discouraging the private Member who, in the exercise of his undoubted rights, had brought it forward. When the larger measure should have been introduced, advantage might accrue from the knowledge which hon. Members would have acquired of the contents of the present Bill. He could not say, at that moment, whether the Government Registration Bill would include Ireland. It was not always easy to include England, Scotland, and Ireland in the same measure, when dealing with a subject in which all three countries were interested. The difficulty was one of drafting. Recognizing the right of the promoters of the Bill to proceed with it, in order that it might have a fair chance of being discussed along with the larger Ministerial measure, he was prepared to vote for the second reading.

Colonel KING-HARMAN (Kent, Isle of Thanet) said, that the Chief Secretary had said that the Government Bill would concern the United Kingdom. He (Colonel King-Harman) presumed, therefore, that the Government did not consider Ireland as included in the United Kingdom. With reference to the speech of the right hon. Baronet the Member for Chelsea (Sir Charles W. Dilke), he (Colonel King-Harman) must contend that to extend to England a Bill which, as introduced, had reference to Ireland only, would be a new departure in Parliamentary tactics. The right hon. Gentleman the President of the Local Government Board (Mr. Stansfeld) said that Parties were generally united in thinking it desirable that registration should be simplified and facilitated, and on that ground the right hon. Gentleman was prepared to vote for the second reading of the Bill. But the right hon. Gentleman overlooked the fact that the measure had very little indeed to do with the registration of voters in Ireland. He held that there were good grounds for adjourning the debate. The measure was one of great importance; its gist was not indicated in the name it bore, and it had only been printed 24 hours ago, although it was introduced on the 22nd January last, and therefore could not be said to have been properly considered. Another reason for adjournment was that a measure of this kind ought, if brought in at all, to be introduced by the Government, and not by a private Member. Under the circumstances, he proposed to give an opportunity for its further consideration by moving the adjournment of the debate.

Major SAUNDERSON (Armagh, N.) seconded the Motion.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Debate be now adjourned." —(*Colonel King-Harman.*)

Mr. BRADLAUGH (Northampton) said, he hoped the House would divide upon the Motion for the second reading. He denied that the Bill had been discussed in an exceptionally thin House. They were only at the beginning of June, and therefore it was not at all too late in the Session to proceed with the measure. It was part of the traditional Tory policy to hinder everything that was advantageous. When hon. Members opposite felt that they could not meet those whom they opposed by fair arguments, they sought to avoid a decision.

Sir R. ASSHETON CROSS (Lancashire, S.W., Newton) said, he should support the Motion for adjournment of the debate, because it was absolutely impossible for the constituencies to know the nature of the Bill. Although the Bill was introduced on the 22nd of January, it was only delivered yesterday, so that it was utterly impossible for the country to know anything about it. The Bill proposed important changes, not only in registration, but in the franchise, and the very fact that the Chief Secretary had consented to the extension of the measure to England was an additional and distinct reason why the debate should be adjourned, in order that English country constituencies, as well as the Irish, might examine it and know exactly what it was they were called upon to decide.

Mr. JOHN MORLEY (Newcastle-on-Tyne) said, he must oppose the adjournment, although he would admit that the House had reason to complain of Bills being brought forward on Wednesdays which there had been little or no previous opportunity of considering. No person had a better right to complain of Bills not being printed in time than he had, and he therefore heartily agreed in what had been said as to the inconvenience of the practice of Bills only being delivered the day before they came on; but, as he thought little inconvenience was caused on this occasion, he hoped the House would not consent to the adjournment.

Mr. EDWARD CLARKE (Plymouth) said, he hoped that the Motion for Adjournment would not be carried to a division, as there was plenty of time, it being only half-past 4 o'clock, to discuss the Bill that afternoon, so that the views of hon. Gentlemen on the question might be more clearly set forth.

Mr. LEWIS (Londonderry) said, he thought the Motion for Adjournment should be pressed, as a matter of justice to those outside. The Bill had been so recently printed that the Irish constituencies had had no opportunity of knowing its provisions through the ordinary sources of the Press, and delay was much more necessary when it was proposed to extend those changes in the franchise to England. The Bill had been kept back under circumstances which clearly showed that it had been wilfully kept back.

Mr. CHANCE (Kilkenny, S.) asked if the hon. Member was in Order in stating that the Bill had been wilfully kept back?

Mr. SPEAKER: If the hon. Member meant to attribute any improper motive, he would not be in Order; but I did not quite understand his meaning.

Mr. LEWIS submitted that, upon the face of it, it bore marks of having been intentionally kept back. It had been on the Order Book since 22nd January last; it consisted of only three sides of paper; and it had not been produced until yesterday; and all that was the clearest evidence that it had been kept back intentionally. Moreover, they had not heard a word of explanation from hon. Gentlemen below the Gangway as to how the delay occurred. If any one of them had stated that it was from inadvertence, the explanation would have been accepted immediately. In fact, he had to complain that the practice of keeping Bills back till the last moment had become established with regard to Irish measures. The consequence was, in the present case, that, although the whole framework of the franchise was altered, the constituencies, as he had said, knew nothing of the Bill. He maintained that the Bill had been kept back intentionally since the 22nd of January, in order that its provisions might not become known. That was only one example of a system which he was glad to hear the Chief Secretary join in objecting to.

Sir ROBERT FOWLER (London) said, he cordially supported the Motion, and trusted that it would be pressed to a division, as a protest against the habit, which had become very common, and at the same time very inconvenient—an inconvenience to which Mr. Speaker had himself recently referred—of not issuing a Bill till the morning of the day of its second reading arrived.

Question put.

The House *divided:*—

The Tellers, being come to the Table, reported the numbers, Ayes 133, Noes 249.

Whereupon Major Saunderson, one of the Tellers for the Noes, stated that a Member had remained in the Left Lobby without voting.

Mr. Speaker directed the honourable Member to come to the Table, and Mr. Alexander M'Arthur, Member for Leicester, having come to the Table, was asked by Mr. Speaker if he had been within the folding doors and heard the Question put, and the honourable Member having replied that he had been in one of the rooms behind the Chair, and had not heard the Question put, Mr. Speaker stated that he was not entitled to vote, and declared the numbers, Ayes 133; Noes 249; Majority 116.—(Div. List, No. 115.)

Question again proposed, "That the word 'now' stand part of the Question."

Mr. EDWARD CLARKE (Plymouth) said, he voted just now against the adjournment of the debate, not because he thought that was a Bill which ought to pass its second reading, but because he saw no reason why the rest of the afternoon should not be devoted to the discussion of the Bill, especially as, although it originally concerned Members from Ireland alone, it now, from the statements made by the Members of the Government, concerned very seriously the interests of other parts of the United Kingdom. They had had two very remarkable speeches that afternoon from the Treasury Bench. The Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland sketched, in outline, what the history was of Wednesday Afternoon Sittings, and he said that a Bill was brought forward and its principle accepted, but that all its details were rejected, apparently by both sides of the House, and in the result, apparently, the second reading was agreed to. He, however, omitted to tell the end of the history—namely, that after the second reading had been agreed to, nothing more was heard of them easure. That, apparently, was what was proposed with regard to this Bill. The whole criticism of the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant upon the Bill was this—that two of its clauses were enfranchising clauses, and were too large for a discussion on a Wednesday afternoon; and the other clauses were matters to which he took serious exception. The reason why he (Mr. Edward Clarke) should object to the second reading of this Bill was to be found in its 1st clause, which said that the Bill was to be confined to Ireland. He had never opposed any measure for rendering it easy for those who were entitled to a vote to come upon the Register, and he was one of the Members on the Conservative side of the House who joined Mr. Firth, the late Member for Chelsea, when he proposed that there should be a continuous occupation franchise between the different quarters of a borough, which was separated into divisions. He believed there were many on that side of the House who, if the Bill were proposed by a responsible Member of the Government, and applied to the whole of the sections of the United Kingdom, would have been perfectly willing to discuss and consider in detail the suggestions it contained. But it was never attempted to make a separate law for Ireland in a case where there was no reason for it. If 12 months' residence were required in England, there was no reason why six months should be sufficient in Ireland. It might be that six months' residence were sufficient in England, as in Ireland; but, if so, why had not some Representative of the Government the courage to get up and say that that was what they meant? It was said that to pass the second reading of the Bill would be merely to affirm the principle of the limitation and reduction of the length of residence required in order to obtain the vote. That was not so. The principle was not affirmed by the Bill. If it were the Chief Secretary for Ireland and his Colleagues would agree to the extension of the Bill to the whole of the United Kingdom. The only principle affirmed by the second reading of the Bill would be that they were to make a different law with regard to the franchise and registration for Ireland from that in existence in other parts of the country, and that being the only principle and meaning of the Bill, he should resist and vote against the second reading. He understood by—he would not say the supercilious, but the condescending way in which Ministers talked about Wednesday afternoon, that they regarded it as a sort of matinée, interesting only to the performers themselves, and about which no critic thought it incumbent upon him to express an opinion. From the point of view of the Government, the affirmation of the principle of this Bill might be useful for electioneering purposes; but the second reading of it would have no effect upon legislation. Was the House of Commons to affirm that principle? The Government could take no further step with the measure, without pledging themselves to apply it to the whole of the United Kingdom. There was no special pressure in the matter. If the Ministry should survive its present disorders, it might be allowed to bring in a general Bill; and if it should be brought in, let it be applied to Ireland just as to this country. The House wanted to hear some more vindication of the Bill than they had yet got from the Government; because it was not pretented that the Bill should become law, or that any step would be taken by the Government to carry it into law. Besides, no suggestion or syllable of a reason had been offered to the House why they should take Ireland and deal with it exclusively in this way. The Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant had stated that Clauses 3 and 4 of the Bill were matters too large to be dealt with on a Wednesday afternoon. The capacity of the House might be lower on Wednesday than on nights devoted to Government debates; but, if the capacity of the House on Wednesdays was too low to affirm, resolutely and decisively, the principles of these clauses, why should it affirm them at all? What was to be gained by having a pretended affirmation of the Bill by the House, which, by-and-bye, might be accepted by the Government, but, if it served its purpose, which the Government might turn over as being a mere eccentricity of a Wednesday afternoon? The 6th clause, the Chief Secretary for Ireland said he could not accept, and the 7th clause occupied a page of the printed Bill; he thought the author had spun out the 7th clause in order to make the Bill look important. He believed the Revising Barristers had all the powers necessary for them, in order to carry out what was supposed to be the object of this 7th clause. Then they came to the 8th clause, and with regard to that, the right hon. Gentleman objected to it altogether. After the right hon. Gentleman had finished his criticism and analysis of the Bill, it came to this—Three clauses were too large for a Wednesday afternoon; and with regard to the other three effective clauses, the 7th was unnecessary, and the 6th and 8th clauses the right hon. Gentleman rejected altogether. The second reading of a Bill ought to mean, and used to mean, that the House accepted, as a basis of legislation, the principle of the Bill brought forward, and was prepared to go forward with that legislation. Now the Government was not prepared to go forward with this legislation. If he opposed the Bill, it was not because he disagreed with the principle, but because, on the face of it, it was a Bill which might establish a new divergence between the law of the Three Kingdoms, and he could not contemplate any occasion upon which he should be able to give his vote in favour of such legislation.

Mr. HOLMES (Dublin University), who rose amid cries of "Divide!" said, he was entirely in accord with his hon. and learned Friend the Member for Plymouth. It appeared to him that there was the strongest possible reason why the House should not affirm the Bill, until the views of Her Majesty's Government were declared upon the question whether or not they were prepared to extend its provisions to the remainder of the United Kingdom. The right hon. Gentleman opposite (Mr. John Morley) was prepared to vote for the second reading; because, as he declared, he was in favour of anything which was likely to simplify and facilitate the registration of voters. He (Mr. Holmes) was not opposed to the simplification and facilitation of the registration of voters; but he was not prepared to vote for the second reading of a Bill, merely because it affirmed an abstract principle. He wanted to examine the provisions of the Bill, and satisfy himself that they were desirable and suitable for the purposes for which they were intended, before he could give his vote for the second reading. He admitted that if the franchise were given to a certain class of people, that class should be afforded every possible facility for the exercise of the franchise; but he contended that the clauses of the Bill now brought before the House were highly objectionable, except, indeed, one clause, and that one was unnecessary. But he had a still stronger objection to the Bill, which, though professedly a Registration Bill, introduced in one of its clauses quite a new principle—a fresh Reform Bill, which hon. Members ought not to be asked to consider without proper Notice, which had not been given here. If, however, there was any likelihood of the Government adopting the provisions of the Bill, and applying them to the United Kingdom, he should be ready to consider them; but, so far as he could learn, that course on the part of the Government was not likely to be adopted. At all events, the Government had failed to give the House any satisfactory information on the subject. He knew that course had attractions for the Government and their supporters; but he and his Friends did not believe in it. So far as he was concerned, he would never vote for any measure which had no chance of becoming law. He objected to the clause which reduced the time of occupation necessary to entitle an occupier of a house to the franchise from 12 to six months. He certainly was not prepared to assent to it without further consideration. He could not agree with what had been said by the right hon. Gentleman opposite—that, as the law stood at present, two years' residence was required before a man could vote; nor did he agree with the hon. Gentleman who said that if this Bill passed, 18 months' residence would be required. There might be cases in which these statements would be correct. But, as the law stood at present, a man might be in possession of the franchise after 13 months, and, under this Bill, after seven months. Then there was the 4th clause, which relieved tenants from the discharge of one of the most reasonable obligations of citizenship—the payment of rates in order that they might have the privilege of the franchise; and he objected to this clause much more than he did to the preceding one, because it threw unnecessary blame upon public officers, who in Ireland, at all events, as far as his experience went, conscientiously endeavoured to do their duty. Besides that, it seemed to him that it was only reasonable that a man should have discharged his duty to the community, which the payment of rates implied, before he should be entitled to vote. In conclusion, he must say he could not help taking notice of this extraordinary fact, that, when it was proposed to take the second reading of a Bill, introducing such an important principle as this, there should be only two right hon. Gentlemen on the Treasury Bench. There were, in fact, many reasons to be assigned for rejecting the Motion for the second reading, and not one for affirming it, and therefore he was determined, for those he had given, to vote against the measure.

MR. DE COBAIN (Belfast, E.), who spoke amid great interruption, said, he was much obliged to hon. Members below the Gangway for their genial courtesy to hon. Members sitting in his part of the House. As representing a town having four constituencies larger than those of any other town in Ireland, he thought he had a right to a few words with reference to this measure. He had only had an opportunity of seeing the clauses of the Bill that afternoon, and he thought a Bill which treated a grave question of this sort ought to be in the hands of hon. Members before the day set down for the second reading. Beyond that, it ought not to be in the hands of a private Member, but should be brought in by a responsible Minister of the Government. Hon. Members ought to be allowed time to examine the measure before they were asked to give a vote upon it, in order to see whether its provisions would contribute to the public advantage. In his opinion, such an opportunity had not been afforded in the case of this Bill. Now, he found that Clause 3 of the Bill proposed the reduction of the term of necessary occupancy to entitle the occupier to the franchise from 12 to six months, and that he considered very objectionable. He remembered a long discussion, which had taken place in the House on the question of the occupation franchise, and there was then a consensus of opinion in favour of the 12 months as being a desirable time to require as the minimum term for the occupation franchise. To reduce the term now to six months would be, in his opinion, to throw the preponderance in many boroughs into the hands of those who were, in a large measure, unfitted for the exercise of the privilege which would be conferred upon them. Then, notwithstanding the long-admitted principle that taxation and representation should go together, it was proposed to make it unnecessary for the tenant to pay rates. He contended that the payment of rates should form an essential qualification for the right to vote. Then, according to Clause 5, any number of occupiers could qualify for the same tenement; and, if such a provision as that was carried, the register would be multiplied fourfold, which was, he considered, a very serious matter at the present time, and was one to which the House should have an opportunity of giving serious and deliberate consideration. The right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland had expressed his willingness that the principle of the measure should be extended to England, Scotland, and Wales; but what he (Mr. De Cobain) wished to impress upon the House—[*Loud and continued interruption.*] He would conclude by saying that he only wished to impress upon the House this fact, that the English, Scotch, and Welsh constituencies had a right to demand that the measure should be fully, maturely, and deliberately considered—a consideration which it was impossible to give to a Bill, the second reading of which it was sought to pass on a Wednesday evening before hon. Members had time even to examine its clauses with anything approaching care.

MR. PLUNKET (Dublin University), who rose amid cries of "Shame!" said, if hon. Gentlemen below the Gangway would allow him to say a few words, he would promise them that they should be very few. He did not wish to repeat arguments that were so well put a few minutes ago against the Bill, neither did he wish on that occasion to talk it out. Not that he should have, under the special circumstances of the case, any scruple in talking it out; he had been present at very many Wednesday discussions, and he had himself sometimes endeavoured to advance certain private measures occasionally with success, but very often without success. He had often taken part in the discussion of Bills of private Members, and he took it that it was a piece of exceptional good fortune on the part of a private Member if he succeeded in reaching the second reading on the occasion of his Bill being introduced to the House for the first time. Certainly the hon. Members in charge of this Bill could not complain if they did not succeed. His objection was one that recommended itself, he believed, to many hon. Members. He altogether objected to the principle of holding back to the last moment the preparation and presentation of Bills. Why was there such a course adopted as was followed in this case, in which the Bill was only presented at the very last moment? Why was it not printed earlier, in order that Members might have time to consider it? Either the Bill was useful, or it was not. If it was not, then the time of the House ought not to be occupied with it; but if it was useful, Members ought to have been furnished with it in time to allow them to consider it on its merits. He would urge upon Ministers the desirability of their more clearly stating their views. As he had said, he did not desire to talk the Bill out, but to press home a request upon the President of the Local Government Board, and that was the desirability of further information being given by the Government, to that which had been so far vouchsafed to the House, for it was most inconvenient that it should not be told distinctly whether the Government intended to extend the principle of the Bill to England and Scotland. If the right hon. Gentleman would do that, he would not say another word to interfere with the second reading of the Bill. He (Mr. Plunket) contended that the House was entitled to further information. It was unfair to have an attempt made to introduce another Franchise Bill, or a small kind of Reform Bill, on the back of what was called a Registration Bill. The Government had given a kind of shambling, half-hearted support to the Bill; but he wished to learn whether the Government were prepared to adopt the plan for England, or only for Ireland? For the past 16 years they had heard about the necessity of equalizing the laws for England and Ireland; but now the Chief Secretary was quite prepared and willing, when it suited the views of hon. Gentlemen below the Gangway, to vary that sentiment and policy, and give a kind of support to a Bill which materially altered the law between the two countries, by accepting that principle for Ireland but not for England. If it was a good thing, it should be adopted for countries; but, at all events, they were entitled to have a fair answer from the President of the Local Government Board. Were they prepared to adopt the principle of the Bill for England, or were they not? He did not wish to pass any opinion hostile to the Bill; but he did object that they should be called on at 24 hours' notice to adopt a Bill of two paragraphs and a very few clauses, which really contained two small Reform Bills, and a variation of an existing Registration Bill. But what he wished to make clear was, that, before voting on the question, the House had a right to ask that it should be made clear what were the intentions of the Government with regard to the application of the principles of the Bill; and he, therefore, asked the President of the Local Government Board to make the matter clear to the House at once?

SIR JAMES CORRY (Armagh, Mid), who rose amid loud cries of "Divide!" said, he most strongly objected to the Bill, which was a fair sample of the kind of thing that might be expected from an Irish Legislative Body. He looked upon it as an attempt to introduce a new Franchise Bill under the guise of a Registration Bill. If a Franchise Bill was about to be introduced, he was exceedingly desirous that the legislation for the Three Kingdoms should be uniform; and he was perfectly prepared to support a Bill brought in by a responsible Government which would extend to the Three Kingdoms. Moreover, as Parliament was on the eve of important changes, these matters should be allowed to remain as they were for the present. [*Cries of* "Speak up!"] He had not the loud voice possessed by the hon. Member below the Gangway, and, therefore, he would not further attempt to address the House, but would move the adjournment of the House.

MR. HASLETT (Belfast, W.) seconded the Motion.

Motion made, and Question put, "That this House do now adjourn."—(*Sir James Corry.*)

The House *divided*:—Ayes 98; Noes 201: Majority 103. — (Div. List, No. 116.)

It being after a quarter of an hour before Six of the clock, the Debate stood adjourned till *To-morrow.*

## *MOTIONS.*

### STEAM ENGINES AND BOILERS BILL.

On Motion of Mr. William Crawford, Bill to provide for the examination of persons having charge of Steam Engines and Boilers on land, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. William Crawford, Mr. Burt, Mr. John Wilson (Durham), Mr. William Abraham (Glamorgan), Mr. Pickard, Mr. Fenwick, and Mr. A. H. Dyke Acland.

Bill *presented,* and read the first time. [Bill 253.]

### DEEDS OF ARRANGEMENT BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Brinton, Bill to provide for the Registration of Deeds of Arrangement, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. Brinton and Mr. Colman.

Bill *presented,* and read the first time. [Bill 254.]

### SANITARY REGISTRATION OF BUILDINGS BILL.

On Motion of Dr. Farquharson, Bill for the better sanitation of dwelling-houses, schools, hotels, hospitals, and other buildings within the United Kingdom, *ordered* to be brought in by Dr. Farquharson, Sir Henry Roscoe, Sir Guyer Hunter, and Dr. Cameron.

Bill *presented,* and read the first time. [Bill 255.]

House adjourned at Six o'clock.

## HOUSE OF COMMONS,

*Thursday, 3rd June,* 1886.

MINUTES.]—WAYS AND MEANS — *considered in Committee—Resolution* [June 1] *reported.*

PUBLIC BILLS — *Second Reading* — Government of Ireland [181] [*Tenth Night*], *debate further adjourned;* Conveyancing (Scotland) Acts Amendment * [251]; Poor Law Loans and Relief (Scotland) * [252].

*Committee—Report*—Terms of Removal (Scotland) [187].

*Considered as amended*— Parliamentary Elections (Returning Officers) Act (1875) Amendment [241].

*Considered as amended — Third Reading* — International and Colonial Copyright [156]; Public Health Acts (Improvement Expenses) [230], and *passed.*

PROVISIONAL ORDER BILL — *Ordered — First Reading*—Local Government (No. 7) * [256].

## *MOTIONS.*

### LOCAL GOVERNMENT PROVISIONAL ORDERS (NO. 7) BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Borlase, Bill to confirm certain Provisional Orders of the Local Government Board relating to the Borough of Bradford (Yorks.); the City of Chichester; the Local Government Districts of Cleator Moor and Hornsey; the Districts of Maryport, Southborough, and Tunbridge Wells; and the West Kent Main Sewerage District, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. Borlase and Mr. Stansfeld.

Bill *presented,* and read the first time. [Bill 256.]

### ARMY (GUNS).

Address for "Return of all muzzle-loading Rifle Guns of 10-inch calibre and upwards, and of all breech-loading Rifle Guns of 6-inch calibre and upwards, constructed for the Service, giving the total number of rounds fired in each case, whether for experimental purposes or otherwise, and the number and nature of such Guns which have required repairing, or have been condemned after firing."—(*Captain Price.*)

## *QUESTIONS.*

### MINES REGULATION ACT—HOURS OF WORK OF WOMEN.

MR. J. WILSON (Durham, Houghton-le-Spring) asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether he is aware that on some of the "pit banks" near Whitehaven the women are working twelve hours per day; whether such working is a violation of the Mines Regulation Act (Part 1, Sections 6 and 12); and, if so, whether he will order a prosecution in such cases?

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. BROADHURST) (Birmingham, Bordesley) (who replied) said: The Secretary of State has been in communication with the Inspector on this subject, and is informed by him that he has already called the attention of the agent of the colliery to which the hon. Member seems to refer to the matter, as, in his opinion, it probably constitutes a violation of the Act of 1872. The Secretary of State is glad to learn from the Inspector that the evil complained of is now remedied, and that accordingly a prosecution is not necessary.

### COLONIAL STATISTICAL TABLES.

MR. OCTAVIUS MORGAN (Battersea) asked the President of the Board of Trade, with reference to Colonial Statistical Tables, Part XVII., Whether these Tables, which were presented to Members of this House on 28th May and relate to the years 1879, 1880, and 1881, can in future be produced at an earlier date; and, whether it is possible during the present Session of Parliament to publish similar Tables up to the end of the year 1885?

THE SECRETARY (Mr. C. T. D. ACLAND) (Cornwall, Launceston) (who replied) said: The Eighteenth Part of the Statistical Tables for the Colonies was unavoidably delayed in publication; but every endeavour will be made to expedite the issue of these Tables in future. It will, however, not be possible to publish them for the year 1885 during the present Session of Parliament, as the necessary Returns will not be received from the Colonies in time.

### ARMY—DISCHARGED SOLDIERS—CASE OF MICHAEL NOONE, 1ST BATTALION, ROYAL IRISH RIFLES.

MR. HAYDEN (Leitrim, S.) asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether Michael Noone, who enlisted in the 1st Battalion, Royal Irish Rifles, while training in the Royal Gymnasium School, received a hurt, which necessitated his removal to hospital in Dover, where he remained for four and a half months; whether he was discharged in consequence of being medically unfit for further service; whether it is a fact that he received no recompense whatever on his discharge, and was obliged, on account of the hurt received while training, to enter the Roscommon County Infirmary, where it was found necessary to amputate his right foot, as shown by Dr. Blakeney's certificate; and, whether, under all the circumstances, his case will be reconsidered, with a view to giving him a gratuity to enable him to learn a trade, and thus prevent his becoming an inmate of the Roscommon Workhouse, and a charge on the ratepayers during the remainder of his life?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN) (Stirling, &c.): The man appears to have had a weak ankle; for it turned under him once on parade and again in the gymnasium. After the latter mishap he was found to be suffering from chronic scrofulous disease of the ankle joint, and was discharged on the certificate of a Medical Board that he was unfit for further service. He had only served for 230 days, and was not entitled to pension or gratuity on discharge. I have no funds at my disposal from which to make allowance in this case, in which it is unlikely that the injury would have been permanent if the man's ankle had not already been diseased.

### ADMIRALTY—THE ROYAL NAVAL VOLUNTEERS.

MR. BUCHANAN (Edinburgh, W.) asked the Secretary to the Admiralty, Whether it is a fact that the uniform of the London Brigade of the Royal Naval Volunteers is different from that of the Brigades at Liverpool, Bristol, and the Clyde; and, whether it is intended to alter the Volunteer uniform, in accordance with the desire of the Volunteers, so as to assimilate it more closely to that of the Royal Navy; and, if so, whether early intimation of such change could be made so as to save expense to new recruits?

THE SECRETARY TO THE ADMIRALTY (Mr. HIBBERT) (Oldham): The Regulations as to uniform are clearly laid down in the Royal Naval Artillery Regulations, to which all brigades are expected to conform. It is not known that any deviations from these Regulations have taken place; but inquiries are being made on the subject. I am not aware that any wish has been officially expressed by the Volunteers that the uniform should be altered. If such an application were received I can assure my hon. Friend that it would meet with due consideration.

### NAVY—COALING STATIONS IN THE WEST INDIES.

GENERAL SIR WILLIAM CROSSMAN (Portsmouth) asked the Secretary to the Admiralty, Whether it is intended to establish a coaling station for Her

Majesty's Navy in the West Indies at the port of Castries in the Island of St. Lucia?

THE SECRETARY TO THE ADMIRALTY (Mr. HIBBERT) (Oldham): In reply to the hon. and gallant Member, I have to say that there is no intention of establishing a naval coal depôt at St. Lucia. A local contract is in force there for the supply of coal to Her Majesty's ships.

## OFFICE OF WORKS—THE CONSULTING SURVEYOR.

GENERAL SIR WILLIAM CROSSMAN (Portsmouth) asked the honourable Member for North West Staffordshire, If it is the case that the Consulting Surveyor of Her Majesty's Office of Works has resigned his appointment; and, if so, whether it is now intended to appoint some practical architect and engineer who will devote his whole time to the duties of the office, and not a gentleman engaged in private practice, who would be able to devote only a very limited time to the Service?

MR. LEVESON GOWER (A LORD of the TREASURY) (Stafford, N.W.): It is true that Sir Henry Hunt has been compelled by ill-health to resign the appointment of Consulting Surveyor to the Office of Works, the duties of which he has for so long performed with conspicuous ability. The First Commissioner is in communication with the Treasury as to the appointment of his successor, and it is premature to make any announcement on the subject.

## SOUTH AFRICA—THE CHIEF MONTSIOA.

MR. BADEN-POWELL (Liverpool, Kirkdale) asked the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, Whether it has been decided to remove the Chief Montsioa and his tribe to a Location; whether the Land Commission is allotting lands, hitherto owned and cultivated by this Tribe of Barolongs, as farms to Europeans; whether a strong appeal from the Chief Montsioa against such action has reached the Colonial Office; whether such action is in accordance with the Treaty made with Montsioa in May 1884, the Order in Council of January 27th 1885, proclaiming British jurisdiction, or the Despatch of the Secretary of State of 13th August 1885, giving the terms of final annexation; and, whether a European township, in which spirituous liquors are sold, has been established immediately adjoining Mafeking, contrary to the wishes of the Native rulers, who have long and successfully resisted the introduction of alcoholic liquors into their country?

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. OSBORNE MORGAN) (Denbighshire, E.): The Land Commission of Bechuanaland has not yet come to any decision as to the settlement of the land question in Montsioa's or any other part of the Barolong territory. I am informed that so far as they have gone at present the awards of the Land Commission have given general satisfaction, both to the Natives and to the White people. A translation of a letter from Montsioa has been forwarded by the Rev. John Mackenzie, to Earl Granville; but that letter contains a protest not against any action actually taken, but against the action which he is informed by White people is about to be taken against him, obviously a very different thing. Under these circumstances, the fourth Question does not seem to arise; but even if it did, I do not see what precise bearing the documents cited by the hon. Member would have upon it. I am informed by Sir Hercules Robinson that extensive buildings had been commenced at Mafeking by Europeans, who had previously obtained the permission of Montsioa to build there; but, that Chief having requested that they might be removed, a new township has been laid out about two miles from Mafeking up the Molopo River, to which these Europeans are now moving. With regard to the sale of spirituous liquors at Mafeking, I have no express information; but the township will, of course, be subject to the laws and regulations for the government of British Bechuanaland which, while permitting the sale of spirituous liquous by licensed persons under certain conditions, prohibit, under severe penalties, the sale of "any wine or spirituous or partly spirituous liquors in any quantity whatever" to any Native. We have received no precise information on the subject of any interference by the Commission with Montsioa's territory; but, as the hon. Member is aware, the Commissioners are expressly enjoined to have regard to the rights of the Native Chiefs and their tribes.

### ADMIRALTY—THE NAVAL RESERVES —CHIEF GUNNERS AND GUNNERS.

CAPTAIN PRICE (Devonport) asked the Secretary to the Admiralty, Whether there would be any objection to placing chief gunners and gunners appointed to the Reserve for duties in the dockyards, on the same footing as regards length of appointments as the boatswains and master riggers of yards by the recent Admiralty Order of 2nd February 1886?

THE SECRETARY TO THE ADMIRALTY (Mr. HIBBERT) (Oldham): In reply to my hon. and gallant Friend, I have to say that it is not considered desirable to alter the present limitation of three years for chief gunners and gunners appointed to the Reserve ships for duties in the Dockyards.

### WAR OFFICE CHARGES AGAINST "THE ORDNANCE DEPARTMENT."

SIR EDWARD WATKIN (Hythe) asked the Secretary of State for War, If his attention has been called to an article in *The Admiralty and Horse Guards Gazette*, of Saturday, May 29th, headed "The Ordnance Department;" and, if so, what steps he proposes to take in reference to the grave, personal, and other charges therein made?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN) (Stirling, &c.): Sir, the hon. Gentleman's Question has been the means of calling my attention to the article to which he refers. Having read the article I do not propose to take any steps in reference to it. It contains wild and vague charges of gross corruption against officers in the Public Service, the exaggerated and preposterous nature of which charges conveys their own refutation.

### PATENT LAW—ENSILAGE APPLIANCES.

MR. BEACH (Hants, Andover) asked the President of the Board of Trade, Whether it is true that a patent has been granted to one particular firm for supplying ensilage appliances, and that, under the terms of this patent, no other firm is allowed to sell wire-rope or flexible cord of any kind for the purpose?

THE SECRETARY (Mr. C. T. D. ACLAND) (Cornwall, Launceston) (who replied) said: I am not sure as to what is the patent to which the hon. Member refers. A patent was granted in 1885 for the use in the compression of crops for ensilage of a wire rope or ropes, or equivalent strong or flexible bands, and the terms of the patent in question were in accordance with the provisions of the Patents, Designs, and Trade Marks Act, 1883. But it is impossible for the Board of Trade to answer Questions in the House as to the validity of this or any other claims of patentees.

### THE DIPLOMATIC SERVICE—CONSULS AND DIPLOMATIC AGENTS ABROAD.

MR. HUTTON (Manchester, N.) asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, The names and nationalities of Her Majesty's Consuls, Vice Consuls, or Diplomatic Agents at Berlin, Breslau, Dresden, Dusseldorf, Frankfort, and Wismar; also the date and the period of the last Report on the Commerce and Industries of each of these districts, received by her Majesty's Government, and presented to Parliament?

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. BRYCE) (Aberdeen, S.): I conclude that the hon. Member's Question only refers to the Consular Service, for Her Majesty's Diplomatic Service is, of course, composed of none but British subjects. The hon. Member will find the names of the occupants of the posts to which he refers in the "Foregn Office List;" but I may mention that the unpaid Consuls General at Berlin and Leipsic are German, while those at Vienna and Frankfort are British subjects. The British Consul at Dusseldorf is a British subject; but the unpaid Vice Consul at Breslau, Frankfort, and Wismar are Germans. I can only add, as I have already informed the hon. Member in this House, that whenever qualified British subjects can be found willing to undertake the duties of unpaid Vice Consuls, they are selected by preference; but to replace the unpaid Consular officers of foreign nationality by paid British subjects would involve an enormous increase to the expenditure on the Consular Service. To specify the dates and periods of the various Reports received from these officers would carry me beyond the limits of a Question; but I will gladly supply the hon. Member privately with all the information he may require.

## THE MAGISTRACY (IRELAND) — CATHOLIC JUSTICES, CO. DONEGAL.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR (Donegal, E.) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If he is aware that there is not in the petty sessions district of Raphoe, or anywhere in the county of Donegal, within twenty-one miles of Castlefin, a Catholic justice of the peace; and, whether it is the intention of the Government to leave so large a district without a single Catholic magistrate?

THE CHIEF SECRETARY (Mr. JOHN MORLEY) (Newcastle-on-Tyne): I am aware that this matter is at present under the consideration of the Lord Chancellor, and I will communicate with him in reference to it.

## CRIME AND OUTRAGE (IRELAND) — "BOYCOTTING" THE REV. JOHN FLEMING.

CAPTAIN M'CALMONT (Antrim, E.) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether the Rev. John Fleming, Incumbent of Ventry, county Kerry, has been lately boycotted at the instance of the National League, chiefly for having interposed to protect two parishioners who had come under its ban; whether he was at once unable to procure the ordinary necessaries of life, and had to procure his supplies from a distances of sixty miles; whether, a little later on, his wife fell seriously ill of an illness which ended in her death, and whether, when at her worst, the local band turned out, accompanied by a large crowd shouting, and deliberately played within fifty yards of her bedroom window; and, whether Mr. Fleming was compelled to send forty miles for a coffin and hearse, as he dared not even ask for one to be supplied in the locality, and was then obliged to remove her remains into another county for burial?

THE CHIEF SECRETARY (Mr. JOHN MORLEY) (Newcastle-on-Tyne): The Rev. Mr. Fleming was, I understand, partially "Boycotted" for the cause mentioned in the Question for some time down to the middle of April last, when he became more obnoxious, in consequence of an eviction which he carried out, and he has since experienced difficulty in procuring supplies, except from a distance. A short time after the eviction, a number of people assembled and built a house for the evicted person, and on this occasion the band attended and played near Mr. Fleming's house. Mrs. Fleming was ill at the time, and died two days afterwards. Her coffin was procured from Killarney, and she was buried in Waterford, not, however, through compulsion, but from choice.

## CRIME AND OUTRAGE (IRELAND) — "BOYCOTTING," CO. SLIGO.

CAPTAIN M'CALMONT (Antrim, E.) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether, at a meeting of the Templeboy Branch of the National League, held on the 18th April, the Rev. Mr. Cosgrave presiding, the following Resolution was passed:—

> "That we hereby disapprove of the action of certain traders in this parish who, though they live upon the custom of the 'majority' of the people, yet took part in an Orange and Sectarian meeting recently held in Sligo for the purpose of opposing and crying down any attempt of the Government to restore to our Country her legitimate rights to independent legislation, of which it had been unjustly and corruptly deprived; that we consider it the bounden duty of the people to mark their sense of such conduct by leaving those traders to live upon those who share with them in such 'loyal and patriotic' opinions;"

whether the meeting referred to was a meeting convened by the Irish Loyal and Patriotic Union for the purpose of maintaining the legislative union between Great Britain and Ireland, and, if for the offence of attending said meeting, four Protestant shopkeepers in county Sligo have been boycotted and their business ruined; and, whether the Government intend to institute any proceedings against the authors of the Resolution?

THE CHIEF SECRETARY (Mr. JOHN MORLEY) (Newcastle-on-Tyne): I am informed that the resolution referred to was passed as stated, and that the meeting to which it alluded was a meeting convened by the Loyal and Patriotic Union. Two shopkeepers have been "Boycotted" for attending the meeting; and I am also informed that two other shopkeepers, who did not attend the meeting, and who are themselves members of the League, have also been "Boycotted," though for what cause is not shown. Action of this kind is much to be deprecated; but I am advised that no legal offence is disclosed in the resolution. The police are, of course, on the watch to detect any overt act of intimidation.

## POOR LAW (IRELAND)—BOARDS OF GUARDIANS—ELECTION AT MANORHAMILTON.

MR. CONWAY (Leitrim, N.) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether his attention has been called to the presentation of successive Memorials from Glenfarne, county Leitrim, to the Guardians of Manorhamilton Union, praying for redress in the matter of alleged forged nomination papers for Cloonclare division of the said Union at a recent contested election; whether on the occasion of the presentation of a Memorial on the 13th May, 1886, it was met by opposition on the part of a Mr. Corscadden, P.L.G. and J.P.; whether the attention of the Lord Chancellor of Ireland has been called to the language used by Mr. Corscadden at the time; and, whether steps will be taken to secure due considerations for Petitions presented to Boards of Guardians?

THE CHIEF SECRETARY (Mr. JOHN MORLEY) (Newcastle-on-Tyne): Some question has been raised regarding the nomination papers of two candidates who, according to the Return of the election, withdrew from their candidature; but nothing has arisen affecting the validity of the Return to render an inquiry by the Local Government Board necessary, and the Guardians have been so informed. The Lord Chancellor informs me that he has heard nothing of the language alleged to have been used by Mr. Corscadden, who would be quite within his right in opposing the reception of a Memorial. The consideration to be given by Boards of Guardians to communications addressed to them is rather a matter for the Boards themselves.

## LAW AND POLICE—ARREST OF SIR THOMAS FERMOR-HESKETH.

SIR R. ASSHETON CROSS (Lancashire, S.W., Newton) asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether he has received any report or information in relation to the arrest of Sir Thomas Fermor-Hesketh, when about to sail for America on board the S.S. *Britannic* at Liverpool on the 20th of May; whether he is aware that a bill of indictment had been preferred against Sir Thomas Hesketh, to establish his liability, ratione tenuræ, to repair a certain bridge in Northamptonshire; that Sir Thomas Hesketh's solicitor, on the 17th of May, informed the Clerk of the Peace that Sir Thomas admitted his liability, and would cause the bridge to be repaired; that thereafter the Chief Constable of Northamptonshire, without having applied for any warrant, and without any notice to or communication with Sir Thomas Hesketh, instructed the Liverpool police to arrest Sir Thomas, who was so arrested when on board the *Britannic*, on the point of starting for America, and removed in custody from the vessel; and, whether he will cause a full inquiry to be made into the conduct of all concerned in such proceedings?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT) (Derby) (who replied) said, the facts were as stated in the Question. The Chief Constable stated that a bill of indictment was preferred against Sir Thomas Hesketh on the 7th of May at the Northampton Sessions. The usual notice was given to the police, and on the 10th of May the Chief Constable wrote to Sir Thomas's solicitor asking him to arrange for the defendant to enter into the usual recognizances to appear at the next Sessions. The solicitor did not answer the letter, and on the 20th of May the Chief Constable, having received no reply to his letter, learnt that the defendant had taken passage for America without executing the recognizances which the law required. He therefore telegraphed to the Liverpool police to detain Sir Thomas; but upon the latter giving his word of honour that he would appear at the next Sessions, he was allowed to proceed on his voyage.

SIR R. ASSHETON CROSS: The right hon. Gentleman has not stated at whose instance the arrest was made, and whether he justifies it?

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: I have nothing to say to that. I have stated at whose instance the arrest was made. The Chief Constable's duty was to see that the recognizances were entered into; and I am instructed that the Secretary of State sees no reason to interfere in the matter, in which if Sir Thomas Hesketh feels aggrieved he has his remedy against the Chief Constable.

## POST OFFICE—TRANSMISSION OF NEWSPAPERS TO INDIA AND AUSTRALIA.

Mr. HENNIKER HEATON (Canterbury) asked the Secretary to the Treasury, Whether he will now state the number of newspapers and other publications sent from England to India and Australia, which, through various causes, were posted and not forwarded last year; if he cannot give this information, will he state the number posted in this Country, but not forwarded, last week, or any week this year; and, what is done with the newspapers and other publications which, through non-compliance with rules, are not forwarded to their destination?

The SECRETARY to the TREASURY (Mr. Henry H. Fowler) (Wolverhampton, E.): The number for last year cannot be stated; but I have ascertained that during last week 371 were stopped, mainly because the senders had failed to prepay them properly. I may inform the hon. Member that all stopped newspapers which bear the sender's address are at once returned to them.

## PALACE OF WESTMINSTER—VENTILATION OF THE HOUSE—REPORT OF THE SELECT COMMITTEE.

Mr. ISAACS (Newington, Walworth) asked the honourable Member for North West Staffordshire, Whether the works suggested in the first paragraph on page 7 of the Report of the Select Committee on the Ventilation of the House, for the purpose of condensing the steam and cooling the water from the boilers now allowed to pass into the main sewer under the Houses of Parliament, at a high rate of temperature, will be carried into effect during the Whitsuntide recess, as urgently recommended by the Committee?

Mr. LEVESON GOWER (A Lord of the Treasury) (Stafford, N.W.), in reply, said, that orders had been given for the carrying out of the works referred to during the Whitsuntide Recess; and it was hoped, if the Recess should not prove shorter than usual, that they would be finished before the House reassembled.

Mr. F. S. POWELL (Wigan) asked the Member for North West Staffordshire, What steps it is proposed to take with reference to the Reports of the Select Committee on the Ventilation of the House, in which it is stated that—

> "The health of the Members of Parliament and of the officers who reside within the precincts of the Palace at Westminster is seriously imperilled by the defective drainage and sanitary arrangements which now eixst in the building,"

and particularly whether it is proposed that—

> "The designing and superintendence of the works should be intrusted to an independent expert of the highest professional standing,"

in accordance with the recommendation of that Committee; and, whether it is intended to give immediate instructions for the designing of such works, in order that they may be completed without unnecessary delay?

Mr. LEVESON GOWER: The First Commissioner will give immediate attention to the important matters dealt with in the Reports of the Select Committee; but, the evidence not having yet been furnished to the Board of Works, it is impossible to give a final decision as to what steps ought to be taken. The House may rely upon it that no delay will take place in the consideration of the whole subject, and that no recommendation of the Committee will be overlooked. I shall hope to make a further communication to the House on the earliest possible opportunity.

## REGISTRATION OF VOTERS (IRELAND) —ASSISTANT REVISING BARRISTERS.

Mr. MAURICE HEALY (Cork) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether it is proposed to make any special provision this year for the appointment of assistant revising barristers in Ireland; whether he is aware that, in several of the constituencies, where political parties are closely balanced, the revision of the lists of Parliamentary voters last year (divided amongst several barristers) occupied over ninety days' judicial work; whether the authorities in Ireland have had it brought to their notice that this state of things (for which the Registration Act of 1885 only made provision for one year) is likely to continue; and, what the Government propose to do as regards the coming revision?

The CHIEF SECRETARY (Mr. John Morley) (Newcastle-on-Tyne), in reply, said, that he believed that Revising Barristers would require, in some cases, additional assistance. What that assistance would be was under consideration.

## THE ROYAL COMMISSION ON EDUCATION — PHYSICAL TRAINING IN ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS.

MR. BUXTON (Essex, Walthamstow) asked the Right honourable gentleman the Member for the Newton Division of Lancashire, Whether the Royal Commission on Education will include within the scope of its inquiry the means for the physical training and recreation of children in elementary schools?

SIR R. ASSHETON CROSS (Lancashire, S.W., Newton): Yes, Sir; certainly.

## VENEZUELA — COMPLAINTS AGAINST VENEZUELAN AUTHORITIES— SEIZURE OF BRITISH MERCHANT VESSELS.

MR. KIMBER (Wandsworth) asked the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, Whether his attention has been call to a printed letter or pamphlet headed *British honour and interests in Trinidad and Venezuela*, appealing for justice to Members of this House; whether the statements contained in it (in particular the following) are true: that two British merchant vessels, the *Henrietta* and the *Josephine*, were illegally seized by Venezuelan officials in May 1883, the crew and passengers of the *Josephine* landed and imprisoned, and the passengers half starved for eleven days, and then turned adrift to get back to Trinidad as best they could, and the captain and crew detained and subjected to gross ill-treatment for six weeks, and then also cast adrift, no definite charge even being made against them; that an illegal judgment was obtained against the ship, behind the back of, and unknown to, the captain, and that, on a decree reversing the judgment being obtained, the ship was found to have been allowed to sink, with all her cargo; that the *Henrietta*, after being released, was again seized, because her captain and owner had protested to the Government of the British Colony of Trinidad against the former seizure, and the captain and crew imprisoned for five months, no charge whatever being found or proved against them, and that the Venezuela Government refused to give up the vessel except on condition of relinquishment of all claims, and that, in consequence, the vessel lying neglected, became and remained—

> "A wreck and a reminder to Venezuelans how British subjects may be insulted and robbed with impunity;"

that by those proceedings the owner of the *Josephine* has been entirely ruined, and the captain and owner of the *Henrietta* reduced to earning his living in an open boat; and that claims for compensation were made by our Foreign Minister upon the Venezuelan Government in December 1884, for a portion only of the damages sustained by the British subjects thus injured, and without result; whether the statement added to such letter—

> "That the legitimate trade of British merchants in Trinidad is crushed by being subjected to an extra duty of 33 per cent. imposed by Venezuela, in spite of Treaty obligations,"

is true; whether any redress for the fore-mentioned grievances has been, or is being, sought by Her Majesty's Government; and, whether the Government will lay any Papers on the foregoing subjects before the House?

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. BRYCE) (Aberdeen, S.): The pamphlet referred to has been brought to the notice of Her Majesty's Government, and the statements contained in it relative to the cases of the *Henrietta* and *Josephine* are substantially correct. The claims of the injured parties for compensation have been repeatedly pressed by Her Majesty's Minister on the Venezuelan Government. The amounts claimed, although less than those to which the parties themselves considered they were entitled, were such as the Governor of Trinidad and Her Majesty's Representative at Caracas thought reasonable. Her Majesty's Government have heard by telegraph from the British Minister at Caracas that the Venezuelan Government have returned an unfavourable reply to their representations; but the text of this reply has not yet reached this country, and until it has been received and considered it is not proposed to take any further action. The trade of Trinidad with Venezuela has suffered by the imposition of an additional 30 per cent in Venezuela on imports from British Colonies. Her Majesty's Government have protested against the duty, but hitherto without result. There will be no objection to laying the Correspondence before Parliament.

### CRIME AND OUTRAGE (IRELAND)—ARREST OF A MOONLIGHTER—AN OFFICIAL LETTER.

CAPTAIN M'CALMONT (Antrim, E.) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether a man recently arrested in the county Kerry, in the act of moonlighting, was found to have a letter from him (the Chief Secretary) in his pocket; whether the Chief Secretary had recently been applied to for an appointment on behalf of the above mentioned recently arrested man; and, whether this letter was to the effect that the said moonlighter would be given the appointment as requested?

THE CHIEF SECRETARY (Mr. JOHN MORLEY) (Newcastle-on-Tyne): A man was arrested some short time ago, not, as the hon. Member supposes, in the County Kerry, but in Clare, on the charge of having fired a shot into a neighbour's dwelling. In his pocket the police found a letter from me. [*Laughter.*] That letter was not from me to him, but to a third person. It had no reference, direct, remote, or implied, to any appointment for the arrested man or anybody else. It was a formal and official acknowledgment of an inquiry about a police hut. I informed my correspondent that the hut could not be removed. No application of any kind has ever been made to me on behalf of the arrested man, of whom I never heard until I saw his name in the police report submitted to me in the ordinary official course. The hon. and gallant Gentleman has, therefore, as has before happened to him, been entirely misled.

### LAW AND JUSTICE—IRISH APPEALS TO THE HOUSE OF LORDS.

MR. BIGGAR (Cavan, W.) asked Mr. Attorney General, If he is aware that the authorities of the House of Lords refuse to fix days for the hearing of Irish Appeals to the great inconvenience and expense of Irish litigants; and, whether he will try to have the grievance remedied?

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir CHARLES RUSSELL) (Hackney, S.), in reply, said, he had inquired into the matter, and he did not find that there was any ground for the statement that the House of Lords had refused to fix days for the hearing of any specific Irish appeals. The fact was, that unless there were very special reasons for urgency the officials set these cases down for hearing in the order in which they were ripe for hearing, and they gave the best notice they could of the dates which were fixed for such hearing. If there were any exceptional circumstances in any case to justify an exceptional application the officials were quite ready to consider them.

### INLAND REVENUE—SUPERANNUATION OF AN EXCISE OFFICER.

COLONEL SANDYS (Lancashire, S.W., Bootle) asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Whether the Inland Revenue Authorities are aware that an Excise officer recently superannuated has since been found to have been in partnership with a brewer during his term of office, and that the brewery in which he was a partner was under his own supervision as Excise officer; whether the said officer has now started another brewery in the district with which he was originally officially connected, and in competition with the brewers to whom he had been Exciseman; and, whether, under the circumstances, the Authorities have the power to rescind his superannuation; and, if not, whether they will take steps to prevent the possible renewal of such conduct?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT) (Derby): Inquiries are being made into this matter, and I will ask the hon. and gallant Member to repeat the Question in a day or two.

### AGRICULTURAL DEPARTMENT OF THE PRIVY COUNCIL—THE CATTLE MARKETS OF THE UNITED KINGDOM.

VISCOUNT EBRINGTON (Devon, Tavistock) asked the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, Whether the Agricultural Department of the Privy Council, or any other Government Office, possesses any authentic list of the cattle markets of the United Kingdom, distinguishing the constitution of the market authority and the usual day of holding such market; and, whether he will lay such list upon the Table of the House in the form of a Return?

THE CHANCELLOR (Sir UGHTRED KAY-SHUTTLEWORTH) (Lancashire, Clithereo), in reply, said, that there was no list of markets, or of market authorities, in the possession of the Agricultural Department, or of any other Department of Government, and that many markets were private property, or belonged to Companies, and not to any market authority.

### WAR DEPARTMENT — REGIMENTAL BANDS AT POLITICAL MEETINGS.

Mr. LABOUCHERE (Northampton) asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether his attention has been called to an advertisement of a fête to be given in the grounds of Earl Brownlow on Whit Monday by the Berkhamsted and Northchurch Conservative Working Man's Club, entrance to which is charged one shilling per person, and at which it is announced that there will be a grand Military Assault-at-Arms by the non-commissioned officers and troopers of the First Life Guards, and a performance by the pipers and dancers of the Soudan Brigade of Scots Guards; and, whether non-commissioned officers, troopers, pipers, and dancers of Her Majesty's regiments of Guards are permitted to appear at fêtes given to collect funds for Conservative Associations?

The SECRETARY of STATE (Mr. Campbell-Bannerman) (Stirling, &c.): I am not surprised at my hon. Friend putting this Question; but the programme of the intended *fête* had been already brought to the notice of the Commander-in-Chief, who at once gave orders to prevent the military part of it from being carried out.

### LAW AND JUSTICE (SCOTLAND)—DISCHARGE OF PRISONERS AT BARLINNIE.

Mr. BAIRD (Lanark, N.W.) asked the Lord Advocate, Whether he is prepared to state whether any steps are being taken to prevent the commission of outrages and the depreciation of property in the neighbourhood of Barlinnie, consequent upon the renewal of the practice of discharging at Barlinnie prisoners unconnected with the district without providing for their return to the place of their conviction; and, whether he will use his influence either to secure the discontinuance of this practice, or to have such provision made with regard to the discharge of prisoners as may, without throwing undue expense upon the prison district in which Barlinnie is situate, remove the sense of insecurity which has arisen in the neighbourhood, in consequence of outrages committed by liberated prisoners?

The LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. B. Balfour) (Clackmannan, &c.): A letter has to-day, by the direction of the Secretary for Scotland, been addressed to the Clerk of the Commissioners of Supply of the county of Lanark, stating that, after the most careful and anxious consideration of all the circumstances of the case, he does not feel justified in interfering with the recent arrangements made by the Prison Commissioners for liberating prisoners from Barlinnie Prison. It is, however, pointed out in the letter that, in the opinion of the Secretary for Scotland, it is distinctly the duty—and an important duty—of the police to afford due and ample protection to inhabitants in proximity to the prison, and that if such protection cannot be afforded by the present strength of the county police, the force should at once be increased. A copy of this letter has been forwarded to the gentleman who transmitted the Petition on this subject to the Secretary for Scotland.

### METROPOLITAN IMPROVEMENTS—THE NEW ROADS AT HYDE PARK CORNER.

Mr. LABOUCHERE (Northampton) asked the honourable Member for North West Staffordshire, Whether he is aware that a Committee of the House of Lords reversed the decision of this House with reference to the maintenance of the new roads at Hyde Park Corner; and, under these circumstances, who will be responsible for the maintenance of the roads?

Mr. LEVESON GOWER (A Lord of the Treasury) (Stafford, N.W.), in reply, said, no funds were in existence for the repair of these roads except such as might be provided by Parliament; but the House had sanctioned the provision of the expenditure out of the local rates. If the roads got out of repair and became dangerous, the Government might be compelled to close them in the interest of public safety.

### VACCINATION IN THE ISLAND OF RUGEN.

Mr. ARTHUR O'CONNOR (Donegal, E.) asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, If he will state the result of the inquiry which was promised into the alleged fatal results of vaccination in the Island of Rugen?

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. BRYCE) (Aberdeen, S.): The Report was received from Her Majesty's Ambassador at Berlin on the 17th ultimo, and sent on that day to the Local Government Board, the Department which deals with the question. I am informed that the translation of the original documents has just been completed, and, as I have already informed the hon. Member privately, the result of the inquiry will be communicated to him by the Local Government Board.

## PALACE OF WESTMINSTER—VENTILATION OF THIS HOUSE—REPORT OF THE SELECT COMMITTEE.

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL (Paddington, S.) asked the Chairman of the Metropolitan Board of Works, Whether his attention has been drawn to the Report of the Select Committee on the Ventilation of the House, paragraph (2), in which it is stated—

> "That sewer gas finds its way into the drainage system of the Palace of Westminster from the unventilated Low Level Sewer of the Metropolitan System,"

and to the further statement, paragraph (3),—

> "Stating that his Board did not deem it necessary to ventilate the Low Level Sewer;"

and, whether, having regard to the fact that the House had to adjourn on the night of Thursday last in consequence of the noxious smells then prevailing, he will bring the matter again under the notice of his Board, with a view of having a proper system of ventilation of that sewer at once adopted?

THE CHAIRMAN (Sir JAMES M'GAREL-HOGG) (Middlesex, Hornsey): I beg to inform my noble Friend that my attention has been called to the Report to which he alludes, and I propose to bring it before the Metropolitan Board to-morrow, and ask that it may be referred to a Committee for consideration and report.

## GOVERNMENT OF IRELAND BILL—TERMINATION OF THE DEBATE.

SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH (Bristol, W.): May I ask the right hon. Gentleman the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether we may understand that the debate on the Government of Ireland Bill will terminate to-morrow evening?

MR. LABOUCHERE (Northampton): Before the right hon. Gentleman answers that Question, I will ask him to take into consideration the fact that I have been given a list of 27 Gentlemen on this side of the House who are anxious to address the House in this debate. I have not yet had time to send that list to the right hon. Gentleman; but I contemplate sending it to him through the usual channels. In view of the allegations which have been made against Gentlemen who intend to vote for the Bill, that they are not actuated by conscientious motives, they think that they have a right, and that it is their duty, to address the House on this occasion.

MR. BRADLAUGH (Northampton): Before the right hon. Gentleman answers, I should like to add to that, that since entering the House I have spoken to more than 20 Members who sit around me here, and as they have not been sworn to reticence, as the noble Lord (Lord Randolph Churchill) has been, they are anxious to express their views.

MR. MOLLOY (King's Co., Birr): On behalf of myself and several of my hon. Friends, I would say that we have a desire to take part in this debate, and that we intend to do so.

THE FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY (Mr. W. E. GLADSTONE) (Edinburgh, Mid Lothian): I have made a good deal of inquiry since I last answered a Question on this subject; and I feel that it must be trying to hon. Members that this debate should go on from day to day without any fixed knowledge as to the time at which the division will be taken; and I have come to the conclusion that if we could arrive at an understanding as to a positive time, Gentlemen would make some sacrifice in order to meet that arrangement, and that that would be much better than to leave the matter in a state of uncertainty. I have found that it would be extremely difficult, and most likely impossible, to terminate the debate to-morrow night; and what I propose to the House is that we should, by general consent, have an arrangement that it shall terminate on Monday night.

## *ORDERS OF THE DAY.*

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### GOVERNMENT OF IRELAND BILL.—[Bill 181.]

(*Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Secretary Childers, Mr. John Morley, Mr. Attorney General.*)

SECOND READING. [ADJOURNED DEBATE.]

[TENTH NIGHT.]

Order read, for resuming Adjourned Debate on Amendment proposed to Question [10th May], "That the Bill be now read a second time."

And which Amendment was, to leave out the word "now," and at the end of the Question to add the words "upon this day six months."—(*The Marquess of Hartington.*)

Question again proposed, "That the word 'now' stand part of the Question."

Debate *resumed.*

Mr. T. P. O'CONNOR (Liverpool, Scotland): Sir, I am sure an Irish Member has no great need to appeal to the indulgence of the House when he rises to speak on the Bill now under discussion. It is a measure which most deeply concerns the future of his country, and is the embodiment of his hopes and opinions during many years of severe struggle; and on its acceptance or rejection depends issues for his country of momentous and solemn importance. I have further, Sir, to ask for indulgence because this Bill appeals to the deepest and strongest political convictions and passions of an Irishman; and while frankly I desire to put some restraint on myself lest I should be betrayed into any expression which might wound the just susceptibilities of even the opponents of this measure, I desire to criticize freely the attacks on the Bill, but, at the same time, to criticize them in a courteous spirit. Now, Sir, I may be allowed to reiterate the surprise of many others at the forms which the criticism of this measure has taken. It is the first time in my experience that a Bill has been objected to on the second reading stage, not so much because of its central principle, as because of its details. I listened with the attention it deserved the other night to the speech of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for the Border Burghs (Mr. Trevelyan); and it is not an unfair description of his speech to say that the greater part of it was taken up with a denunciation of the largeness of the tribute, which, under this Bill, Ireland is expected to pay to England. Well, Sir, we on these Benches gave to that part of his speech an attentive and a sympathetic hearing. Does he suppose that we, in voting for the second reading of this Bill, preclude ourselves from making the most earnest struggle for a reduction of the tribute? My hon. Friend the Member for Cork (Mr. Parnell) is in no way more distinguished from other politicians than in his resolve and his power to drive for his own people and his own side the hardest bargain it is in human power to drive. No Irish farmer, Connaught farmer, at a County Mayo fair, drives a harder bargain for his cow than does my hon. Friend for the rights of his country; and when we come to deal with the question of tribute, my hon. Friend will be true to his invariable traditions, and fight for a reduction with a tenacity of which in his Parliamentary career he has given the House such abundant examples. I trust that when we reach that stage of the Bill we may have the able assistance of the right hon. Gentleman. Then some Members, *Hiberniores Hibernis ipsis*, object to the constitution of the proposed Legislative Assembly. Sir, I would think that in logic, as well in Parliamentary Order, it would be right that we should first decide whether we are are to have a Legislature at all before we discuss what that Legislature is to be like. We, on these Benches, do not profess to regard the constitution of the new Irish Legislature as a foregone conclusion when we vote for the second reading of this measure. We shall subject the details of the scheme to searching criticism, and we shall welcome, as the Prime Minister doubtless will welcome, any light that the keen intelligence of the right hon. Gentleman or any Member of the House can throw upon it. But this much I must say upon the constitution of the new Legislature. The right hon. Member for West Birmingham (Mr. Chamberlain) has denounced that Legislature as a thing that the sturdy Liberalism of Birmingham would not pick out of the gutter, and that because of the restrictions it places upon the rights of the democracy. We do not take this view. We are ready to accept any restrictions on the rights of democracy at the start of this grave enterprize; our first work is to weld the different classes of our people into a perfectly harmonious whole, to undo the evil work of centuries of a policy, the fundamental principle of which was to divide and to conquer, above all to soften and finally to extirpate that estrangement of different creeds which has been not the natural growth of kindly Irish hearts of all creeds, but of such appeals to religious rancour by foreign and unscrupulous tongues as we have heard within the last few months. To foster this idea of common nationhood above our strong Party differences, our class hatreds, and our distinctions of creeds will be the first work of Irish statesmanship; and by way of starting that work favourably and accelerating its progress, we are quite willing not merely to submit to, but even to welcome, restraints on the rights of majorities, which in ordinary circumstances we would reject. We might as "a down-trodden majority" appeal for sympathy to the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham; and for a while, perhaps, we might obtain it by references to his speech at Bristol already quoted, and his recent speech to the Birmingham Two Thousand; but we could not count upon that sympathy for long, as the right hon. Gentleman is liable to remember that in some of the epistolary gems with which he has so abundantly favoured the public, he has condemned the Bill for its treatment of the minority; so that this measure contains not merely in this but in many other respects, of which more by-and-bye, faults of an entirely contradictory character. It is a creature of such awful mien and such abnormal and unusual atrocity that it oppresses a down-trodden majority and enslaves a crushed minority. But, Sir, on this question of the Orders, the proper property qualification, and the other details of the proposed Irish Legislature, I have a right to bar all criticism at this stage. It appears to me the demand of logic and of reason, no less than of Parliamentary procedure, that we should first decide whether we are to have an Irish Legislature at all before we go on to discuss what kind of Legislature it should be. Let us catch our legislative hare before we worry our heads over the form in which it shall be cooked. Nor, Sir, do I think that we need waste much time over the legal and Constitutional arguments of which we have had so much during these debates from the Gentlemen of the Long Robe. In spite of all the subtleties to which we have listened, all the debate on this point seems to me to be very simple, and that it can be put into a nutshell. The supremacy of Parliament is said to be destroyed, but a power is not destroyed which is suspended; a power does not cease to exist because it is not exercised. The right hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for Bury (Sir Henry James) says that he cannot recognize any distinction between a right and an abstract right, or as I would put it, between a power in reserve and a power in use. This may be good law, but it appears to me to be uncommonly bad sense. Surely the entire working of our Constitution depends on the difference between power in reserve and power in exercise. I believe there are lawyers still who would claim that the Sovereign had a right to veto any legislation, though passed by both Houses of Parliament, to which she objected; the veto of the Crown certainly is not yet an exploded superstition, but the veto is not exercised. Several times during the agitation on the Irish Church Her Majesty was appealed to from the same quarters as are now threatening her with treason, to refuse her assent to an Act of the Legislature which violated her Coronation Oath, trampled on the Christianity of the country, and was even a revolt against Divine Providence. But everybody knows that if the Queen had exercised her veto on that occasion in the direction suggested by her so-called friends, the result would have been very serious. The right hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for Bury may not know the difference between a power in reserve and a power in exercise; but Her Majesty, who is not a man of law, but a woman of good sense, does, and, accordingly, though she had the power of veto, she left that power in reserve, and did not exercise it. Take another and even more pertinent example. I know nothing in the Constitution which prevents the House of Lords from refusing to pass a Bill passed by this House, although this House had passed it a hundred times in succession. When the Franchise Bill was passed in 1884 the

House of Lords met it by an Amendment very like rejection, and it seemed as if the Marquess of Salisbury intended to repeat the operation in the succeeding year; but his Lordship and the other Members of that august Assembly are men with brains and skins, and know that even the most august skins are sometimes in danger when a privileged minority sets itself against the power and the rights of the people. They may not all have the same keenness of intellect as the right hon. and learned Member for Bury, but they have keenness of sensations and fears, and they could very clearly explain to the right hon. and learned Gentleman the difference between a power in reserve and a power in exercise. I may dismiss all this part of the case in a very few words. The right hon. and learned Gentleman said there were several cases in which the Imperial Parliament had exercised its reserved right to interfere with the legislation of the Colonies. So there are, but these cases are after all rare in comparison with the amount of legislation accomplished by the Colonial Legislatures; and the tendency is to make them every day rarer, until probably, before long, they will cease to be called for at all in face of the better understanding and the more cordial friendship of the Colonies and the Mother Country. Surely the lowliest layman can penetrate through the self-created difficulties of lawyers upon this point. Ireland gets her Legislature on certain specific conditions and limitations. These limitations are necessary to maintain the unity of the Empire, and the safety and dignity of the Empire, and the supremacy of Parliament. But, on the one hand, they do not destroy the supremacy of Parliament—Parliament is, and remains, omnipotent—on the other, the omnipotence of Parliament will not be exercised wantonly. To put it shortly, Ireland obtains respite from the interference of the Imperial Parliament on pretty much the same terms as Judges have a respite from the Parliament. Parliament has a perfect right to depose Judges, but they hold their seats during good behaviour; and similarly the Imperial Parliament will not interfere with Ireland *quam diu se bene gesserit*, as long as she observes her part of the bargain. To maintain that there is any abandonment of her supremacy by the Imperial Parliament because she does not constantly interfere with the Legislature in Ireland, is the same as to maintain that a schoolmaster ceases to be head of the school because he does not, after the old examplars, whip his boys in season and out of season, and with or without cause. Perhaps this is the proper place to notice an argument which, I am glad to say, has not figured very largely in the dabates in this House. This is the argument of separation. The other night when my hon. Friend the Member for Wexford (Mr. J. E. Redmond) was asking by what was Ireland held to England now, an hon. Member on the Conservative Benches, whose performances in this House up to the present have consisted of interruptions, replied with characteristic delicacy, "Force." It is Gentlemen who use language of this kind that profess, at the same time, to be more than shocked that Ireland does not bear to English rule a filial tenderness and affection. But, as my hon. Friend readily and truly replied, the force by which you maintain your rule in Ireland is not destroyed, is not interfered with — is, in fact, specially maintained and preserved by the enactments of this Bill. To hear the way some men argue one would suppose that an Irish Legislature would have the power not only of destroying the omnipotence of the Imperial Parliament, but of creating a new and portentous omnipotence of its own. Will the Irish Legislature be able to widen the Irish Channel, or to make 5,000,000 equal in strength to 30,000,000? Under this Bill Ireland is to have no Army and no Navy; she is saved from a Militia, and the gallantries of officers like the Member for Sheffield (Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett). But assuming the impossible, assuming that Ireland had the physical strength to engage in an attempt to separate from England, would that be her inclination? Let me make the ambitious attempt to forecast the near future of Ireland under Home Rule. I start from the assumption that before many years most of the farmers in Ireland will be—I will not say owners of their holdings, for that raises a controversial question—but tenants in perpetuity at fair rents. They have made under the Land Act of 1881 a large step towards that goal, and, without any Land Purchase Bill, they can get to the position of tenants in perpetuity at fair rents. The farmers of Ireland number between 500,000 and 600,000—with their families they number 2,500,000—in other words, about a half of the entire population. Then you can place another 500,000 to the credit of practically the same class, the small shopkeepers. I do not think that we can hope, at least for a long time, to come to anything approaching to that great wealthy middle class which you have in England. The landlords are not now even a very widespread class in the new Irish nation. What, then, is the nation we shall have in Ireland? It will be a nation of small farmers and of those dependent on small farmers—one vast, widespread, universal *petite bourgeoisie.* Well, Sir, we know perfectly well the main features of a *petite bourgeoisie.* It exists in many countries under different Governments, speaking different tongues, professing different religions; but its main features remain exactly the same under all these differences. Between the peasant farmer of France, Spain, and Germany, in spite of racial and other blood feuds, the resemblances far outnumber the differences. We know the very features of the prosperous farmer's face. The cheek bone, the hard mouth, the sunken cheek, the keen and almost cunning eye. Go to the Royal Academy and look at the picture of him by a young painter of genius, Mr. Aloysius O'Kelly, and you will be able to read the whole history of a farmer's life, with its good and its evil side. The farmer is frugal to avarice; his industry degenerates into drudgery, his wisdom into cunning; and, above all things, he has the hatred, the dread, and the despair of the revolutionary. Sir, there is only one country in the whole world in which the peasant labourer is Radical, and that is England, where alone among the civilized countries of the world the labourer is divorced from the blessed and in the best sense Conservative influence of a share in the ownership of the soil. The nature of the Irish farmer is not so different from the nature of the farmers in other countries. In habits of thought, in action, in the strength of his family ties, in the sordidness of many of his aims, even in his features, he bears a strong resemblance to the peasant of France. Is a nation in which the farmers are the main, the dominant, almost the sole element, a nation likely to seek separation through the only method which makes separation possible, and from whom will the Irish farmer be asked to separate? Newspapers antagonistic to the Bill of the Prime Minister are in the habit of quoting statistics of the amount of trade between England and Ireland. The Secretary to the Treasury declared the other night that of £20,000,000 worth of exports from Ireland, £19,250,000 are taken by England, that you have in Irish cows, in Irish sheep, and in Irish pigs the guardians and the protectors of your connection with the two countries. And there is more. All reasonable Irishmen are convinced that the settlement of this question offered by the Prime Minister will wipe away the wrongs of centuries, and the feelings and bitterness and hatreds they have generated. But there is an influence which, if Ireland be given her rights, will prove a more potent ally. There is no such lethean stream as mutual interest. When Ireland self-governed loses her sense of being treated as an inferior and a dependent she will think of her ties of interest to England, and, thinking of them, her ancient wrongs will clear from her brain and heart like half-forgotten dreams. Just one word on another objection against this Bill that was mentioned at an early stage of the discussion, but that has already shrunk back ashamed from the light of debate. This was the objection that the Irish Catholics would endow and establish their Church. I do not know, as an Irishman, whether we should be amused by the folly or enraged by the ignorance of such an objection. Why, Sir, if any Irish Member were to propose the establishment or the endowment of the Catholic Church in Ireland, he would be opposed not merely by the Irish laymen in an Irish Assembly, but by the wise Heads of the Catholic Church itself. There is no country in the world where the sermon against Church establishments and endowments has been preached in testimony so striking and so unanswerable. We have had in Ireland an established and endowed Church, and a Church that is neither established nor endowed. The voluntary Church has a greater hold upon its flock than any Church in the world, and in a land of poverty it has been able to raise temples as fine as any in the world; while the Established Church left the population around it absolutely untouched, separated many of its own congregations in sympathy from the majority of the nation, and, above all, infected a portion of the Protestant population in the North of Ireland with the subtle and destructive poison of religious ascendancy, of which you see such painful evidences in the speeches that occasionally proceed from the Benches above the Gangway. That Church—I say it in no disputatious spirit, but as a patent fact—has never made one honest and sincere convert. By its side has existed a voluntary Church which, as I have said, has won its way into the hearts of the people and held them firmly attached to it. The clergy of that Church will never exchange the position which, by their very dependence on the contributions of the people, they have won in their affections for any of the seeming advantages of State endowment. If such a measure were proposed to them they would to a man petition against it. And assuredly may I not point to the unanimity and spontaneity with which the Irish Members have voted against Church establishments and Church endowment as one of many things that ought to have kept back the right hon. Member for West Birmingham from making against Irish Catholics the odious and execrable charge that they intend to oppress and persecute their Protestant fellow-countrymen. And now, Sir, let me pass to the various objections which have been made from different quarters against this Bill. Sir, this Bill is unfortunate in one respect—it has many friends--it is killed with kindness. And the Irish nation has also many friends—more ardently patriotic even than her own sons; and as to the Irish Members, the fortunes of the Bill and the Prime Minister and of the minority for a long time were held to hang on whether they should be allowed to drag themselves from the embraces of their loving friends in this House. There is another curious side to this part of the controversy. It is that side by side with this overflowing friendship to the Bill on the part of men who will vote its death, and side by side with the love of Irish rights of the advocates of Irish enslavement, you have the false friendship and the deadly but well-concealed hatred to the Bill and to Ireland of the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister. I am in the knowledge of the House when I say that the reasons given for voting against the measure by many Liberal Members, if they mean anything, mean that these Members would have voted for the Bill if only that bad man, the Prime Minister, would have permitted them to do so. Now, Sir, I take the liberty to doubt the sincerity of some of these professions of friendship. I cannot believe in the sincerity of self-styled friends who are doing their best to kill the Bill. I cannot believe in the sincerity of friendship for the Irish race on the part of those who want to perpetuate Irish enslavement. Let me take, as a specimen of this style of opposition to the Bill, the argument of dignity. Of this style of argument we got the largest doses from the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for Bury (Sir Henry James) and the hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for Inverness Burghs (Mr. Finlay). Said the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for Bury—

> "Will the hon. Member for Cork forgive me, as he says Ireland is a nation, if I ask him whether this is the nation which Irishmen have meant, when under this Bill her Legislature will be brought lower than that of any Province of any Colony of the Crown, when Ireland will have no Flag, no Army, no Navy, when she cannot deal with her foreign affairs, or with her trade and commerce, or even protect her Coast?"

I should have thought that we had in the British Navy sufficient protection; but that, after all, is only a fine specimen of *Nisi Prius* bathos. The right hon. and learned Gentleman continued—

> I believe that the echoes of the voices of the dead would mingle with the voices of the living in protesting against this Bill being treated as the final result of the aspirations of Irishmen to form one of the nations of the earth."—(3 *Hansard*, [305] 929.)

This is sufficiently fine; but the hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for Inverness Burghs was even more sublime—

> "Were we with our eyes open and in spite of the teachings of history to reproduce all the conditions that culminated in the granting of Grattan's Parliament? I do not think so meanly of the Home Rule Members as to expect that they would tamely acquiesce in such a state of things. Would any nationality worth the name be content with a measure of this sort, giving it a Parliament subject to an alien Parliament, from which its Representatives were excluded? The proposed Parliament, the management even of Irish affairs, would be a cribbed Cabinet, and confined in a way the

Irish nationality would not long endure. How many months would elapse before every Irishman who was worthy of the name would be up in arms against the continuance of a state of things so intolerable and so degrading?"

Sir, I miss from this otherwise excellent report in *The Times* a phrase that posterity would not willingly let die. I cannot think what it was about, but it had one word in it which particularly impressed me. It appealed to the Irish Members to be true to the lessons of their "sires." Sir, this was a thrilling and a moving appeal, and we felt it. But, when under the inspiring rhetoric of the hon. and learned Gentleman, we had been excited to a state of almost drunken rage against the foul and treacherous Minister who was palming off upon us this miserable, this inadequate, this "cabined, cribbed, and confined" Parliament, what had the hon. and learned Gentleman to offer us in exchange? If we were only able to prove ourselves worthy of our fathers—I beg the hon. and learned Gentleman's pardon—if we rose to the same heroic heights as our "sires," if we were but equal to the great arguments, if we revolted against the Prime Minister's offer, what would be our reward? Then, says the hon. and learned Gentleman, he would give us a large measure of local self-government.

> "Inquiries," said the hon. and learned Gentleman, "as to Railway and Canal Bills and Gas and Water Bills ought to be conducted in Ireland and by Irish tribunals."

Sir, the hon. and learned Gentleman may deserve the high estimate of his political intelligence which he has received so abundantly from enemies of this Bill, but I pray him to give us credit for being something a little better than fools. The shallow insincerity of such appeals to the Irish people to reject the Bill of the right hon. Gentleman as inadequate, proves, not the Irish people who are expected to swallow them, the fools, but the honourable and even learned Gentlemen who form so poor a notion of their intelligence. The Irish people will understand appeals to their dignity by those who seek to perpetuate her degradation. They well know that such appeals from men like the right hon. and learned Gentleman (Sir Henry James) and the hon. and learned Gentleman (Mr. Finlay) are intended—I am quoting from the Marquess of Salisbury—"to bamboozle by those who want to bamboozle." And now, Sir, I come to another class of objectors. These are Gentlemen who avow a burning desire to vote for the Bill if that bad old man, the Prime Minister, will only permit them to do so. The hon. Gentleman the Member for Huddersfield (Mr. Leatham) is a specimen of this class. The hon. Gentleman wrote to his constituents a short time ago a letter from which the newspapers published the following extract:—

> "You already know my views with regard to the Irish Bills; and I regret to say that Mr. Gladstone has not availed himself of the opportunity afforded by yesterday's proceedings to remove by concessions our objections to the Bill."

Just let us see all the Prime Minister had to do in order to gain the sympathy and the support of the amiable Gentlemen whom he so rudely and cruelly repulsed. I listened to the speech of the hon. Gentleman; it was a speech that, unfortunately, had not as large an audience as it deserved. I did not think it was heard by the Prime Minister, and I have therefore the less hesitation in giving the House and the right hon. Gentleman a specimen of the tender cooings of the turtle dove of Huddersfield—

> "It was most unfortunate," said the hon. Member for Huddersfield, "that at such a moment the right hon. Gentleman should have preferred to introduce a Bill which would give faction its fling, and give the upper hand to an intolerant priesthood. The measure meant that the Government had made their choice between two coercions, and the coercion they had chosen was that of those who defied the law—that of those who maimed and murdered by moonlight."

Now, the meaning of this language is that the Irish people are to be regarded as a nation of people who murder and maim cattle, and that, being such a nation, it has no right whatever to anything but coercion, or to anything in the shape of local self-government. Is it not an abuse of our innocence for an an hon. Gentleman with such opinions of Irishmen to profess to his constituents that the Prime Minister could make any concessions whatever which would meet such objections as he has raised? I protest against such arguments. Let hon. Gentlemen, if they are going to reject the Bill, at least have the sinister courage of their convictions, and not hide behind the Prime Minister their own incurable hostility to any measure which shows confidence in the Irish people. I now come to a much more formidable antagonist than any of these hon. Gentlemen. I mean the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham (Mr. Joseph Chamberlain). The right hon. Gentleman on Tuesday night began with a declaration that personal references were below the level of the great Constitutional question in which we are taking part. I am not quite sure that he entirely acted up to his maxim; but I can assure the right hon. Gentleman that I will follow his precept, if not his example, in anything I shall have to say in regard to him. I shall not say one word as to his motive, nor indeed, though the prospect is tempting, shall I make any reference to his expression of opinion in 1874. Neither will I make any allusion to the most unfortunate misreport of his Sheffield speech further than to note that a journal of that town this morning quotes from a contemporary a report which shows that the right hon. Gentleman does not understand the plan of Mr. Butt to which he gave his adherence. Is the right hon. Gentleman an adherent of the plan of Mr. Butt now? Has he ever read it? Does he understand the plan of Mr. Butt? The right hon. Gentleman said that Mr. Butt contemplated the retention of the Irish Members in this House; but Mr. Butt never contemplated the retention of the Irish Members for anything but Imperial affairs. Sir, I shall now deal with the right hon. Gentleman's plans, and shall endeavour to discuss them in the cold sobriety of argument. Now, Sir, the right hon. Gentleman on Tuesday night said that—

> "It is on the method and plan of the Bill that we are going to the country, and not upon its principle. I have said before, and I say it again, give me the principle without the Bill, and I will vote for it; but I will not vote for the method by which it is sought to establish this principle."

Now, Sir, I deny *in toto* that this is a fair or correct way of stating the case. The right hon. Gentleman says it is a question of method on which he differs from the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister. Well, Sir, this language would be more intelligible if the right hon. Gentleman had a method; but what method are we to get? Which method? The right hon. Gentleman himself cannot deny that in the course of these descriptions he has put forward not one, but several methods, not once, but several times; and though he himself, of course, could not be expected to admit it, I think the House and the country generally are agreed that the methods and the plans of one date are entirely inconsistent with the methods and plans of another. It is impossible to say that the right hon. Gentleman, in proposing National Councils at one time, and frankly abandoning them at the other, was advocating one method and one plan. It is impossible to say that the right hon. Gentleman, in fathering, if not proposing, National Councils, which had a property qualification, and in now denouncing the measure of the Prime Minister because it has a property qualification, was advocating the one method and the one plan. It is impossible for the right hon. Gentleman to argue that in fathering, if not proposing, a National Council, which placed Ulster in exactly the same position as the West of Ireland, and in now demanding separate treatment for Ulster, is proposing the same method and plan. There is one method and one plan which the right hon. Gentleman put forward for dealing with the question of which we have heard nothing since—I mean the famous proposal to issue a "No Rent Manifesto," and to give the landlords of Ireland a blank cheque on the Exchequer of England. I shall be curious to know when the right hon. Gentleman goes before his constituents how he will be able to reconcile that plan and that method of dealing with the Irish Question with the extraordinary solicitude he has since displayed for the taxpayers of England and Scotland. Well, Sir, then we have the plan and method of federation after the fashion of the United States. That plan and method also we may regard as abandoned. It was pointed out to the right hon. Gentleman that in order to have federation you must have something to federate, and that accordingly in order even to carry out his own scheme of federation it was necessary to have that Legislative Assembly established in Ireland which is the main principle of the Bill he is trying to kill. It was also pointed out that if you are to have federation you must have a Local

Assembly in England, in Scotland, and in Wales, and an Imperial Assembly, with Imperial questions reserved to it. The right hon. Gentleman has never been able to say that the public opinion of England, Scotland, and Wales is ripe for such a smashing up and tanning of the Imperial Parliament as would justify any Minister in proposing a federal settlement. So that the plan and method of federation on the model of the United States is dead, and so also is the plan and method of a National Council dead. But notwithstanding the disastrous failure that has come upon all the other alternative proposals of the right hon. Gentleman, on Tuesday night he had what I must call the sublime civic courage to present the world once more with another bantling alternative proposal. He now proposes federation on the Canadian plan. But, Sir, here again misfortune dogs the steps of the right hon. Gentleman's political progeny, for, Sir, within a few hours after he had proposed his last alternative scheme it was shattered and torn to pieces by the Chancellor of the Exchequer. So this scheme of federation after the Canadian plan is dead. The right hon. Gentleman shed tears that I can scarcely regard as sincere over the Bill of the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister. Well, Sir, I imitate his example, and, assuming for a moment like him, the position of a mute, I proceed to pronounce over his dead scheme an epitaph borrowed from Shakespeare. Curiously enough the epitaph is the same as the epitaph of the right hon. Gentleman, pronounced over the Bill of the Prime Minister, with this important difference that I must change the numbers—speaking with regard to the proposals of the right hon. Gentleman, I cannot confine myself to the singular number—there are so many of them—but must paraphrase the quotation thus—

> "Vex not their ghosts, let them pass! he hates them much,
> That would upon the rack of this tough world
> Stretch them out longer."

But, Sir, though the right hon. Gentleman abandoned National Councils, yet, somehow or other, with an obstinacy of fatuous love, he seemed to return to them once more; for, Sir, he laid down the principle which can only be considered with his original scheme of National Councils. He declared that the supremacy which he demanded for Parliament was a supremacy effective and authoritative, and in another place he speaks of it as a real and effective supremacy, and then he describes the Assembly or Council to which he would consent as purely subordinate, with very limited and strictly defined powers of legislation. He speaks of National Councils, and I assume he means Councils Provincial and National. I do not know which most to wonder at, the prolific recklessness or the heartless cruelty of this worst of legislative parents, who has no sooner laid one of his children on the doorstep, and furtively deposited another in the Foundling Hospital, than he is already producing another inmate for the Epileptic and Consumptive Hospital. The Provincial Council! Now, Sir, with regard to Provincial Councils, I think I may dismiss that part of the case very rapidly. I can add nothing whatever to the masterly and merciless dissection of that portion of the proposals of the right hon. Gentleman by my hon. Friend the Member for Sligo (Mr. Sexton). He urged that the only result would be, if all Ulster were included under this proposed Council, to give Ulster a Council with a Nationalist majority and a Nationalist Executive; and if it were confined to what the right hon. Gentleman calls Ulster, it would have the effect of leaving 200,000 of the Catholic minority under what the right hon. Gentleman calls the domination of the Protestant majority, and a minority of 300,000 Protestants in the other parts of Ireland under the domination of a Catholic majority, and also afford hon. Gentlemen above the Gangway the protection and the pleasure of the Premiership of the hon. Member for Cavan (Mr. Biggar). But then it was found that when the right hon. Gentleman spoke of Ulster, he meant, not Ulster as a whole, but a particular corner of it, where the Protestants are in a majority. So that the proposal is not, as might be supposed, a Council for the whole Province, but a Council for the corner of a Province. I do not often agree with the hon. and gallant Member for North Armagh (Major Saunderson); but I admire the manliness and fidelity with which he refuses to abandon his fellow-Protestants in other parts of Ireland, and rejects with scorn a separate Assembly for Ulster. Therefore, this plan is dead and beyond resurrection. It is rejected by National Ireland with scorn as an insult to its dignity, and it is rejected by Orange Ireland as an insult to its manhood. Then there is the bantling of Canadian federation. The great complaint against the Prime Minister is that he sprung this Bill upon us. Why, we have a different plan sprung upon us every night by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham. I had thought of making a Chamberlain concordance; but I have desisted from it on the certainty that, if the debates on this Bill were prolonged for a year or two, it would fill as many shelves as the *Encyclopædia Britannica.* I equally traverse this Colonial idea. My hon. and learned Friend (Mr. T. M. Healy) said that "he went to the Colonial Exhibition and learnt about Canada." That is entirely inaccurate, for the right hon. Gentleman dared not go there. He would find the floor crowded with his abandoned offspring. But I pass on to a National Council as representing all Ireland with what the right hon. Gentleman calls the effective supremacy of the Imperial Parliament preserved, and with this Council purely subordinate in its character, and with very limited and strictly-defined powers of legislation. Well, Sir, in the first place, let me give this objection, which, if not conclusive, is at least a very strong objection to this case—that it would be rejected with scorn by the Irish people. I know that the right hon. Gentleman, in his present mood, thinks the opinions of the Irish people are of no importance whatever; but I should have thought, to other Radicals at least, the reception which a people give to the form of government you offer them ought to have some effect, at least, upon a Radical's idea of that form; and I say that, if such a scheme had been accepted last year, when the right hon. Gentleman said it was acceptable to several distinguished Irish Nationalists, it could only have been accepted with the view of affording a vantage ground for other demands. The right hon. Gentleman objects to the present scheme of the Prime Minister because of its want of finality, and he proposes now a scheme the finality of which not anybody in the whole world could have accepted or imagined. And, Sir, let us not be deluded by phrases. The only real and effective supremacy you would have in the House with such a scheme would be the real and effective supremacy of the Irish Question and the Irish Party. I think this sufficiently disposes of the statement of the right hon. Gentleman that it is on the method and plan of the Bill we are going to the country, and not upon its principles. Now, Sir, take up the other part of his statement, and that also, I think, I can prove to be an entirely inaccurate representation of the issue. The right hon. Gentleman says that he agrees in principle with this Bill. He does nothing of the kind. He declares he is in favour of Home Rule. But, Sir, that is a paltering with words. Let me take up and compare the invitations addressed by the Prime Minister to his followers and by the right hon. Gentleman to his. The Prime Minister invited those to be present in the Foreign Office who were in favour of a Legislative Assembly in Dublin for the management distinctly and specifically of Irish affairs. Now, Sir, that is what they call Home Rule, and I refuse to consider anything else as a principle of Home Rule. Here is the invitation to the other gathering—

> "Clapham Common, May 29, 1886.
>
> "Dear Sir,—I am requested to invite you to a conference of those Members who, being in favour of some sort of autonomy for Ireland, disapprove of the Government Bills in their present shape. The conference will be held in Committee Room No. 15, on Monday afternoon, the 31st inst., at 5 o'clock. Mr. Chamberlain will preside.
>
> "Yours faithfully,
> "W. S. Caine."

Now, Sir, I shall describe this invitation, signed by the hon. Gentleman the Member for Barrow, as a flabby and pulpy document. Why, Sir, that is a thing that might be accepted by even the hon. Gentleman the Member for South Belfast (Mr. Johnston). I do not suppose that even the hon. Gentleman is in favour of everything in the administration of Ireland. It is a form which goes not beyond but far below many of the principles accepted and preached by hon. Gentlemen on these Benches, and accepted and preached even during this debate, for, Sir, hon. Gentlemen on these Benches have openly declared their readiness to give a considerable amount of local self-government to Ireland—in favour of some form of autonomy for Ireland. Sir, let me call attention to this fact. I see by some of the papers that one of the Gentlemen present at the meeting of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham was the hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for Inverness Burghs (Mr. Finlay); and if reports speak correctly, his remarks had something to do with the decision at which the meeting arrived. But, Sir, I have already quoted what he means by autonomy for Ireland—he means Irish tribunals to deal with railways and canals, Gas and Water Bills. To speak of anybody whose idea of autonomy for Ireland takes this shape as a Home Ruler is to dishonestly palter with words; and, therefore, I say that the right hon. Gentleman is just as incorrect in saying that the question now between him and the right hon. Gentleman is no longer a question of principle. It is a question of principle. The right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister is in favour of Home Rule, and the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham is against Home Rule. Now, Sir, I want to address a few questions to some of the hon. Members who were present at that very remarkable gathering, which is supposed—and with very good reason—to have settled the doom of this Bill; and I hope they will accept my words as intended to be entirely respectful to their opinions. I want to know, first, whether the meeting in the Committee Room No. 15 was entirely composed of Gentlemen who give an undivided allegiance to the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham, or was it composed in some degree of hon. Members who divide their allegiance between the right hon. Gentleman and the noble Lord the Member for Rossendale (the Marquess of Hartington), because, Sir, this has a very great importance? The meeting under the auspices of the right hon. Gentleman was given to the public as a meeting of Radicals, just as the meeting under the noble Lord was represented to the public as a meeting of Whigs; but is it not practising a sham and a delusion upon the public if a meeting of Radicals be a meeting partly of Radicals and partly of Whigs? This is more than a question of stage armies with the marching backwards and forwards of exactly the same men—it is a question of honest dealing with the public. The people of England may be deceived by this mixture of heterogeneous forces; but what right have they to proclaim the joint decision of Whigs and Tories as the voice of Radicalism, and what right have Radicals—or so-called Radicals—to come to the meeting held under the auspices of the noble Lord and proclaim the joint decision of Radicals and Whigs as the voice of sober and moderate Whigs? I want to know the exact number of Whigs and the exact number of Radicals. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham used to understand very well the difference between the two, and has poured more abuse on the Whig Party than on any other; but the lines are a little confused just now. In the second place, I want to know what was the exact advice given in the letter of the right hon. Gentleman the senior Member for Birmingham (Mr. John Bright)? Did the letter of the right hon. Gentleman advise the majority of the meeting to vote against the second reading of the Bill? I believe it is quite true that the letter of the right hon. Gentleman expressed his own intention to vote against the second reading. I am not going to say one harsh word with regard to the right hon. Gentleman the senior Member for Birmingham; I have said hard words of the right hon. Gentleman, and I regret having said them; and I can only urge in extenuation that I have said nothing harder of the right hon. Gentleman than the right hon. Gentleman has said of the Party to which I belong. In one of his best speeches the right hon. Gentleman has spoken in favour of the rights and liberties of Ireland, and has made use of the remarkable words that the Act which one Parliament has enacted another has repealed. I deplore the action of the right hon. Gentleman the senior Member for Birmingham, and the Prime Minister will deplore it even more than I do. The Prime Minister himself will be the first—and who will dare to deny the friendship of the Prime Minister for the right hon. Gentleman?—the Prime Minister himself will be the first to acknowledge that long before he had himself emerged from Cimmerian Tory darkness with regard to Ireland—the right hon. Gentleman had repented of his follies and did not mind their being recalled—the right hon. Gentleman the senior Member for Birmingham had been preaching the gospel of Irish liberty and Irish rights. I want to know what the right hon. Gentleman proposed? I know nothing of the right hon. Gentleman's letter; it has not been published fully in the papers. It is of enormous importance to know what that letter contained, seeing that it may take its place in history as the death warrant of an Administration and a policy, and we have a right to see the full text of the document, and to know whether that letter of the right hon. Gentleman advised others to take the same course as he did, or whether it advised them to adopt a policy of abstention; or, to put it more briefly, was the letter of the right hon. Gentleman intended to suggest such a vote as would precipitate an immediate Dissolution, or was the letter intended to prevent an immediate Dissolution? Sir, I think we have a right to an answer to these questions. Sir, the masses of the people do not understand the subtle distinctions which the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Chamberlain) sets up. The real question, Sir, which they will have to decide will be whether we are to have Home Rule in the real sense of the word for Ireland, or coercion for Ireland. The real contest is not between the right hon. Gentleman and the Prime Minister, but between the Prime Minister and the Marquess of Salisbury. Unionist majority! How are you going to get the Unionist majority? Do you mean to tell me that if two Liberal candidates start in the same constituency for which it is open to a Conservative candidate to get in that a Conservative will not be run? If you tell me that a Conservative candidate will not be run in such a case, then I have two remarks to make—that the Liberal electors of this country, and, still more, the Radical electors, will be curious to learn the reason how a corrupt and base bargain like this between the Liberals and their opponents can be justified; and, secondly, I must remark that if the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham thinks that compacts like this can be kept, he is a man of much more Arcadian simplicity than ever before I was inclined to credit him with. A General Election is at all times a leap in the dark; but, Sir, I think there may be grave reasons for apprehending that the results of a Dissolution and a General Election at the present moment may be the return of a Conservative majority and a strong Conservative Government. For reasons which I will give presently, I see some advantage in a weak Conservative Administration; but I see not merely no advantage, but the gravest danger, in a strong Conservative Administration. I shall have to deal with the last General Election presently, and Gentlemen may think that our Party did their best to produce a strong Conservative Government. We did nothing of the kind. We watched the elections closely day by day—my hon. Friend the Member for Cork and I were in almost daily communication—and I have no hesitation in saying that if we thought there was the slightest danger of a great Conservative majority we would have taken very good care that those, at least, who follow our counsels should have done their best to prevent it. And why, Sir? Because not even for the sake of Ireland would my hon. Friend or would I have taken upon ourselves the responsibility—I will say more, the shame and the guilt—of subjecting the people of England and the Empire to the terrors and the horrors that daily assail the country whenever it has the misfortune of being governed by a strong Conservative Administration. But I want to put it to hon. Gentlemen who are going to vote against this Bill—going to vote against it, although they accept its principle and are only voting upon its principle—I ask them if they regard the advent of a strong Tory Government as a good day's work, for which they will have the approval of their countrymen and of their own consciences? And let me further remind those who vote against this Bill that they will incur a serious responsibility and run a serious political risk as to their return to that House again. [*Laughter.*] Am I to understand that laugh as meaning that we have come to such a pass in English history that Radicals may not be afraid of rejection at the polls because of a Tory alliance? If there is such an alliance, let it be stated not only on the authority of Tories, but also on that of Radicals, and let those Radicals who are going to their constituents in the hope that if they are rejected by Radical votes they will be saved by Tory votes openly make their confession of faith to their constituents. Those Radicals who are opposed to this Bill are in somewhat the same condition of faith as that in which I have myself been at a not very ancient period of my political life—they have confidence in the scruples and blushes of the noble Lord the Member for South Paddington (Lord Randolph Churchill). Before I sit down I will give hon. Members some reasons for a little scepticism as to the validity of the foundation for these hopes. I should be surprised—more than that, I should be edified—if I found that where there are two Liberals standing, and there is a fair chance of a Tory getting in, a Tory does not stand. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham talks of the Unionist majority. In this era we have the extraordinary portent that the men who make war on Ireland give each other the kiss of peace. But I would ask hon. Members who follow the right hon. Gentleman in this matter, if they are going to appeal to the country, to choose carefully their ground, and to be able to make clear to their constituents the momentous and overwhelming reasons for their action. And now, Sir, I come to a portion of the business on which I desire to speak with the greatest care; but I cannot refrain from beginning my allusions to it with a certain protest. Some hon. Members have expressed themselves as being quite ready to vote for the second reading after the speech of the Prime Minister at the Foreign Office last Thursday, who have with equal emphasis declared themselves bound to reject it after his speech in the House of Commons next day. I wish to know the reason they give for this. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham declared that there was no difference in ideas, and scarcely any in the words, between the Prime Minister's speech on Thursday at the Foreign Office and his speech on Friday in the House. I would recommend to the followers of the right hon. Gentleman the serious consideration that they are going to vote against this Bill because of a difference, as they think, in the speeches which the right hon. Gentleman has declared to be identical. Surely, it must be apparent to everyone acquainted with the elementary conditions of political life that there is, and always must be, an essential difference between a speech delivered to an assembly of political friends and a speech delivered in an assembly divided between friends and foes? Just let me recall to the House the circumstances under which the speech of Friday last was delivered. A sudden attack was made upon the Prime Minister—the attack was made in language carefully and deliberately irritating. It was permeated with taunt and insult and provocation, and it was pointed by the interruptions by which the Tory Party sometimes distinguishes itself, and by the interruptions of the noble Lord the Member for Paddington. And what is the position at this moment of the man who was thus assailed? Encompassed with foes, powerful, relentless foes of various kinds, overburdened with tasks any one of which might break down the youngest and the strongest man in this House, devoured by the great passion of closing the struggles of centuries, and daily beset by the passions of hope and doubt. Ah, Sir, when we hear people talk of the speech of the Prime Minister delivered in such circumstances, is it not time to ask whether there is any generosity left in English, above all in Liberal or Radical hearts? You on the Tory Benches may mock at the Prime Minister; but, Sir, after we are all dust the trials and struggles of the Prime Minister in this great hour will anger or wound many a generous heart. And is it not time, Sir, to ask, also, is there no more of the robust sense in this House that used to be the pride of Englishmen? I will not and cannot accept as true the reasons attributed to some of the Gentlemen present at the meeting in Room 15 for their determination to vote against this Bill. What would become of the Irish Nationalist Party, or, indeed, of any Party, if the Members of that Party were to treat their Leader with this grudging and mean vigilance in the moment of his trial? I protest against some of the language which has been applied to the Prime Minister. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham has gone as far as he dares in imputing motives to the Prime Minister. The right hon. Gentleman has said, in considering whether he and his Friends would vote against the Bill, that the Liberal Party must look, not only to the concessions, but to the spirit in which they are made. This is as near an approach, according to my interpretation at least, as the right hon. Gentleman dares make to an insinuation that the Prime Minister would dare to cheat his followers. Some hon. Members, again, who made a comparison between the two speeches of the Prime Minister, spoke not of their difference in ideas, but of their difference in tone. Are we, then, reduced to elocution as the arbiter of our decisions? A difference of tone. Why, Sir, the right hon. Gentleman, whenever he comes down to the House to make a great speech, arms himself with a mysterious compound in a bottle, the components of which I should be very glad indeed if the right hon. Gentleman would make public. But if this kind of criticism as to the tone of a speech is to be allowed, the right hon. Gentleman will have to increase his oratorical *impedimenta;* he will have to arm himself, not only with his historic pomade bottle, but also with a tuning fork, in order that he may so regulate his "tone" that he may just reach concert pitch, and not part by one half-note from the notes that were pleasing to the tonic sol-fa gathering in the Foreign Office. If any hon. Gentlemen should go to their constituencies and tell them that they would have voted for the Bill of the Prime Minister but for the difference in his "tone," why, Sir, they will be told that political life is intended for men in the full vigour of their intellect, and they will be consigned to the wheeling of the perambulators in which the Chamberlains of the future are still slumbering. But, Sir, I dismiss these rumours as idle reports, and I come to what is the real question at issue. I now approach some very important considerations, and I make this one remark by way of preface. Hon. Gentlemen who vote against this Bill are precipitating a Dissolution—they have to go before their constituents as the men who broke the Government and the Bill of the right hon. Gentleman; and they owe it to themselves, to their country, to the importance of the mighty issues at stake, that they should take up tenable ground. Above all, they are bound to see whether they are perfectly sure that they and the Prime Minister understand each other perfectly—whether they and he are really or only apparently at variance. I venture to think that the difference is apparent and not real, and I ask for the indulgence of the House while I give my reasons for holding this view. Coming to the essentials of this matter, as I understand, a good many Members were ready to declare after the speech of the Prime Minister on Thursday that they felt themselves able to vote for the Bill, and the same Gentlemen declared with equal emphasis that they also felt themselves unable to vote for the Bill on Friday. I assume—in fact, they have said—that the reason for the change was the modification of the language of the speech of Thursday from the language of Friday. I think the fair and reasonable way of judging of the speech of Thursday and of Friday, or of every other speech made by the Prime Minister on this question, is in connection with one passage which appears in his speech on the first reading, and re-appears in almost identical words in the speech on the second reading. In that passage he laid down what he regarded as the essential and the only essential principles of the measure now before the House, and it is only on the essential principles of the Bill that we are voting. From the report of the speech on the first reading, and that on the second reading of the Bill, I find that the fundamental principle of the Bill was—

> "The establishment, by the authority of Parliament of a Legislative Body, sitting in Dublin for the conduct of both legislation and administration under the conditions which may be described by the Act defining Irish, as distinct from Imperial, affairs."

That is the fundamental principle of the Bill, and any man who is in favour of that principle ought to vote for the second reading. In the report of the speech on the second reading of the Bill this principle is laid down in absolutely the same language. The Prime Minister attaches in both speeches five essential conditions to any plan or mode, to use the language of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham, as to how this fundamental principle should be carried out. First, the unity of the Empire must not be placed in jeopardy; secondly, the political equality of the three countries must be maintained; thirdly, there shall be an equitable distribution of Imperial burdens; fourth, reasonable safeguards for the minority; fifth, that the Bill, in order to be a good plan, must be a plan promising to be a real settlement of Ireland. Now, Sir, what I hold is this—

that all we are asked to affirm by voting for the second reading of this Bill is the fundamental principle of the Bill—the establishment of a Legislative Body for exclusively and specifically Irish affairs, with the five essential conditions laid down by the Prime Minister. We are not voting on the question whether the mode or plan of the Bill now before the House is the best mode and the best plan, or the only mode and the only plan, for carrying out these essential conditions. In so far as the provisions in this Bill establish any one of these essential conditions, the Prime Minister is bound either to stick by those provisions, or to introduce similar provisions in the Autumn Bill; but in so far as any provision of the Bill sets forth the plan or mode of carrying out the essential conditions, the right hon. Gentleman is not bound to preserve a single line, or a single word, or a single syllable of the present measure. For instance, the Prime Minister, in the Autumn Bill, is bound to adhere to the principle of a Legislative Assembly for distinctly and specifically Irish affairs. The Irish Party would rather that the Bill should be defeated by a majority of 100 or carried by a majority of the same number than see this principle in any way interfered with—namely, that the Assembly in Dublin should have the administration of, and legislate for, exclusively and specifically Irish affairs; but the right hon. Gentleman is free to propose himself, or to accept from others —even from the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham—any mode or any plan by which that principle of the Bill can be better carried out. The right hon. Gentleman is bound to have some provision—some clause—providing that the unity of the Empire must not be placed in jeopardy; but he is perfectly free to reject his own provisions for carrying that into effect, or to accept the provisions of anybody else for doing so. The Prime Minister is bound to have in his Autumn Bill provisions securing an equitable distribution of Imperial burdens; but he is not bound to adhere to his own provisions for carrying that out, or to reject the provisions proposed by anybody else for doing so. The Prime Minister in his Autumn Bill is bound to have provisions securing the reasonable safeguards for the minority; but he is not bound to adhere to his own provisions for securing that object, nor to reject the provisions suggested by anybody else. And, Sir, the Prime Minister is bound in the Autumn Bill to have such a plan as promises to be a real settlement of Ireland; but he is not bound to stand by the provisions in the present Bill for securing that object, nor to reject provisions proposed by any other person for the same purpose. Now, Sir, in order to make this matter clearer, I will take two of these five essential conditions which are easily grasped, and can be illustrated by concrete example—I mean the essential condition of a reasonable safeguard for the minority. He is free to be convinced that the property qualifications and the two Orders are not reasonable safeguards for the minority, as some hon. Gentlemen think, and he is free to accept any other form of safeguard which appears more reasonable for the protection of the minority. Similarly, the Prime Minister is not free to leave his Bill without provisions for the equitable distribution of Imperial burdens; but he is free either to enlarge, or, as I hope it will be, to decrease the figure which is mentioned in the Bill as the equitable contribution of Ireland to Imperial taxation. The one thing he is bound to secure is an equitable distribution of Imperial burdens; he is perfectly free to reject his own, or to accept another person's method and plan of securing that end. I deny that the Prime Minister is pledging either himself, or anybody who votes for the second reading of this Bill, to any clause or plan, or mode or sub-section, or line in the Bill, so far as this represents the mode or plan of carrying out the essential conditions. He is simply asking the House to assert one great principle, and certain essential conditions necessary for carrying out that principle. I will try to put it even more plainly. I have spoken of one essential principle and five essential conditions. Some Members may be misled by my words in thinking that they are voting for six principles. Even that is not a correct statement of the case—they are voting for one principle, and one only—a Legislative Assembly in Dublin for exclusively and specifically Irish affairs. That principle is absolutely naked, excepting so far as it is clothed with safeguards for the Empire and the minority. I ask the Prime Minister whether this is or is not an accurate representation of the meaning which he attaches to the division on which we are about to enter? The present Bill was produced under great Parliamentary pressure. It has been produced with a haste unequalled, I think, in the making of Constitutions. It has been placed before the House and the country as a draft for discussion. It has been produced without the benefit of that light which open discussion in this House must bring to any Bill. The Bill to be re-introduced in the Autumn Session will be produced with as much leisure as there has been haste in the production of the present measure. The Prime Minister would show himself to be something like a political child if he were to lay down, after four or five months' discussion, that he was ready to reject every single mode and plan for carrying out the principle of his Bill, or the five essential conditions. As to the amount of Ireland's contribution, the Prime Minister is not bound to the figure he has proposed; he can propose a higher or a lower one, and he is free to propose a different plan of protecting the minority; but, as I have said, the right hon. Gentleman is bound by the five essential conditions he has laid down, and as long as he observes them he is free to adopt any different plan. What does the right hon. Member for West Birmingham suppose will be the result of the defeat of the Bill? The right hon. Member said that for him Dissolution had no terrors. One does not like a prominent politician speaking of a Dissolution with a light heart. For myself, Dissolution has some terrors; but not that I am afraid of a Liberal Unionist or a Tory in my division. I am afraid I cannot have the sympathetic support of the Tory Party, as I had at the last Election; and if I were again opposed by Mr. Woodward, that gentleman would not be repudiated by the Conservative Association, as he was at the last Election. Of all Administrations, a weak Conservative one is the most revolutionary; and, therefore, at the last Election, I was trying to create, and the Prime Minister to prevent, the rule of a weak Tory Administration. There is many a man on the Opposition Benches whom my poor weak Party once brought into the House; and my children, like those of the right hon. Member for West Birmingham, now turn upon me. If I had succeeded in producing a weak Conservative Administration there would have been a Home Rule Bill, and the right hon. Member for West Birmingham would have been opposing it because it would not have been Radical enough. Just as weak Conservative Governments carried household suffrage and abandoned coercion, so, if this Bill fails, a weak Tory Government in the future will give Ireland a more Radical Home Rule than that of this Bill. Sir, I am, unfortunately, in the position of knowing a little more about the inside history of the last General Election than most Members of this House. The House will remember that a Manifesto was issued in the course of that Election, the terms of which have since been severely criticized. If the author of the Manifesto was speaking to the House at this moment, he might urge in extenuation that, if the style was Dithyrambic, it was due partly to the fact that Irishmen at that time were under the spell of the noble Lord the Member for South Paddington, and his style has a tendency to the Byzantine. But, Sir, what was the result of that Manifesto? The result was that the Tory Party made a return, honourable or dishonourable as the House may choose to consider it, but bountiful and explicit, for the assistance thus given them. The relations were most intimate between the Tory Leaders and the Irish organizations, including the officers of the National League in England, the present organization of which in Ireland the late Government announced their determination to suppress. Indeed, Sir, without any exaggeration, the branches of the National League in England and Scotland were committee rooms for Tory candidates at the last General Election. This led to a number of very curious incidents. Some of those incidents I do not feel myself at liberty to mention. Some Tory Leaders—I will not say in this House—have acted towards the Irish electors in this country in a manner I will not characterize. But, Sir, I am not going to imitate their conduct. Our action towards them will be regulated by our code of personal and political honour, and not by theirs. But let me, just as showing the intimacy of the relations, read one of many letters. Here is a letter dated from the Bolton Home Rule Club, 3, Lorne Street, Bolton, Lancashire. It runs—

> SIR,—"There is a little matter which I am anxious you should know relative to Colonel Bridgeman, the Tory Representative of this town. Perhaps you may not think it worth any attention. However, you can exercise your judgment. The Colonel's first speech in the House of Commons was a bitter denunciation of the National League. Since then he has been down to Bolton to a meeting of the Primrose League, and again denounced the National League. I expect that during the debates on Home Rule he will again distinguish himself on the same subject. Now, would it not be a good thing to take him in 'flank' by some of our Members, asking if he paid for the printing of 4,000 of the Parnell Manifesto?"

COLONEL BRIDGEMAN (Bolton): I paid for none of them.

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR: The statements are too circumstantial to be disposed of by a contradiction. The hon. and gallant Member was further to be asked whether he paid for

> "6,000 other documents, and if his Party sent 2,000 penny stamps for the distribution of National League literature during the last General Election; and if these documents were printed at the offices of *The Bolton Chronicle*, the official Tory organ, or by the official Tory printer here? I was the secretary for our Party during the election campaign in Bolton; Councillor Healy, chairman. We considered, as the Irish voters were handing over the representation of Bolton to the Tories, the least they could do was to save us about £20 for printing and postage. So they gave us a *carte blanche* for printing to any amount, and sent across to our Club certainly not less than 1,800 penny stamps for the postage of the documents; copies of which we sent to Mr. Parnell, to yourself, and many others of our public men during the election campaign. Not a single sentence did the Tories utter in Bolton against Home Rule, or the National League during the election time."

COLONEL BRIDGEMAN: I should like to say, if these details have anything in them, it is perfectly unknown to me. I never heard a single word about them—[*Ironical cheers.*]—I do not know why my statements should be received with jeers; I am not accustomed to say what is not true. I never heard a single word of such things, and I would have had nothing to do with them.

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR: Then the hon. and gallant Gentleman has an account to settle with his agent. The law of England is that a candidate is responsible for his agent. At all events, from what I know of the writer of the letter, I reiterate the charge that, from the Tory Party in Bolton, there came pecuniary assistance for the publication of National League literature and election documents. Personally, I sent some documents to Tory printers and Tory organizations, knowing that they had more means to print them with than I had. Now, Sir, let me bring before you another document. I have reason to remember it. One of my unpleasant experiences during the Election was to suffer a cannonade, at the instance of some earnest Liberals, in the district of Hyde. On my way to the meeting my eye was attracted by large placards, printed on what we, Irishmen, are accustomed in moments of exultation of describing as our "own immortal green," and the words on these placards, with their great, glaring black letters on a green back, were—"Vote for Flatteley—No coercion!!!" Now, Sir, I have another document that was printed and issued at the same time, from the same quarter. It is headed—"More Liberal Lies;" and I commend it specially to the attention of hon. Gentlemen above the Gangway who belong to the Orange organization. It goes on—

> "It having been publicly asserted that Mr. Flatteley is an Orangeman, it has been considered desirable to publish the following letter:—
>
> "Newton Villa, Newton Avenue, Longsight.
>
> "DEAR MR. NICHOLSON—It appears it was publicly stated in the Courtroom last Sunday that I am an enrolled Orangemen, which I am not, nor indeed do I belong to any such society at all. I should feel obliged by your contradicting the report should an opportunity offer.—Yours truly, DANL. J. FLATTELEY."
>
> "W. Nicholson, Esq."

The House will have, perhaps, some natural curiosity to know who Daniel J. Flatteley was. Well, Daniel J. Flatteley was the Tory candidate for the Division of Gorton at the last General Election. Now, Sir, let me just state one other fact. On the polling days in many of the constituencies of England—certainly in most of the constituencies where there was an Irish vote—the Tories proclaimed the depth, if not the sincerity, of their attachment to Ireland by wearing the Irish green along with their own colours; and I understand that in Leeds and in many other constituencies green placards, calling upon the Irish electors to vote for the Conservative and no coercion, were everywhere exhibited. For instance, the son of the Prime Minister was everywhere confronted with such placards in the interest of the able young Irish Tory who represents East Leeds. I see that the hon. Gentleman received 3,849 votes, while Mr. Gane, his Liberal opponent, received but 3,504. Have I not some right to assume that the narrow majority of 345 was due to the green placards and the pledge that the Conservative Party was the Party hostile to coercion?

MR. DAWSON (Leeds, E.): I wish to corroborate the statement of the hon. Gentleman. In my Election Address I expressed my pleasure at the Conservative Government having been able to do without coercion, and I hoped that the condition of Ireland might be such that coercion would not be necessary again.

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR: I hope the hon. Member will not think that I am making a personal attack upon him. I know that he is a great deal more consistent than his Party generally. What I say is that throughout the English constituencies large numbers of Tory candidates asked for the Irish vote on the ground of no coercion absolutely, solely, and without conditions; and that same Party, on January 26, came out with a policy which rejected the pledges on which large numbers of its Members were returned. I pass from these facts, which have much significance to my mind, to Tory declarations. I do not think that hon. Gentlemen above the Gangway who were fortunate enough through the Irish vote to become Members of this House will particularly care to have some of those declarations brought back to their memories. Those declarations form a not entirely agreeable contrast with the policy of their Leaders at the present moment. For, Sir, what is the present policy of the Conservative Party as enunciated by its Leader? The policy of coercion and depopulation. There is no policy against which Conservative declarations were more frequent and more emphatic during the Election than the policy of coercion and depopulation. Here, for instance, is a quotation from the speech of the hon. Gentleman now the Member for Deptford (Mr. Evelyn)—

> "With regard to Ireland, I am informed that the Deptford Irish held a meeting yesterday in this hall, with what result I know not; but if the Irish electors here vote for a supporter of Mr. Gladstone, I will give the Irish credit for being the most forgiving of people. Have they forgot the jury-packing? The convictions of innocent men? The long imprisonments without trial? The suborning of evidence? The nameless scandals of Dublin Castle? Will they be untrue to the memory of O'Connell, who denounced the Whig Party as the 'base, bloody, and brutal Whigs?' Under the blighting influence of Whig misrule the population of Ireland has declined between 1841 and 1881 from 8,000,000 to less than 5,000,000."

I pass from Tory declarations about coercion to their declarations on the question of self-government. On that subject a large number of them adopted the tactics of silence, with which tactics I will presently deal—handling for the present only such declarations as were made. I will at once acknowledge that in many of these declarations there is a studied vagueness—what the noble Lord would call, if he were criticizing the Prime Minister, a policy of two voices speaking—which I define as meaning saying the same thing with the intention of conveying different meanings to two different Parties. Indeed, there is one hon. Gentleman in this House who defined the Conservative position on this question admirably, and, as he is a Scotchman, perhaps I may say in a characteristically canny manner. The question is asked by an elector—"Would the candidate"—meaning the hon. Gentleman who now represents the Kilmarnock Burghs (Mr. Sturrock) in the Conservative interest mainly through the Irish vote—"Would the candidate support Mr. Parnell in his demand for a separate Legislative Chamber for Ireland?" The hon. Gentleman replies—"There is such a thing as very thin ice, and there is such a thing as walking on it. That is my position." Sir, the majority of the Conservative candidates accepted the ideas of the hon. Member that there was such a thing as very thin ice and walking on it; but, nevertheless, the most skilful skaters sometimes have a fall. Declarations were made by more than one Conservative candidate which call upon them, if they be consistent, to vote for the second reading of the Bill of the Prime Minister. Take this, for instance, from the speech of the gentleman who attempted, but I believe did not succeed, in being returned for the Handsworth Division of Stafford (Mr. Wiggin). This gentleman said—

> "With regard to Ireland, I should be prepared to support any scheme which, while granting the management of local affairs to an elected Body, left the control of all Imperial questions in the hands of the Houses of Parliament, representing, as at present constituted, the interests of the United Kingdom."

Well, Sir, I say that that is an accurate description of the Bill of the Prime Minister, as if the hon. Gentleman had been endowed with the gift of second sight, and had seen it before its introduction. Well, then, we come now to the hon. Gentleman the Member for Stockport (Mr. Jennings). My support for him was asked of me by a friend of his, and my information was that the hon. Gentleman was a Home Ruler, and it was as a Home Ruler that the Irish electors were asked to give him their support.

Mr. JENNINGS (Stockport): Perhaps I may be allowed to say that I am not prepared to recede one single point from the principles which I advocated at the last General Election, and which I have advocated in this House. I declared myself in favour of a large and liberal measure of Local Government for Ireland. I declared myself opposed to all Coercion Bills. I said I never would vote for them, and I never will.

Mr. T. P. O'CONNOR: I have to congratulate the hon. Member on his candid and manly confession of faith. I said, in short, that the terms of the invitation issued by the right hon. Member for Birmingham to his meeting in Room No. 15 would include hon. Members on the Tory side of the House; and the hon. Member (Mr. Jennings) has confirmed my words. The only difference between the hon. Member (Mr. Jennings) and the Prime Minister is not a difference of principle, but a difference of method and plan. There is another remarkable case. The Conservative candidate for Camberwell was Mr. Wilfrid Blunt. For Mr. Blunt, as for the hon. Member for Stockport, the Irish vote was sought for as a Home Ruler. [*Laughter.*] I do not know why hon. Members laugh. I know quite well that some of the friends of the noble Lord the Member for South Paddington are a great deal more consistent than the noble Lord. Mr. Wilfrid Blunt is a personal friend of the noble Lord. [Lord Randolph Churchill: Hear, hear!] I will not be tempted to make any statements in that House upon this subject which are not in accordance with any code of personal and political honour but my own; therefore, I put some restraint upon my lips in reference to many of the transactions of the last General Election.

Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL (Paddington, S.): I should take it as the greatest possible favour which the hon. Gentleman could do me if he would relieve himself of that restraint as far as I am concerned.

Mr. T. P. O'CONNOR: I have already stated that I will be bound by no code of personal or political honour but my own in this matter. If Mr. Wilfrid Blunt gave me permission, which no person but Mr. Blunt can give or withhold, I think I could say something that would startle the House. Mr. Wilfrid Blunt was a Conservative Home Ruler, and he is a Home Ruler still, and his consistency is the more admirable because of the example set in other quarters. Yes; as my hon. Friend the Member for Cork (Mr. Parnell) reminds me, we should have, in addition to Mr. Blunt, to obtain the permission of Conservatives a good deal higher than he. [*Cries of* "Name, name!"] No; I will not be trapped. I will not be driven a hair's breadth from my own ideas of personal and political honour. I pass from him to another hon. Gentleman, who was more successful. I mean the hon. Member for the Peckham Division of Camberwell (Mr. Baumann); such is the hon. Member now. I have now, Sir, gone through some of the main arguments that have been raised in this debate against the second reading of this Bill. I hope I have succeeded in laying before the House the great and yet the narrow issues which the House is called upon to decide. They have to decide whether they can accept the principle of Home Rule—a Legislative Assembly dealing with exclusively and specifically Irish affairs. Around that issue lie some of the gravest problems of the future. The first question which the vote will decide is whether the struggle is to go before the country immediately with its mind uninformed, and its Leaders divided, or whether there shall be given a period for reflection and study, and reconciliation between the different sections of Liberalism. That is the smallest of the questions. There is the question whether the Liberalism of Great Britain is a reality or a sham. I think I have given some considerable reasons for doubting whether the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham would prevent Ireland getting Home Rule by helping to bring in a weak Conservative Administration. Is the right hon. Gentleman prepared to bring in a strong Conservative Administration? I myself was never prepared to do so. I would not inflict upon Ireland, nor upon England, nor upon the Empire, nor upon the world years of horror, and terror, and blood-guiltiness, such as the strong Conservative Government brought upon Ireland between 1874 and 1880; and, therefore, I say that a Dissolution has some terrors for me, because I cannot view with calmness the equanimity of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham and the advent to power of a strong Conservative Administration, which his action is calçulated to produce. I have now a word to say to the Liberals. The people of England and Ireland are watching in great suspense and anxiety for the vote on this question. The Prime Minister asks you to vote for the second reading as a message of peace to Ireland, and who will deny how badly that message is wanted? The right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham cannot certainly deny it, for he himself spoke of the "truce of God" between the landlords and the tenants, and proposed a suspension of all evictions for a certain period. But, Sir, evictions have not been suspended. On the contrary, they are going on with fury and frequency, and, Sir, I believe with a view in some cases to provoke the people into outrages which might prejudice the chances of Irish self-government. We have done our part in this matter. From the skeleton walls of their ruined homes, from the wreck of their hopes and lives, from ditches in which they and their wives and children lie shivering, the evicted tenants of Ireland have lifted up their hands and the wail of their voices to us, and the only answer we have been able to give them is to ask them for Ireland to suffer and be patient, and be strong. To these poor wretches, hunted even from their black cabins, the Prime Minister asks you to send a message of hope, and the right hon. Member for West Birmingham bids you send a message of despair. The democracy of England asks you to vote for the second reading of this Bill in the name of reconciliation with Ireland; and the Irish race at home, and in all the lands where the want of such a message has scattered its millions, tells you that the vote on the Bill and the cause obliterates for ever their hatred to England. The Prime Minister now asks you to be true to your own principles, to carry out in your own case what you have asked—aye, and compelled—others to carry out in theirs. The opinion of all the civilized world is on the side of the Prime Minister. America —[“ Oh!” *and loud cheers.*] Hon. Gentlemen are fond of appealing to America when they talk of how she put down civil war. But America is not the country to put down Home Rule, but separation. Will hon. Members make light of the opinion of the Dominion? Canada is behind the Prime Minister. The Legislature of Canada, on the Motion of the Leaders of the different political Parties, passed a Resolution approving the policy, and to some extent the plan, of the right hon. Gentleman. Other countries were watching to see what you shall do. Austria, which you advised, and to some extent compelled, to give Hungary Home Rule; Russia—[*laughter*]—whom you used to vituperate for her treatment of Poland, and who, in spite of the laughter of hon. Gentlemen, has given Finland a greater measure of Home Rule than the Prime Minister proposes; Turkey, which you have compelled to give Home Rule recently to Bulgaria and long before to Roumelia, are watching the result of this division. If you reject the Bill of the Prime Minister and refuse Ireland Home Rule, then the world will proclaim, and be justified in the proclamation, that the Liberalism of England is the worst form of Pharisaical hypocrisy, which sees the mote in the eye of its neighbour and cannot see the beam in its own.

Mr. WINTERBOTHAM (Gloucester, Cirencester) said, it would be acknowledged that the hon. Member for the Scotland Division of Liverpool (Mr. T. P. O'Connor) had added a most eloquent speech to the many eloquent speeches which had been made from that quarter of the House, and if eloquence alone could pass the Bill there would be very little doubt about its becoming law; but in discussing the question, unfortunately, they had got to consider, not the honeyed words Nationalist Members now showered on the Front Government Bench, but, in order to estimate them at their fair value, to compare them with what the same Gentlemen had said only four or five months ago. He held in his hand a document, addressed "To our Countrymen in England and Scotland," which had been very largely circulated at the late General Election, and was signed "T. P. O'Connor, President of the National League of Great Britain." When they heard so much about the intimate relations that existed between political Parties during the last Election, he should like to give the House some of the other side. In that Circular the League advised their coutrymen in England and Scotland to place no confidence in the Liberal and Radical Party, and to do all in their power to prevent the Government of the country from falling into the hands of a Party so perfidious and treacherous. In no case were Irish Nationalist voters to give a vote to a Liberal or a Radical, except in a few cases in which the candidate had given proof that he did not belong to the

> "servile, and cowardly, and unprincipled herd who break every pledge and violate evey principle in obedience to the eall of the Whips and the mandate of the Caucus."

Hon. Gentlemen from Ireland had a very different opinion of the Caucus just now. The Circular concluded by earnestly advising their fellow-countrymen to vote against the men who had voted for coercion in Ireland, deluged Egypt with blood, menaced religious liberty in the school, freedom of speech in Parliament, and promised to the country generally a repetition of the crimes and follies of the last Liberal Administration. Four days later, on the 23rd of November, the hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell) issued a Manifesto very much in the same words, in which he spoke of the Liberal Party as having flagrantly violated its most solemn pledges, and as having practised a system of coercion more brutal and oppressive than that of any previous Administration, Liberal or Tory, as having shamelessly packed juries, hung innocent people, sent men to the living death of penal servitude, and had 1,200 men in prison without trial. The hon. Member also said that Ireland was treated like Poland, and that the last declaration of Mr. Gladstone in Mid Lothian was that he intended to renew the very worst clauses of the Coercion Act. In estimating, therefore, the adulations which came now so glibly from the lips of hon. Gentlemen opposite, they could not, and ought not to, forget the violent abuse which, from hundreds of platforms in Ireland, assailed Lord Spencer and the Prime Minister. "Murderer" was a mild word last year; but a night or two ago the Prime Minister was promised a statue in the hall of the Irish Parliament. The hon. Member (Mr. T. P. O'Connor) spoke of the power which the Imperial Parliament would possess over the Legislative Body in Ireland if the Bill were passed, and he gave a very strange illustration of the point in the veto of the House of Lords. Would hon. Gentlemen opposite be satisfied to allow the Imperial Parliament the same right of veto which the House of Lords possessed over the measures of the House of Commons? He (Mr. Winterbotham) did not like the remark of the hon. Member—indeed, he looked upon it as a curious sign of the hon. Member's religious tolerance—when he said most deliberately that the late Established Church in Ireland, which had commanded the services of many good and godly men, had not made a single honest convert.

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR said, he cast no slur on the State Church doing the work of Christ. What he said, or what he intended to say, was that it was not a Church which was able to proselytize to any extent in Ireland.

MR. WINTERBOTHAM said, that what he now feared was, not that Irishmen would establish the Roman Catholic Church in Ireland, but that there would be an inclination to hand over education to the control of the Roman Catholic priesthood, and that he looked upon to be disastrous, for in the scattered parishes, where the Protestant population was a small one, they would not be so likely to get the full meed of religious toleration which they get now, and which they would be certain to continue to get under the rule of the Parliament of the United Kingdom. The hon. Member made an unfortunate slip when he spoke of Repeal of the Union; but he remembered suddenly that that was not yet in the programme, and he pulled himself up. The same mistake was made from the Front

Bench the other evening; for a great part of the speech of the hon. Member for East Wolverhampton (Mr. Henry H. Fowler) was a distinct attack upon the Union and an argument in favour of its repeal. The hon. Member also spoke of the risks hon. Members ran in voting against the Bill, and of the serious political agitation which might result from the course they might feel it their conscientious duty to take; but, whether there was any truth in it or not, any Englishman who was worth his salt did not think of risks. He did not believe there was any hon. Member on his side of the House, whatever view he took upon the question, who would not give an honest and conscientious vote. He was quite certain that the opinion of his Friends had been come to upon conscientious conviction, and that they were not thinking about the political risks they might be running. Englishmen, in their devotion to the cause of Empire and of their country, and in their service to Ireland, had run other and more serious risks than were now threatened. There was a very significant cheer from the Prime Minister when the hon. Member spoke of the Bill being merely a draft for discussion, and of the months of the Recess which might be used in remodelling and improving it. He hoped that what the hon. Member had said and the Prime Minister had cheered might be taken as a good augury; for he saw no reason why the Bill should not be remodelled and introduced again in an Autumn Session in such a form as to meet with general support. He did not regard himself as one of those who were described in *The Daily News* as the foolish, the rich, the conceited, and the swaggering class. Those of the Liberal Party who, like himself, had refused to support this measure had had a good deal to put up with in the shape of abuse; they had, in meetings of Associations, and by some of the Caucuses, been called traitors and mutineers; but if liberty of conscience, freedom of thought, and right of private judgment, were to be banished from the principles of the Liberal Party under the new regulations, then he thought it was high time the Liberal Party altered their programme altogether. He had been taught to esteem the right of private judgment as one of the dearest inheritances; and if Liberal Associations degenerated into mere tyrannical Caucuses they would be a disgrace to the Liberal Party, instead of being a strength and a blessing. He had, all his life, been a profound admirer of the Prime Minister. He had never been considered a weak-kneed Liberal; but he could see no reason why, either as a Liberal or a Radical, he should support the Bill before the House. It was with the deepest regret that he felt bound to record his vote against it. At the same time, he had tried hard to see his way to support it. One reason why he could not support an independent Parliament for Ireland was because, when he was before the electors, he had declared he would support no such measure. He took his stand on the Prime Minister's Mid Lothian Address. On the Dissolution of Parliament in 1874, the Prime Minister had said that he thought that every extension of local self-government which, under the unquestioned control of Parliament, would tend to the advancement of Public Business ought not only to be admitted, but welcomed. Those were the sentiments on which he (Mr. Winterbotham) fought his election. He had declared himself in favour of a large and liberal measure of local self-government; but, endorsing the sentiments expressed by the Prime Minister again in his address to the electors of Greenwich in 1874, and by other Members of the Government on many occasions, he desired that it should be under the unquestioned control of Parliament, and conceded on equal terms to all parts of the United Kingdom; and he, therefore, declined to give Ireland anything that was not to be granted on equal terms to the other portions of the Kingdom. In Gloucestershire, at the last Election, there were 11 contests, eight Liberals and three Conservatives being returned; and he never heard a Home Rule sentiment uttered at one of them. He had heard the Conservatives abused pretty roundly for their alliance with the Parnellites; but he had never heard a Home Rule sentiment. The right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer actually seemed to think that the only alternative to this Bill was 10 years' coercion. [An hon. MEMBER: Twenty years.] He thought the right hon. Gentleman would find himself sadly mistaken if he expected to be allowed so to misrepresent the real alternative when he went to the country. It would be interesting to put before the electors in parallel columns what the Chancellor of the Exchequer said before he "found salvation" and what he said afterwards. Speaking at Lowestoft, only in December last, the right hon. Gentleman said that the Tories proposed to govern the country by an infamous alliance with men who openly avowed that their object was the dismemberment of Ireland from England. "Was it possible," the right hon. Gentleman asked—

> "that the country were going to tolerate such a transaction? He would"—he added—"let them, for a few months, stew in the Parnellite juice, and then, when they stank in the nostrils of the country, as they would do, then the country would fling them away, discredited and disgraced, to the constituencies."

Those were bold, brave words. The right hon. Gentleman's change of tone recalled what Dr. Watts said in one of his hymns on this very subject of salvation—

> "While the lamp holds on to burn
> The vilest sinner may return."

Who would have thought that a patriot, swelling with virtuous indignation at the horrible atrocities of this infamous alliance, would in a few months find "salvation" and a snug berth on the Treasury Bench by means of the very alliance he was denouncing? He would only trouble the House with one other quotation from the Chancellor of the Exchequer's former speeches. The right hon. Gentleman also had said—

> "That, after Mr. Parnell's Manifesto, no man could have any doubt whatever that any policy which would satisfy Mr. Parnell would involve the absolute separation of the two Kingdoms."

Yet the right hon. Gentleman was, on the Treasury Bench, prepared to carry out a policy to satisfy the hon. Gentleman the Member for the City of Cork; and Liberal Members were told that, though they saw in that policy probable, ultimate, and gradual separation, they were traitors to their Party if they did not support it. The right hon. Gentleman also spoke of the noble Marquess the Member for Rossendale (the Marquess of Hartington) and the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham (Mr. Joseph Chamberlain) as "statesmen worthy of their country, who have spoken out in plain, brave terms against this horrible conspiracy." After history would tell who were the statesmen worthy of their country; and if any statesmen did stink in the nostrils of the country, he would leave history to say whether those words applied to the Chancellor of the Exchequer or to his opponents. As a matter of fact, only three Gentlemen now sitting on the Treasury Bench made at the General Election any sort or kind of allusion to the idea of a separate Parliament in Dublin, and one of those was the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. John Morley), who, no doubt, had been thoroughly consistent throughout. The right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade (Mr. Mundella) said before the Election—"Nothing will I ever do—no words or act of mine shall ever tend to the severance of the two Kingdoms." To his (Mr. Winterbotham's) mind, there was not much difference between severance and separation. A great deal was heard about the Cave, about Caucuses, and wire-pullers, and Liberal Members were threatened with all sorts of misfortunes if they dared to vote according to what they believed to be right. They were called "deserters, traitors, and mutineers." He did not believe that the attempts which were being made to intimidate Liberal Members were in accordance with Liberal principles. He had never read anything more disgraceful than the way in which an Ulster deputation were treated by the National Leaguers at a meeting they tried to hold in London. In Ireland farmers were shot for daring to disobey the unwritten law that ruled there, and cattle were still hacked there. The intimidation put on Liberal Members might be a new Liberal principle; but he did not believe it. He believed there was a great Liberal England that had not spoken yet; that there was a great Liberal Party that had not spoken yet. One-third of the Liberal Members were not prepared to support the Bill. Three-fifths of the Scotch and English Members were not prepared to support it; and he believed that they had nothing to fear from an appeal to the country, if they were driven to it. But he did protest, from the bottom of his heart, against the illiberal and unkind things which were being said of brother Liberals by one another, and the denial to them of a fair and free hearing on this question. Some people said that Home

Rule was not before the country at the time of the General Election. He could not agree with them. In his part of the country a great deal was said about Home Rule. The Conservatives also were accused of treating with the hon. Member for the City of Cork with a view to the establishment of a Parliament in Dublin. He himself repeated that charge again and again, believing it to be true; and after the revelations of that evening he must still believe it to be true. ["No, no!"] But at all events, as to the policy which he gathered from the Prime Minister's speeches in Mid Lothian, he might declare that he could not find one single word in them that would lead him to suppose that he had not put before his constituents the mind of the Prime Minister. At Edinburgh on November 9 the Prime Minister, as reported in *The Times* of the following day, said that—

> "He trusted that, from one end of Great Britain to the other, there would not be one single Liberal Representative who, for one moment, would listen to any proposal tending to impair, visibly or sensibly, the unity of the Empire."

The right hon. Gentleman also said that acquiescence in any demand made by Ireland must be subject to the observance of the condition of the unity of the Empire, and that all the authority of the Imperial Parliament necessary to the maintenance of that unity must be steadfastly preserved. On November 23 the hon. Member for the City of Cork stated that he inferred from this declaration that the right hon. Gentleman intended to renew the worst clauses of the Coercion Act. On the following day the Prime Minister spoke again—he (Mr. Winterbotham) presumed with the Manifesto of the hon. Member for the City of Cork in his hand. The right hon. Gentleman said—

> "Mr. Parnell's attitude, in my judgment, depends upon two considerations. The first of these is that he knows that do what he may, let him order every Irishman to vote against a Liberal, let him pour out all the vials of vituperation and abuse—he and all his followers know that these things will not have the slightest effect on the policy of the Liberal Party."

[Mr. Gladstone: Hear, hear!] Well, as humble Members of the Liberal Party, he (Mr. Winterbotham) and many others, Liberals, reproduced these sentiments on the platform; and, speaking for himself and other Members of the Liberal Party, he knew he and they were elected after expressing similar defiance of the hon. Member for the City of Cork. They declared their readiness to give Ireland equal laws with England, and a generous measure of local self-government, but announced that nothing which the hon. Member for the City of Cork had said in his Manifesto would affect the Liberal policy, and that the Liberal Party would refuse to weaken visibly or sensibly the powers of the Imperial Parliament. He could not vote for the Bill; for he had honestly promised, on 50 platforms, that he would not support such a measure, and he could not violate his pledges. So much for consistency; and when they were called traitors and deserters, let them remember that there were many men who found themselves unable to vote for the Bill, because of pledges given to their constituents in the light, and, as they thought, following the direction of their great Leader. As to the five essential conditions which had been laid down by the Prime Minister as conditions which must accompany the establishment of an Irish Parliament, namely—the Legislative Body sitting in Dublin; the maintenance of the political equality of the three countries; the impartial administration of the law; the equitable distribution of Imperial burdens; and, lastly, the finality of this measure.

Mr. W. E. GLADSTONE: I must correct the hon. Member, who has left out one of the conditions.

Mr. WINTERBOTHAM replied that he had not read a single word which was not from the authorized copy of the right hon. Gentleman's speech in introducing the Bill.

Mr. W. E. GLADSTONE: The hon. Gentleman omitted, casually, I think, to refer to the safeguards for the minorities.

Mr. WINTERBOTHAM said, all the five he had read were in the Prime Minister's speech, and he had come to the conclusion that not one of the five was carried out by the Bill. Let them take the condition that the unity of the Empire must not be jeopardized. Surely the existence of two Parliaments and two Executives would not promote such unity. Was the Irish Assembly to be dependent or independent, co-ordinate or subordinate? The Irish Members had struggled for an independent Parliament, and he would ask them to say whether they would be content with a subordinate one? He could not be satisfied on this point, in the absence of a distinct statement in the Bill, that the Irish Parliament would be subordinate to the Imperial Parliament. Another of the conditions laid down by the Prime Minister was that the political equality of the three countries must be maintained. But how could that be, when the people of Ireland would, under its provisions, cease to exercise many of the higher rights of citizenship they now exercised, for they would have nothing to do with foreign and Colonial affairs, or with those matters in which they took such a deep interest in connection with the Imperial policy of the United Kingdom? Then, was there any likelihood that the impartial administration of the law, which was the keystone of civil happiness, would be secured by a Bill which would transfer the administration of the law to Judges appointed by the Irish Parliament? Again, how could an equitable distribution of Imperial burdens be considered sure, when the Irish contribution was to be a fixed one? If Ireland's prosperity and resources should diminish, the proposed fixed contribution might be a great deal too large; and if she were to increase in prosperity more in proportion to England and Scotland, then it might be too small. It was said that an extra contribution might be demanded for Imperial purposes. But when, in 1779, an application of this kind was made, it was refused. He did not believe that it was possible to have an equitable distribution of burdens, together with any fixed contribution from one part of the Empire to the other. Then, as to the finality of this measure. From the Irish standpoint of view the Bill could not be final; and if Irish Members opposite were honest they would admit it. [*Cries of* "Oh!" *and* "Withdraw!"] Well, he would withdraw the word with pleasure, and say, if he were an Irishman, he should not accept it as final, especially having regard to the statement of the Prime Minister that the restrictions which he had introduced were, in his opinion, not necessary, and had only been introduced to satisfy others. When the time of friction and difficulty came there would be an agitation to remove, one by one, these restrictions with regard to dual voting, two Orders, Peers sitting with Representatives, no right to establish a Church, and no control over Excise and Customs. He admitted that the Irish Members had frankly stated that they accepted this measure as a bargain, and that they would abide by it; but they would neither live nor be in power for ever, and there would arise a Party which would aim at sweeping these restrictions away. In fact, he felt he should, if he were an Irishman, act in that way. From an English Radical point of view, he did not believe there was any finality in it. He had visited every part of Ireland on various occasions, and he always returned impressed with the fact that the agrarian trouble was at the root of all our difficulties in Ireland. There were 2,000,000 of people sunk in poverty worse than anything to be found among any agricultural population in England. To these it was a question of agrarian wretchedness, and not of nationality, and of the 3,000,000 remaining in Ireland 1,500,000 were opposed to the Bill. How, then could hon. Members prevent the young Irish Party, who would come into existence, from making those demands? When they had 1,500,000 people who objected to be cut adrift, this Bill could not bring peace, quiet, contentment, and happiness to Ireland. He did not believe all they heard as to the fighting that would take place; but he did say that a measure opposed as this was by so large a minority was not likely to bring quiet and content to Ireland. He desired to dissociate himself, in the minds of hon. Members opposite, from the slightest sympathy for a policy of coercion. No 20 years of coercion would ever meet favour from him. But he had no belief in heroic remedies at all. He believed in a patient policy of righteousness. The democracy of England wished to give Ireland equal rights and fair play, and were animated by the desire to uphold thorough justice to Ireland, by giving it equal laws and equal rights; but that was not to be done by erecting a second Executive and a second Parliament, which must lead to the making of two nations. The policy of "judicious mixture" had been ridiculed and condemned by the Prime Minister; but it had received the support of many eminent men, such as Lord Spencer, Lord Rosebery, and the Prime Minister himself, who, speaking in the month of September, 1884, pointed out that under no circumstances could Ireland be dissevered in her fate and fortune from Great Britain. He was no friend of coercion. What he advocated was a policy of firm administration, and the amending of the law where justice required it; and that policy was what the democracy of England wanted to see. Why did not the Irish Members give the democracy of England one chance? To the first Parliament elected by the democracy they had given no chance. How had they given it a chance? They were going to cut themselves adrift from this Parliament. ["No, no!"] They were going to set up a Parliament in Dublin, and they claimed the right to make laws for Ireland in Dublin. If Irish Members called that working with the democracy of England to try to bring about equal laws; if they called that union and co-operation he did not. He regretted that the Liberal Party should be shattered over this question. Even yet he appealed to the Prime Minister—was it not possible to reconstruct and recast the measure? He objected to the Land Bill—which had evidently dropped out of sight, although it was said to be an essential part of the scheme—quite as much as to the Home Rule Bill. If he were an Irish landlord, he would a great deal rather an Irish Parliament should settle the question. But for 49 years, as at present proposed, that question would appear in a foreign garb to the Irish people. He would only throw out one suggestion—why could not one Bill be re-introduced instead of two, when they met again for an Autumn Session? If that were going to be done, and if the Irish Members were to receive this great concession—for such it was—of the regulation and management of their Land Question, they might, perhaps, see their way to agree to its being made quite clear by the Bill, in the face of day, that the Legislative Body about to be created should be distinctly subject to the supreme authority of the Imperial Parliament.

Mr. BRADLAUGH (Northampton) said, that the hon. Member for the Cirencester Division of Gloucestershire (Mr. Winterbotham), who had just sat down, had remarked that he knew no reason why a Radical should vote for that Bill. Now, he (Mr. Bradlaugh) thought he had a little right to speak for some of the Radicals of that country, and he held that there were good reasons why a Radical could do nothing else than vote for the second reading of that Bill, and why every man who believed that he was a Liberal would fail in his duty to the Liberal cause if, by rejecting that measure, he willingly and wantonly put the power of dealing with Ireland in the hands of a Tory Government. The hon. Member had complained of abuse and undue influence used against Liberals who objected to vote for the second reading; but, with some personal experience of the feelings engendered by abuse not particularly measured, he suggested that the hon. Gentleman might be content to pass by the abuse if sure that he was doing right in principle, and it was clear that the undue influence was not all on one side, if the statement attributed that day to the hon. Member for Barrow (Mr. Caine) was accurate—that was, that Hartingtonians, each with a bagful of sovereigns, were to be sent out to fight every one of the seats held by hon. Members who supported the Bill. He understood the last speaker to say he was ready to affirm the principle involved in the Bill, and to ask the Irish Members to protest that the measure, in its present shape, was not sufficient to give real authority to an Irish local Legislature, and required to be extended. Why, then, was the hon. Member going to vote against the Bill with those who opposed it on the ground that it went too far and tended to separation? The hon. Gentleman told them that the Prime Minister, after the Manifesto of the hon. Member for the City of Cork appeared, had said that no words of vituperation, or of malice contained in that document, would be allowed to influence the policy of the Liberal Party. Well, he (Mr. Bradlaugh) asked, was not that Bill the best proof of the honesty of that declaration of the Prime Minister? For himself, if he might venture to put so small an illustration as against one so great, he would also say that neither vituperation nor malice had influenced his own judgment on that question. There were two pieces of important testimony from opposite sides of the House already given in that debate. The hon. and learned Member for North Antrim (Mr. Macnaghten) had said that if the Bill passed the news of the fact would be received with a delirium of joy by nearly all Ireland; while the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham (Mr. Joseph Chamberlain) had stated that the great mass of the democracy of England were almost unanimously in favour of some measure of Home Rule for Ireland. The right hon. Gentleman had also borne frank tribute that the Government honestly and sincerely believed that the present measure would bring about a final and friendly settlement of the long-standing Irish grievances. With that testimony, coming from such opposite quarters, ought there not to be the most weighty reasons to justify any Radical or Liberal in not voting for a measure which both countries so acclaimed? Especially was that so with hon. Members like the hon. Gentleman (Mr. Winterbotham), who approved the principle. The right hon. Member for West Birmingham also told them he affirmed the principle of the Bill; but that, in the event of a Dissolution, they were to go to the country on the method, plan, and detail, not on the principle. How could any Radical Member like the right hon. Gentleman, while opposing the second reading, shelter himself behind the assertion that he affirmed the principle of the measure, but objected to the plans and methods contained in certain clauses? The right hon. Gentleman knew that he would be overthrowing the Bill by the help of those who, not like himself, objected to the principle of it. Had the right hon. Gentleman and also the right hon. Gentleman the Member for the Border Burghs (Mr. Trevelyan) considered this—that the country, when confronted by the alternative traditional policy of the Tory Party, would not look into the small matters of detail comprised in the Premier's measure, nor even the large questions which would be discussed in Committee, but would look to the great fact that those who said they had no objection to the principle of the Bill united with those who had to defeat it? A vote against the second reading was a vote against the principle of the Bill. He would ask on what method, what plan, or what detail were they to go to the country? To properly raise objections of method, plan, and detail, by those who favoured the principle of a measure, was surely to move definite Amendments in Committee, and then the country would have clear issues before it, and would know who were the Members really opposing the principle. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Bristol (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach) and his followers would vote against the second reading solely as objecting to the principle of the Bill; and if the Bill should, on that division, be defeated, the Conservatives would say that the decision was against the principle, not a decision against some point of method or plan. Again, the noble Marquess the Member for Rossendale (the Marquess of Hartington) did not assent to the principle of the Bill; but how could a Radical who assented to the principle, and who objected to the particular method, plan, or detail, go to the country, when he knew that it was only by the help of those who were opposing its principle that he could hope to succeed? The right hon. Gentleman the Member for the Border Burghs also admitted the principle of the Bill, and said that a very slight amendment of it might, or would, induce him to vote for it. By voting for the second reading, he (Mr. Bradlaugh) repeated, they would be committed to the principle only; and any objections which they might have to the method, plan, or any of the details of the Bill, ought to, and could be, in the usual course, fairly fought out in Committee. He regretted to hear the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham make some remarks which might possibly tend to evoking religious hatred. On that point he might himself speak with freedom. His own view was that the best way for statesmen to prevent the domineering influence of any particular Church or religious Body which they feared was to be just to it. A great deal had been said as to the unfair treatment which the Protestants of Ireland would possibly receive at the hands of a Parliament in Dublin, mainly composed of Roman Catholics, who would exercise large legislative powers. It must be recollected, however, that for 150 years, and until 1829, England treated the Roman Catholics so fiercely, that it had been said that no civilized people would have endured it without rising up in rebellion. It was not until 1844 that the Penal Laws were repealed, nor until 1869 that Irish Roman Catholics were treated generously, and therefore it lay upon us to be reticent in speaking of religious differences and sectarian ascendancy. The best thing for them to do now, in the matter of the religious question, was to be fair, honest, and just in dealing with it. He had been a little startled by the charge which had been made by hon. Members opposite, that the Prime Minister had forced this question upon Parliament. The fact was exactly the reverse; because this question had been forced upon the Prime Minister by the Conservative Party in such a way that there was no escape from it. The noble Lord the Member for South Paddington (Lord Randolph Churchill) speaking at Sheffield, 4th September, 1885, said that—

> "Weeks before Mr. Gladstone's Government fell, Lord Salisbury and his friends came to the conclusion . . . that there was nothing which would warrant the Government in applying to Parliament for exceptional laws for the government of Ireland."

But why did the Conservatives—not then in Office, and with no possibility of coming into Office, except by the Irish vote—come to this resolution? The right hon. Baronet the Member for West Bristol sneered at the present measure as a Continuance in Office Bill; but if this was a "Continuance in Office Bill," then the determination of the Conservative Leaders last year not to renew coercion was a Bargaining for Office Resolution. Either the decision was come to with the intent of procuring the Irish vote, or because Lord Salisbury and his Friends deemed the Resolution a rightful one. But if that were the case, why did a right hon. and learned Gentleman, formerly a Member of that House, then known as Mr. Gibson, taunt the Prime Minister night after night for not renewing the Coercion Act? Another hon. Member (Mr. Lewis) repeatedly rebuked Mr. Gladstone's Government for not declaring that they would renew the Coercion Act Lord Salisbury complained of the "abominable insinuation" that the Conservatives had concealed their decision. But most certainly they not only, at that time, never made it known, but were silent whilst Mr. Gibson and Mr. Lewis persistently attacked Mr. Gladstone in an opposite sense. Then, having secured Office by the benefit of the Irish vote, there was the public declaration of reliance on the ordinary law only, and boasts were made of Lord Carnarvon's successful government, and this continued until after the Election. Then Lord Carnarvon resigned, not because he had failed, but because he had taken Office for a limited term, and his place was left unfilled, because there was no other statesman in the whole Conservative Party ready to undertake the task. Then, to emphasize this successful policy, the Chief Secretary for Ireland also resigned, and the Conservative Government being re-informed on Irish affairs, their Secretary of State for War was sent to Ireland to inquire, though well-informed Irishmen were Members of the Cabinet and Ministry. Until the Elections were over not a word was said by the Party opposite about coercion; and it was only when that Party met Parliament without a Lord Lieutenant, without a Chief Secretary for Ireland, and without a plan, that any suggestion of coercion was breathed. When the Conservative Government made their declaration of coercion on January 26, Parliament dismissed them from Office, as the country had done in the Elections. Then, when the Prime Minister took Office, he had no escape from proposing a plan for the government of Ireland. The right hon. Gentleman said that coercion had been tried and had failed, and that he would have none of it. What did coercion mean? He would tell them how a leading Tory defined it. This was the precise language of the noble Lord the Member for South Paddington at Preston, in December, 1880—

> "People talk sometimes too lightly of coercion; it means that hundreds of Irishmen who, if law had been maintained unaltered, and had been firmly enforced, would now have been leading peaceful, industrious, and honest lives, will soon be torn off to prison without trial, and others will have to fly the country into hopeless exile; that others, driven to desperation through such cruel alternatives, will perhaps shed their blood and sacrifice their lives in vain resistance to the Forces of the Crown; that many Irish homes, which would have been happy if the evil course had been checked at the outset, will soon be bereaved of their most promising ornament and support, disgraced by a convict's garb and by a felon's cell."

The noble Lord the Member for South Paddington had thus himself, in strong language, condemned coercion, and the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister had told them that penalties were no remedies and punishment was no cure, and therefore he had brought forward the plan proposed in this Bill. The question of Home Rule was not sprung upon Parliament by the Prime Minister; it was forced upon the Prime Minister by the Conservative Party, so that, as a man of honour, he could not escape from it. In leaving Office the Conservative Ministry had declared that the state of Ireland was so acute that some immediate action must be taken. The Prime Minister could not avoid it if he would. He had told us why he would not recur to coercion. It had been tried almost without break for 50 years, and had utterly failed. During the 86 years there had only been breaks of some 13 years in all. The Radical Party would have none of coercion. In the last Parliament he (Mr. Bradlaugh) had felt it his duty to oppose the Prime Minister on the renewal of coercive legislation. Now the Prime Minister proposed a remedy, and he (Mr. Bradlaugh) meant to support it; and so, he believed, would the country, when an appeal was made to it. What was the principle of the present Bill? Local self-government for Ireland through a Parliament in Ireland. Lord Salisbury said that, subject to certain conditions, even he does not object to some local self-government; but he said that the measure must not be a step to something very different, and that the interests of minorities must be protected. But the only way to prevent a measure being made a step to something more was to make it large enough and just enough to satisfy reasonable demands, and then to rely on the good sense of those for whom you legislate. On the second point they heard much in that debate of the rights of minorities. He did not propose to go into ancient history; but he had lately been conducting a struggle on behalf of a minority of one, and he did not then meet with very chivalrous treatment from those who were now so concerned about the rights of minorities. What were the rights of minorities under representative institutions? The right to free speech, to a free Press, to a free platform, to freedom of association and meeting, to full Parliamentary representation, to generous consideration if they were small minorities, and then with the duty to submit themselves to the majority until they could convert their minority into a majority. Objections of various kinds had been taken to the details of the measure, and perhaps in Committee he might see occasion to propose Amendments of those details; but in voting for the second reading of the Bill they were only affirming its principle, and were not binding themselves in any way with regard to its details. If the Bill were rejected he believed—and few had a better right to make the remark than he had on behalf of nearly every popular centre of England, of Wales, and of some parts of Scotland—that the great mass of the people would decide in favour of the Prime Minister. The noble Marquess the Member for Rossendale, he hoped, would not help to put back the political clock by aiding the return of the Tory Party to power. Radicals had learned to respect the right hon. Gentleman the Member for the Border Burghs, for they remembered how, year by year, he had in that House championed the extension of the borough franchise to counties. They would not willingly believe that he would go into the Division Lobby to restore to power the Conservatives who opposed that extension. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham was bound to look at the opinion of the Radicals in the constituencies, who looked to him as their Representative. with reference to this Irish question. On this question they were altogether with the Prime Minister, who had brought forward this Bill out of sheer duty, and at the sacrifice of the associations of his life. A desire had been expressed by some Radicals that, before this debate closed, he should say one or two words in that House on that subject. Liberals and Radicals who intended to vote on this Bill should ask themselves what they had to choose between. The choice was felt to have some unpleasantness about it. On the one hand the policy of Lord Salisbury was 20 years, if not of coercion, at any rate with Coercion Laws in it, which at the end of that time might possibly be repealed, while on the other this great and righteous measure was brought forward by the Prime Minister. The great mass of the people, he believed, was with them on this question, and would insist that the Bill should pass into law. Something had been said as to shattering the Liberal Party. He did not believe the Liberal Party was going to be shattered; that was always the cry when a Liberal statesman brought forward a great measure of reform. He appealed to those Liberals who agreed with the principles of the measure, but objected to some of its details, to vote for the second reading and deal with the details in Committee. If they voted against the measure, what would their constituents say? They were bound to listen to their constituents, who were pleading for justice for Ireland, and who, he believed, would stand by the Prime Minister and support him in his attempt to deal with the great question. He spoke now as an Englishman, without reference to Irish Representatives opposite. Was Liberalism going to join Toryism in the attempt to wreck the present effort of the Prime Minister to remedy Irish ills? He trusted not. He could not believe that they would be content to be used by the noble Marquess (the Marquess of Salisbury) as levers to place in power those whose policy they had always—sometimes gloriously, sometimes bravely, always usefully—opposed. On Monday hon. Members would in some fashion mark a page in Irish and English history; but they would not close that page in the Division Lobby. As one who knew something of the masses of the people of this country he said that their feeling was—"We will not palter with this question any longer;" and he should hope, until the Division List told him differently, that their desire to settle it was also the desire of the great Liberal Party. He hardly had any right to appeal to the Whigs. They owed much to the Whigs in the past for Leadership, and for liberties which, but for their efforts, would still have to be won; but they could not live on dead men's bones. He could not think that the Whigs of to-day would be content to put those in power against whom they had struggled in the past, and that, knowing what Lord Salisbury was, and with a great man to lead them, they would betray their traditions to serve the Tory Party.

MR. McARTHUR (Leicester): Mr. Speaker, after the unusually prolonged debate that we have had, and the numerous able and eloquent speeches we have heard, it would, I think, be difficult to adduce many fresh or convincing arguments either in favour of the second reading of this Bill, or against it; and I do not wish to trespass on the time of the House by repeating arguments with which we are all familiar, and that have been brought forward again and again by preceding speakers. But I may say that, being an Irishman by birth, having spent the first 25 years of my life in Ireland, and having many friends still living there, I naturally feel a deep and lively interest in that country, and in everything calculated to promote the well-being, peace, and permanent prosperity of its inhabitants. I do not, therefore, wish to give an altogether silent vote on this very important occasion; but I will promise not to detain the House very many minutes, as my chief object in rising is to explain the conditions on which I vote for the second reading. Sir, it is generally admitted that Ireland has had much to complain of, and that she has been badly treated and badly governed. On the other hand, I think it must be admitted that there has been, on the part of every Government we have had in Office during the past 20 or 30 years, a sincere desire to redress the evils complained of, and there has been much remedial legislation, which I need not occupy the time of the House by referring to in detail, as the measures that have been passed must be fresh in the recollection of hon. Members. I think it must also be admitted—and it is much to be regretted—that, with all the remedial measures we have adopted, Ireland has been discontented and disloyal—that feelings of intense hatred to this country have been freely expressed and encouraged. It is also much to be regretted that the Leaders of what is termed the National Party have not exerted the influence they undoubtedly possess, to the extent which, in my opinion, they should have exerted it, to prevent the tyranny of "Boycotting," and repress the diabolical outrages against property, man, and beast that have disgraced the country, and the civilization of the age in which we live. Notwithstanding all this, however, I believe there is every disposition on the part of this House and the country to act justly and liberally towards Ireland. But if Ireland is to remain an integral part of the British Empire, and if we are still to be the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, we should, I think, very carefully, and in the most dispassionate and unprejudiced manner possible, consider and weigh well how far we can safely go towards meeting the wishes of the hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell) and his supporters. For my own part, Sir, I may say I have often regretted the violent and abusive language too frequently used by hon. Members opposite below the Gangway; because it was not only painful to listen to, but injurious to the cause they were advocating, by creating a feeling of bitterness in the minds of even some of the best friends of Ireland. I have therefore heard with much pleasure, and I am certain the House has heard with pleasure, the friendly and conciliatory tone of the speeches we have had from hon. Members opposite during this debate. But while we have had the duty and desirableness of cultivating friendly feelings and social intercourse dilated upon, I may be permitted to remind the House that, although many of us have been most anxious to encourage and bring about this consummation so devoutly to be wished for, hon. Members from Ireland have been endeavouring for years past to create and perpetuate an exactly opposite condition of things by their determined opposition to the Queen's Colleges, to model schools, and the national system of education, where students and children of all denominations can meet and enjoy social and friendly intercourse without the slightest interference with their conscientious religious opinions or convictions, and by advocating a purely denominational system of education, where such friendly intercourse cannot prevail with impunity. I fear, therefore, Sir, that unless we are to have a change in this respect also, we must take a liberal discount off the expressions of friendly feelings which we are informed, and which we believe, it is so desirable and important for us to cultivate. Sir, I may say for myself that I have for years past advocated a just and generous measure of Home Rule for Ireland, giving greater power and control over their own local affairs. But this Bill goes far beyond what many of us understand by Home Rule over local affairs, and would, in my opinion, as it now stands, be unfair to England, Scotland, and Wales, and ultimately injurious, if not ruinous, to the best interests of Ireland, not merely by preventing the introduction of fresh capital, which is so much required in Ireland, but also by tending to drive out much of the capital and many of the most energetic and successful capitalists who have, by their energy and persevering industry, so greatly promoted the prosperity of the country. Sir, I might occupy the time of the House for an hour to come by referring to letters and papers in my possession in confirmation of what I have stated; but I do not think it would answer any useful purpose to do so. We have been reminded by the Prime Minister and by other speakers of the responsibility resting upon us as Members of Parliament. Sir, I am painfully sensible of that responsibility. I believe the question we are now discussing to be one of the utmost importance, and far-reaching consequences, and that it is one of the most momentous questions with which the House of Commons has had to deal during the past 50 years, or, perhaps, much longer. I frankly confess, therefore, that I have never before found myself in such an unpleasant position, or found it so difficult to decide what I ought to do, or how I should vote; and I know many other hon. Members have been in a similar state of difficulty and uncertainty. I have been most anxious to deal fairly with Ireland, and also to support the Government. With every disposition to do so, however, and after giving the subject the most careful consideration, I feared I might be compelled to vote against the second reading. But after the statement made by the Prime Minister a few days ago, that longer time is to be allowed for the consideration of the Bill, and the engagement to reconstruct it or introduce another Bill, I have arrived at the conclusion, not, I confess, without some misgivings, that, under all the circumstances of the case, I will now be justified in supporting the second reading. I wish it, however, to be distinctly understood that unless the Bill is so reconstructed or altered in Committee as more fully to maintain the supremacy of the Imperial Parliament, the integrity of the Empire, and make better provision for the protection of what is termed "the Loyal minority," I shall not subject myself to the charge of inconsistency if I vote against the third reading of the Bill, in the event of it ever reaching that stage. But the integrity of the Empire and the supremacy of the Imperial Parliament must be maintained; and if the Prime Minister will substitute the word "adequate" for the word "reasonable" protection to the Loyal minority, then a good deal of my difficulty in supporting even the third reading would be removed.

Mr. WODEHOUSE (Bath): I recognize the kindly and temperate tone of the speech which we have heard from the hon. Member who has just sat down (Mr. M'Arthur); but I have entirely failed to apprehend the logical sequence of the reasoning by which he arrived at the conclusion that he would support the Bill. His observations seemed to me to point rather to the conclusion that he ought to vote against it. Having regard, however, to the time of the House, I will not enter into controversy with him. The truth is that the Bill before us is one of such exceptional magnitude that it is impossible to range over the whole, or, indeed, any considerable part, of the field which it offers for discussion; and my only object in rising is to state as briefly as I can the main considerations which induce me to oppose its second reading. The minds of some hon. Members are exercised as to the vote they should give by doubts as to whether the Bill be dead or alive; but my own mind is untroubled on that score. If the Bill be dead, it is clearly a farce to treat it as if it were alive. It is rather our duty to vote for the removal of a corpse which cumbers the ground. On the other hand, if the Bill be alive, its vitality is of a kind which seems to me pernicious, and I desire its extinction. I have no occasion to draw distinctions between the principle and the plan. My vote shall be given straight against the principle. Nevertheless, it is grief to me to take this course, because for long years past the Prime Minister has been sole master of my political allegiance, and it is extremely painful to break a life-long habit of fidelity to him. Let me add that no one should vote for the rejection of this Bill with anything but the gravest sense of responsibility. Though it should perish at this stage, its transient existence with the great name of the Prime Minister on its back will have incalculably aggravated all the difficulties of the situation. We can arrest its further course; but we cannot erase it from the memories of men, or the page of history; and turn which way we will—pass or reject the Bill—the vista of a troubled time extends before us. It is a choice of evils; and the rejection of the Bill is the lesser evil. When one looks upon all the painful incidents of this Session, and the great rent in the Liberal Party, I cannot help regretting keenly that the principle of a separate Legislature for Ireland was not plainly and distinctly put forward in the Prime Minister's Mid Lothian Manifesto of September last. For all practical purposes, we knew then as much about Ireland as we know now. We knew that the hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell) would demand a Parliament in College Green, which I take to be the plain English equivalent of the term "automony." We knew that he would come back to Westminster with not less than 80 and not more than 90 followers. And we knew that the late Conservative Government had dropped the Crimes Act. Why, then, was not the principle of a separate Irish Parliament advanced in the Mid Lothian Manifesto of last autumn? It may be said that the terms of the Manifesto did not preclude, and were not incompatible with, such a proposal. That may be true; but then the Prime Minister is a consummate master of words, a perfect wizard in the use of them. There probably never lived, in any age or country, a man with a greater capacity than him for conveying nice shades of meaning by extreme subtlety of language, and for constructing sentences which are susceptible of the most varied interpretations. It is undeniably a brilliant and dazzling faculty; but sometimes it has awkward consequences for Colleagues and supporters whose subtlety of intellect and mastery of phrase are inferior to his. It may, for instance, compel so distinguished a personage as the Secretary of State for War (Mr. Campbell-Bannerman) to explain away a recent and most explicit declaration on the gravest possible question as an indiscreet expression. Indiscreet, indeed! But indiscretions like these shake all faith in public men, and corrupt the best traditions of our public life. Ministers and their supporters have complained that most of the speechess made in this debate by opponents of the

Bill would have been more appropriate to the Committee stage than the first or second reading. For my own part, I will studiously endeavour to avoid that reproach; but when the so-called details of a Bill are things of greater consequence than the cardinal principles of most even of the largest measures which come before this House, the ordinary limits of latitude for the settlement of details in Committee should be contracted rather than enlarged. When details are really integral elements of an Imperial Constitution, nothing, to my mind, could be more hazardous than to launch ourselves into the scramble of Committee upon a flexible Bill, under the uncertain guidance of a flexible Government. To only one of these so-called details will I refer—namely, the exclusion of Irish Members from this House or their retention here. The intelligible plan of a determined Cabinet was presented to the House as a measure promising to be a real settlement of Ireland, and not a mere instrument of leverage for the extortion of further demands. It was also the manifest wish of its author that it should bear on its face a generous trust of the Irish people. If, however, the measure is to be inspired by trust in that part of the Irish people which the 86 Nationalist Members represent, the further we go to meet their wishes the more hope there would be of the measure proving to be a final settlement. But we know that the Nationalist Members do not wish to continue to come to Westminster. They have expressed a desire to be free to devote themselves exclusively to Irish affairs at home. And we have been warned by a representative Irishman, Mr. Michael Davitt, that—

> "There will be an undoubted reactionary feeling if the Irish National idea is destroyed, as unquestionably it will be if the domestic Legislature in Dublin be emasculated by a continued representation in London."

If, then, trust in the Irish Nationalist Party was to be the basis of policy, I should have thought that the best solution would have been to place Ireland on the footing of a Colony, pure and simple—on the footing of Canada, for instance, where the Queen has 5,000,000 subjects. Such an arrangement would, of course, have been an explicit repeal of the Union, while this Bill, as we contend, is an implicit repeal of the Union. The Colonial plan would undoubtedly have put an end to the fiscal unity of the United Kingdom; but it would have left the fiscal unity of the Empire just where it is. It would not have infringed the principle of the conjunction of representation and taxation, and it would have reduced to a minimum the points of contact and friction between the two Governments and Parliaments. Being altogether opposed to a repeal of the Union, whether it be explicit or implicit, I do not, of course, advocate the adoption of the Colonial plan; but I should greatly prefer it to a separate Parliament in Dublin, co-existent with periodic irruptions of Irish Members into this House, when they would be able to overturn our Ministries and exercise pressure on the direction of Imperial affairs for the purpose of advancing purely Irish objects. Now I have done with details. But what is the principle of the Bill? It is the creation of a Statutory Parliament in Dublin, carrying with it, as an inseparable corollary, the establishment of an Irish Executive Government resting on the confidence of a majority of the local Legislature. That is to say, as matters now stand, the naked principle of the Bill is the cession of Ireland to the legislative and executive domination of the National League, and this cession would place that part of the Irish population which is attached to the Union and the British connection—whether they be Protestant or Catholic, whether they be of high or low degree, and whether they be in Ulster or the other three Provinces—at the mercy of a majority from whom they anticipate, and, having regard to the past, reasonably anticipate, injustice and wrong. The obligations of England towards her adherents in Ireland are as sacred as any political and historic obligations can be. They are often spoken of as the "English garrison," and the phrase in the mouths of Irish Nationalists is a term of opprobrium; but on the lips of an Englishman it should convey no reproach or shame; and nothing can justify the desertion of an English garrison anywhere except overmastering necessity. There is no such necessity in this case. Talk of alternative policies. Almost any alternative would be better than our sanction of such a policy as would preclude the British Parliament and Government from affording full protection to the rights, liberties, and properties of men whose prime offence, in the eyes of their new masters, would be their known and tried attachment to this country. Such a deed would be noted, and its effects would be sensible in every corner of the Empire. Never again would an Englishman abroad—whether in India, or the Colonies, or elsewhere—feel, as he has felt hitherto, the old trust which has been the inspiration of heroic deeds unnumbered, the trust that his country will stand by those who stand by her. And some of the bitterest enemies of this country in the future will be found among her deserted friends in Ireland and their descendants. If Ireland has been wronged in the past, those wrongs cannot be undone and cancelled by the perpetration of another wrong now. This new wrong will bring its own retribution, and, whatever that retribution may be, we shall have deserved our fate. However, we are bidden to cast away these idle fears and baseless forebodings. We are exhorted to trust the Irish Nationalist Party; but on what foundations is our trust to repose? I do not ascribe to that Party either lunacy, or a double dose of original sin; but, taking them as made of average human stuff, why should we trust them? Moderate language, it is true, now flows in copious stream from lips whence we who sat in the last Parliament have been accustomed to hear language very much the reverse of moderate; but let the moderation be ever so sincere, let the language be prompted solely by honest feeling and conviction, and by no regard for tactical and prudential considerations, still it cannot bind or control the future. In any forecasts of probabilities, experience and facts, historic facts, are worth more than speeches. Now, what are the facts? The story of Ireland's connection with England is a long one, and it is a story of imperfect conquest and fusion. The reality of the darker aspects of that chequered record I do not for a moment dispute; but when we sit in judgment on the deeds of our forefathers, it is not fair to judge them by standards of political morality and action which belong to later times. When we condemn them, for instance, for the Penal Laws against the Catholics, we should take into account the desperate nature of the struggle which Protestant England had been constrained to wage against Catholic Powers and the Papacy, and the bias of national sentiment which was only the natural consequence of such a struggle. But, whatever may have been the misdeeds of this country towards Ireland in preceding centuries, you may search all history through without finding a more generous admission of wrongdoing than the people of this country have freely made in the past half-century. They have stood in sackcloth and ashes for their sins towards Ireland; and, according to the Prime Minister's Mid Lothian Manifesto of last September, all the familiar grievances of Ireland, both before and since the Union, have at length been happily removed. The wounds of centuries are not to be healed in a half-a-century, and no one expects effusive gratitude from the Irish Nationalists; but the removal of every grievance, as admitted by the Prime Minister, is in itself a plain token of solicitude to repair old wrongs; and while it was open to Irish Nationalists to accept the remedial measures of recent times as inadequate instalments of what was due to Ireland, they might, at least, have recognized them as proofs of readiness on the part of the English people to do justice. But have they ever done so? Never! Never has the Nationalist literature and rhetoric breathed a more malignant hatred of this country than it has in recent years. No statesman in all our history has ever devoted himself to the cause of Ireland with such sympathy or such power as the Prime Minister; yet, at the last General Election, Ireland did not send him a single supporter, and the whole weight of the Irish Nationalist vote in Great Britain was directed against him and his followers. The promise of a real Union between Great Britain and Ireland—a union of heart and brain as distinct from a paper and parchment Union—adorns the peroration of almost every speech made in favour of this Bill. But the pages of *Hansard* teem with similar perorations, equally confident, and yet more eloquent; while the hopes they breathed lie shattered in the dust. We have naturally heard a great deal in the course of this debate about Mr. Grattan and his Parliament, and also about Mr. Burke; but the authority of Mr.

Burke has been somewhat strained when adduced in favour of Grattan's Parliament. What did Mr. Burke say about Ireland in 1775—that is to say, when the Act of George I., on which Mr. Grattan lavished the thunders of his invective, the Act which made the Irish Parliament entirely subordinate to the British Parliament, was in operation? Mr. Burke said then, in his famous speech for conciliation with the American Colonies, that Ireland was a great and flourishing Kingdom; that it had ceased to be a burden and disgrace intolerable to this country; and that it had become a principal part of our ornament and strength. Bracketing Ireland with Wales, Chester, and Durham, as regions which had been completely conquered and pacified by the beneficent influence of the genius and spirit of the English Constitution, he added—

> "Ireland has ever had from the beginning a separate, but not independent, Legislature, which, far from distracting, promoted the union of the whole. Everything was sweetly and harmoniously disposed through both Islands for the conservation of English dominion and the communication of English liberties."

Now, Sir, the work which has made the name of Mr. Grattan famous was the undoing and destruction of that sweet, harmonious disposition which was the subject of Mr. Burke's eulogy. Of course, I shall be told that Mr. Burke was a party to the arrangements of 1782; but did he in after years regard Grattan's Parliament with unmixed satisfaction? I doubt it. At all events, here is what he wrote in December, 1796—that is, six or seven months before his death—

> "Ireland has derived some advantage from its independence of the Parliament of this Kingdom, or rather it did derive advantage from the arrangements that were made at the time of the establishment of that independence. But human blessings are mixed, and I cannot but think that even these great blessings were bought dearly enough when, along with the weight of the authority, they have totally lost all benefit from the superintendence of the British Parliament."

That is faint praise for Grattan's Parliament; and what would Mr. Burke have said had he lived to see the Rebellion of 1798? What Mr. Fox thought in 1797 we know; here are his words—

> "From the period of 1782 there have been growing scenes of dissatisfaction and discontent in that country, and at this moment Ireland is in a condition at which no man can look without the deepest alarm."

It is the fashion now to denounce the Union as a tremendous failure. To determine whether the relations of Great Britain and Ireland have been better or worse since the Union than they were in all the years preceding the Union would require a long and exhaustive review of history, which I certainly shall not attempt; but it is a curious circumstance that no leading statesman of either Party in this country ever discovered the failure of the Union until about the month of December last; and when I remember that the Prime Minister dilated, at Leeds, in 1881, on the remarkable material progress of Ireland, and expressed the conviction that no labouring population in Europe had made such progress in the preceding 20 years as the labouring population of Ireland, I feel persuaded that the Government under which such progress was made must have had very substantial merits. The failure of our endeavours hitherto to conciliate Irish disaffection has been ascribed, in the main, to two causes. It has been ascribed to the influences of necessity and fear under which even good laws have been passed, and to the foreign garb they wore. The introduction of this Bill was not the first occasion on which the Prime Minister has traced the failure of good measures to the circumstances of necessity and fear under which they were enacted. He descanted on the same theme in moving a Resolution for the Disestablishment of the Irish Church in 1868; but that measure was to be, like this one, an act of spontaneous justice. Unhappily, it was afterwards connected with deeds of violence and explosions and the ringing of a chapel bell, and thus whatever grace originally attached to it was effectually dissipated. Take another of the Prime Minister's greatest achievements—the Land Act of 1881. Have the Irish tenantry ever been taught by the Nationalist Leaders to honour the Prime Minister for that Act, or regard it as a generous measure? Nothing of the kind. How, then, can anyone believe that, if this Bill were carried, it would have a happier destiny than previous remedial measures? The whole career of the hon. Member for the City of Cork is in itself enough to stamp a startling concession to him with the brand of surrender. His policy was described even in its infancy as a policy of exasperation; it has been a policy of unsparing menace and coercion. He has pursued his own course with singular tenacity of purpose, in absolute indifference as to the detriment and discredit he might inflict on our most cherished institutions, or the obstruction he might offer to British legislation. He was designated by the Prime Minister as the Leader of the anti-British, the anti-Loyal Party, and his political campaign has been vividly described as a march through rapine to the dismemberment of the Empire. The term Separatist has been constantly applied to him and his Party by Liberal Leaders. How, then, can we doubt that if a separate Parliament were now set up in Dublin at his bidding—an arrangement to which there has hitherto been unanimous and inflexible opposition on this side of the Channel—how can we doubt that the concession would be vaunted in Ireland and America as the humiliation of this country, and that the old malign influence that mars the operation of concessions attributed to fear would be at work again with more potency than ever before? To expect that the authors of the "No Rent" Manifesto will scrupulously collect from Irish farmers instalments of purchase money for payment into a foreign Exchequer; that a population disciplined to exercise a cruel social tyranny on their law-abiding neighbours will suddenly become considerate of the rights of minorities; that people accustomed to show disrespect to symbols of Royalty, to cheer for the Mahdi, or anybody else in conflict with England, and to rejoice in visions of Russian Cossacks stabling their horses in this House, and of the British Empire sunk under the sea, will prove loyal and friendly to Great Britain, does seem to me to be a climax of delusive optimism. Now, what is the magic charm to work this miracle where other charms have failed? Why, simply this—the removal of the "foreign garb." We are to admit that we are foreigners and aliens to the Irish, and they to us. We are to realize that we are face to face with Irish nationality, and recognize it as such. But, before this step be taken, I trust that the House will deeply consider how much it may involve. I will not discuss the vexed question whether the population of Ireland be, or be not, a homogeneous nationality; it is, at all events, a community in which a large and very important minority are content with their position under the Constitution, while full participation in the highest Imperial privileges has failed to conciliate the majority. The national aspirations of what I may call Unionist Ireland are satisfied by representation in this Parliament, by a share in the direction of the policy of a great Power, and by free admission to all Imperial Services. But the Ireland which the hon. Member for the City of Cork represents apparently cares for none of these things, and feels no pride in the Empire to which it belongs. Now, to make a formal recognition of a community under such conditions as a distinct nationality is for us an entirely new departure. It is the assertion of a novel and Separatist principle, which, in a cosmopolitan Dominion like the British Empire, must have far-reaching consequences. Colonial precedents have no bearing on this point. Self-government has been conceded to the Colonies on purely political grounds, as distinct from grounds of nationality. The Colonies which murmured against government from Downing Street were not fully represented, as Ireland is, in this Parliament; they had no representation here at all; and they were thousands of miles away from Westminster and Downing Street, which Ireland is not. Canada supplies a crucial illustration of what I mean. As the House knows, there was rebellion both in Upper Canada, which was British and Protestant, and in Lower Canada, which was French and Catholic. The story of that rebellion is told in Lord Durham's Report on British North America. That famous State Paper is a sort of landmark in Colonial history, and nothing in it is more striking than the contrast portrayed between the comparatively mild and placable nature of the rebellion in Upper Canada, where the source of disaffection was purely political, and the far deadlier type of rebellion in Lower Canda, where nationality lay at the root of the quarrel. "Concede self-government to Upper Canada," said Lord Durham, "and disaffection will vanish." But then he pointed out that the remedy which sufficed for Upper Canada would be inadequate for Lower Canada; and what this advanced Liberal of his time recommended for Lower Canada was anything but a recognition of the claims of the French Canadian nationality as such. I will quote some of his words—

> "I entertain no doubts as to the national character which must be given to Lower Canada; it must be that of the British Empire; . . . it must henceforth be the first and steady purpose of the British Government to establish an English population with English laws and language in this Province, and to trust its government to none but a decidedly English Legislature. . . . No permanent or efficient remedy can be devised for the disorders of Lower Canada, except a fusion of the Government in that of one or more of the surrounding Provinces. I believe that tranquillity can only be restored by subjecting the Province to the vigorous rule of an English majority, and that the only efficacious Government would be that formed by a Legislative Union."

In conformity with this recommendation, Upper and Lower Canada, then separate, were fused into one Province; but this Canadian policy of fusion and Legislative Union is the reverse of a precedent for an Irish policy which despairs of fusion, and virtually destroys an existing Legislative Union. I believe the French Canadians to be loyal to the British connection; but they occupy a very peculiar position. They are hopelessly severed from France, and encompassed by communities of Anglo-Saxon origin. They prefer the British connection to absorption by the United States; and just as the fear of absorption by their Sclavonic neighbours makes the Hungarians lean on Austria, so do the French Canadians lean on this country. But if this disintegrating principle of recognizing nationalities be sanctioned by the Imperial Parliament, it would not surprise me much to see the French Canadians commence a movement for secession from the Dominion of Canada, and thus break it up. Moreover, let the House beware of what may happen in such places as Malta and the Mauritius, to say nothing of India. Returning to Ireland and the Irish nationality, I contend that the normal tendencies of nationalities are Separatist. They crave for such demarcation from other nationalities as will give them absolute control of their own destinies in the fullest sense; and when the disaffected part of a population has won specific recognition as a nationality by sheer force of disaffection, whether displayed in open rebellion or in a gigantic conspiracy against the laws of the Realm, most potent influences will be requisite to restrain and overrule the normal Separatist tendency. Will there be such influences in the case of disaffected Ireland after her nationality has been recognized? I think not. Why is Scotland content with her Union? [An hon. MEMBER: No, no!] A Scotch Member near me denies the fact; but I do not believe that his opinion is shared by many Scotchmen. For my own part, I chiefly attribute the content of Scotland under the Union to the absence of any lingering, rankling sense of subjection. Scotland gave a King to England, and can look back with pride on her annals as a separate Kingdom before the union of the two Crowns. The memories of William Wallace and Robert Bruce enabled Scotland to enter into union with England with a sense of full equality. There are no corresponding antecedents in Irish history; and because Scotland is content and thoroughly loyal the hon. Member for the City of Cork did not scruple to say last autumn that Scotland had lost her nationality. That indiscreet remark betrayed, I think, a Separatist tendency in his mind. Can we disguise from ourselves that the Irish Nationalist of the present day has no attachment to the English Crown, such as the Hungarian feels towards the Austrian Crown? The pages of history which an Englishman or Scotchman reads with pride kindle no such emotion in his breast. Then Ireland has geographical isolation. Mr. Grattan's saying that the Channel forbids union, and the ocean forbids separation, strikes me as a rhetorical rather than a philosophical expression; and I should imagine the political properties of the salt water in the Channel between Holyhead and Kingstown to be much the same as those of the water in the Channel between Dover and Calais. Ireland is an island large enough to form a small independent State, and if she can shake off the grasp of England, she is not likely to be taken possession of by any other Power. Above all, there is the influence of the Irish in America brooding over bitter memories, and ever ready to take part in movements of hostility against this country. Is it likely that their hatred would be appeased because Ireland had ceased to be an integral part of the United Kingdom, and had become a sort of Dependency of Great Britain? Where such conditions exist, illustrations borrowed from Finland, Iceland, Hungary, and Bavaria have no relevancy whatever. Besides, Nationalist teaching has certainly not been of a kind to prepare the Irish people for easy reconciliation with England. If an Irishman honestly believes England to have been the source of all his country's woes, a tyrant who never relaxes tyranny, except under the pressure of fear, and whose chief Executive Officer, even in this latter half of the 19th century, sends men to the scaffold whom he knows to be innocent, is it credible that the boon, the revocable, precarious boon of a Statutory Parliament from the hand of the oppressor would give final satisfaction to his aspirations? Was it this Statutory Parliament that the hon. Member for the City of Cork had in his mind when he spoke, about a year ago, of better things than Grattan's Parliament which men coming after him might gain? It may have been, but I do not think it was. Then it is said that material interests will bind Ireland to Great Britain; that England is her only market; and that she will not commit suicide by alienating the custom and the capital of her wealthy neighbour. The argument sounds reasonable; but I do not attach much weight to it. The truth is, that temperament and tradition, prejudice and passion, play a larger part in the affairs of this imperfect world than calm calculations of enlightened self-interest. Nations, like individual men and women, have dreams and ideals which are often pursued at the cost of material gain. How often has the material prosperity of Ireland been impaired, and progress retarded, by political and agrarian agitation; but when did that thought ever deter the agitator from his congenial work? And when was an agitator or ambitious politician ever at a loss to dress up his political object with specious accessories of material advantage, such as protection for some native industry, or a handsome distribution all round of acres and cows? In short, Sir, I contend that if the disaffected part of the Irish people, with its antecedents and its leaning on the Irish in America, now win special recognition as a nationality, its Separatist tendencies will be fortified and their results accelerated. Experience and history point to this conclusion, and we have nothing to reassure us but moderate language, tardily uttered at the eleventh hour. We are now assured that the heart of the Irish people, both at home and abroad, has at length been touched—touched by the spectacle of a great Minister dedicating himself, after 50 eventful years of public service, to a supreme endeavour to reconcile Ireland with Great Britain. As to the altered tone of Irish organs, whether in Ireland or in the United States, it is very difficult—indeed impossible—to determine to what extent the alteration has been produced by the most obvious motives for soothing the suspicions and apprehensions of the English people, and how much is due to a genuine emotion of newly-awakened cordiality. I am not convinced that pure American opinion, except where it has political relations with the Irish vote, does applaud the policy of the Government. Grant, however, that the change of tone springs from a well of kindly feeling, still it will prove to be a transient and evanescent emotion. In the ordinary course of nature, the Prime Minister will not be here for the next 20 years to watch over and guide the course of his experiment. When the spell of his presence is gone, and the flush of early satisfaction has faded away, the tribute, and the veto, and the condition of partial dependency will remain to create friction, to fan the embers of ancient animosities, and stir a soil teeming with influences of estrangement and separation. It may, however, be said that, even if one has this conviction of an inevitable tendency towards complete separation, why should not the experiment of a domestic Legislature and separate Executive Government in Ireland be tried? We are told that if the experiment fails, if the powers of Home Rule be abused, and efforts be made to advance separation, this country can always resume the boon it gave to Ireland. Both the Chancellor of the Exchequer and the hon. Member for Bedford (Mr. Whitbread) referred to this contingency in their speeches on the first reading of this Bill. But if the Irish Nationalists' present demand for Home Rule should be conceded, why should a future demand for complete independence be refused? Surely not upon the ground of British interests, because that is an objectionable Tory phrase; and the virtue of the Liberal Party, which, of course, grows more virtuous every year, is too pure to be swayed by such selfish considerations. Neither could it be refused on the ground that it would be bad for Ireland, after the concession of Home Rule, on the distinct principle that the Irish know what is best for themselves and their own affairs. A majority in Ireland may hereafter say to the democracy of this country — "You recognized our nationality, but you attached to the recognition conditions and limitations which create irritation between us, while they prohibit the full normal development of our nationality. Let us, then, part in peace; let us sever the last link in amity, and ever after we will be to each other the best of neighbours and the fastest of friends." Now, will the democracy, weary, probably, by that time of continuous wrangling, turn a deaf ear to the demand, especially if it be accompanied by a judicious mixture such as the hon. Member for the City of Cork knows so well how to brew at the proper time—a judicious mixture of blandishment and menace? I doubt it. Democracy, as we have heard in this debate, does not love coercion. According to the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Mr. Bryce), democracy can pass severe laws in a moment of exasperation, but soon forgets the occasion of them, and repeals them. In other words, it can fly into a passion and kick somebody, but is incapable of patient, uniform, and consistent rule. If that be a true description, democracy will, I fear, prove unfit to be lord and master of a vast Dominion embracing divers races and nationalities in different stages of civilization and political development; and an Empire which a people has made under the guidance of a great aristocracy will slide from its grasp in anarchy, bloodshed, and ruin. But, be that as it may, one thing at least is certain with regard to Ireland. If the occasion should hereafter arise to revoke the grant of Home Rule, to pull down the Irish Legislature, and separate Government, exceedingly stringent measures will be requisite for the work of demolition, and they will have to be followed by most resolute and long-sustained coercion, under circumstances incomparably more difficult than those around us now. The Chancellor of the Exchequer and the hon. Member for Bedford have endeavoured to comfort us with an assurance that in such a contingency stern action would be accredited by the approval of the civilized world. But the support of the civilized world is wont to be very Platonic; it is apt to mind its own business, and not help other people out of their troubles. If we place reliance in any quarter but ourselves we shall surely be disappointed. In short, Sir, I object to a most perilous experiment, the initial conditions of which would be the withdrawal of the Imperial hand from the legislative and executive control of Ireland, and the sacrifice of all our best friends there. I take my stand on the existing Union, and adhere to the often-quoted words of the right hon. Member for the Border Burghs (Mr. Trevelyan), that—

> "As far as law and order and the peace of the country are concerned, there is no half-way house between entire separation and absolute Imperial control."

COLONEL NOLAN (Galway, N.) said, the hon. Member who had just sat down (Mr. Wodehouse) told them that he would not make a philosophical speech; but, in his (Colonel Nolan's) opinion, that speech was full of the hon. Gentleman's peculiar philosophy, for he told them all that democracy would do, and all that democracy would not do, and various other things. One of his opinions was that no pure American opinion was in favour of this Bill. Well, he (Colonel Nolan) thought that was a rather bold statement, having regard to the fact that in that morning's *Times* there was a column of a speech from Mr. Blaine, a candidate for the Presidency of America, in favour of the Bill. The hon. Member for the Cirencester Division of Gloucestershire (Mr. Winterbotham) objected to the Bill, because he said that under it penal laws with regard to education would be passed. Well, he (Colonel Nolan) thought the rights of minorities in the question of education could not be more strongly guarded than they were in the Bill. By the Constitution of the United States, individual States were prohibited from favouring any one religious sect. and no State had attempted to do it. There was every reason to suppose that the same prohibition would be equally effective in Ireland; and there was certainly no desire on the part of the majority in Ireland to oppress any sect in the minority. The two last speakers against the Bill had had used exactly contradictory arguments with regard to the condition of Ireland since the Union. The hon. Member who had just sat down said that Ireland made extraordinary progress since the Union; while the other hon. Member said that such was the condition of Ireland at present that what was wanted was to put bread in the mouths of the Irish people. It was true, of course, that there was some progress since the Union; but look how enormous was the progress of other countries. Ireland's complaint was that she had no fair share in that progress. The hon. Member who spoke last said he did not object to the details of the Bill—he objected to its principle. Well, he (Colonel Nolan) wished all those who were against the Bill were only the persons who opposed its principle. In that case they would have against it only the whole, or nearly the whole, of the Conservative Party, and some 30 or 40 Members on the other side. Unfortunately, they had to deal also with those who accepted the principle, but objected to the details; and it was difficult to understand why such Members did not follow the intelligible course of the hon. Member for Leicester (Mr. M'Arthur), who deferred his criticisms for the Committee stage, and reserved his right to oppose the third reading if the Bill were not satisfactory at that stage. He would commend to the consideration of those Members an interview in *The Pall Mall Gazette* with the hon. Member for Barrow (Mr. Caine). That hon. Member said there were 12 Members who were "waiters" on Providence, and that all the rest were "stalwarts," who would vote against the second reading. Well, the 12 Gentlemen in question would see that they were not held in any high estimation by the hon. Member for Barrow, and he would suggest to them that they should vote for the second reading of the Bill. There was one point which was very little attended to in the debate—that was the question of administration by separate Executives for Ireland and England. That he believed to be one of the most important parts of the Bill. He agreed, to some extent, with hon. Members who objected to two Executives. If they had two Executives in military or naval matters he admitted that it would be injurious to the country; but that was not proposed under the Bill. When, however, they came to deal with Imperial affairs, there was a great advantage in having two Executives, and especially as regarded domestic affairs. One thing that had made Ireland miserable—for, no doubt, Ireland was at present a very miserable country, both materially and politically—was the lack of good administration. He did not attach much importance to the differences in race and character between the English and Irish peoples. The most important difference was in the circumstances of the two countries. No people could be expected to make much progress who had not the administration of their own affairs. In England the distinguishing feature of the Administration was that it was kept in harmony with the existing political institutions, and with every change of Government. The moment a change of Government was made, the head of every single Department, whether foreign affairs, political, or material, was changed, and men appointed thoroughly in favour with the feeling of the country. All these Departments were thus placed in touch with popular feeling, as all, even to the guardian of the Queen's Robes and the keepers of the dogs and horses, changed with each political Party. In Ireland, however, no Member of the popular Party had the smallest share in its Administration. A few Conservatives, it was true, were accorded a share in the Administration; but at the present moment his Party, who were the Representatives of the majority in Ireland, did not appoint a single official. Therefore, they not only deprived Irish Members, but whole constituencies, of any control over the Administration of the country. When they passed this Bill they would, for the first time, practically see Irish people at the head of their Administration. When that was done every official, every policeman, would feel that he was one of their public servants, and would be in thorough harmony with the people. On other great and important points there would be a far better arrangement for England, in the case of Ireland, than with any of the Colonies, and better than any federal arrangement. She had rights of getting money under the Bill and of enforcing conscription in Ireland. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham (Mr. Joseph Chamberlain) objected to the Bill because it did not contain the federal principle. The essential part of a federal arrangement was a treaty between two contracting parties. There was no treaty between England and Ireland, because in this Bill the Imperial Government reserved the right, through Parliament, to change the law as applied to Ireland at any time. England, by the Bill, would have all the advantages of federation; and, therefore, he saw no ground for the objection of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham. There were also hon. Gentlemen who said Ireland would occupy a degraded position under the Bill, as the people would be cut off from a larger sphere, and from dealing with foreign affairs, &c. If the Irish Members were a great controlling power in Parliament he might agree, to some extent, with that contention. What, however, was the fact? The great bulk of the Irish Members, returned by the popular Party in Ireland, were completely excluded from foreign affairs, and they never even dreamed of getting a man into the Cabinet who held their views. They had been occasionally allowed to upset a Ministry; but as for having any control over, or dealings with, foreign nations, whether friendly or not, they had nothing to do with that; so that, in point of fact, they had very little indeed; and, therefore, when they were asked to resign their power of dealing with such questions, as they had never been allowed to use it, they all the more cheerfully relinquished all that. There was a good deal of misapprehension regarding the financial question. He would, however, reserve until the Committee stage the discussion of that portion of the Bill. He would point out, however, that under a Dublin Parliament a very great saving would be effected in the Administration of the country. The Army would be enormously reduced, to the extent, indeed, of 20,000 men; for there would not be any necessity for maintaining so large a force as at present under an Irish Parliament. Then the Police Force, which at present costs £1,000,000, could, he believed, be reduced by them to about half that. The Civil Service was also very much too expensive. It had heretofore been more or less a means of bribing a certain class, and the Irish Parliament would certainly develop a large spirit of economy in regard to it. The saving thus effected would be devoted to the improvement of the industrial resources of the country. In conclusion, he would only remark that, with regard to the action of fair and open enemies, such as the Conservatives, they could appreciate it at its value, and they knew how to deal with them. But he appealed to those so-called friends who were taking up the invidious position of saying they were in favour of the principle of the Bill, but who, at the same time, were expressing a disposition to vote, against the second reading, to reconsider their decision. He could assure them and the House that, in Ireland, the people were raised to a high point in anticipation of the passing of the Bill. When he was last in Ireland, and amongst his constituents, he found them to be almost perfectly confident of the successful issue of this measure. They looked upon it as an absolute certainty. The House could have no idea of the shock it would be to the people if they learned that their hopes were to be dashed to the ground, and the Bill to be rejected. Surely, therefore, the second reading of the Bill should be carried, and details could, of course, be disposed of as might be considered necessary. If the second reading was not carried there would be a dreadful revulsion of feeling in Ireland, and he appealed to the House to act justly and fairly, and to pass the second reading.

SIR JULIAN GOLDSMID (St. Pancras, S.): Sir, I cannot agree with the Liberal elector who said that if the Prime Minister proposed to abolish the law of gravitation he should wish his Member to support him; and, therefore, I desire to consider the position in which the Liberal Members are now placed. I ask myself, and I wish to ask the House, why this Bill for giving Home Rule to Ireland has been introduced? In the admirable address which the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister issued to the electors of Mid Lothian at the last General Election he mentioned four great subjects that would require immediate attention—Parliamentary Procedure; Local Government; the reform of the Laws relating to Land; and Registration. He afterwards named other subjects which might have to be dealt with, among them being changes in the House of Lords; and, last of all, alterations with regard to the government of Ireland. Moreover, the constituencies were asked to give a majority over the Tories and Parnellites combined, in order that there might be a firm system of government in Ireland, and in order that the English Ministry might not depend on the Irish vote. As that majority was not obtained a new state of things came about, and the Government had to consider a new policy; and it was for that reason, and not because the Tories did not renew the Coercion Acts in June, and not because they did propose to renew them in January. The proposal first came in the form of examination and inquiry by the Prime Minister, resulting in the production in six weeks of two Bills which practically offer a new Constitution for England and Ireland. The Ministry, with some few exceptions, accepted the new policy in the course of a fortnight, and the House of Commons is now asked to do the same, and to pledge itself on the subject. Therefore, the question immediately arises, are Liberals bound in honour to the right hon. Gentleman to accept his proposals, or have they a right to consider for themselves what they ought to do in the matter? On this point I desire to appeal to the right hon. Gentleman himself, for he has laid it down in his own address that—

> "Liberalism has ever sought to unite freedom, individual thought, and action, to which it so largely owes its healthy atmosphere, with corporate efficiency."

Consequently, I contend that the right hon. Gentleman has fairly told Liberal Members that they have a right to exercise an independent judgment, even upon a great subject such as this. [Mr. GLADSTONE: Hear, hear!] The right hon. Gentleman accepts it. Then, how are the proposals of the Government recommended? We are told that by accepting them we shall atone for the sins of our ancestors. I, for one, am a little tired of hearing of the sins of predecessors who lived four and five generations ago, and I think the time has come when we should only be held responsible for our own political sins. The present generation of Liberals have nothing to regret in their treatment of Ireland, and they have always shown great readiness to co-operate with the Prime Minister in his remedial legislation. Another reason given in support of the Bill is that by passing it we should get rid of the Irish Members, and so be able to devote undivided attention to English and Scotch affairs. That is a very attractive prospect to many Members; but we should prove ourselves very selfish if we were to pass the Bill on that ground, for we should be committing a great public wrong in order to obtain a private benefit. As to the Land Bill, which, however, we shall probably never discuss, the friends of the landlords are asked to vote for it because they are to get a good price for their land. But it involves a fatal dilemma. If, in order that the landlords may have justice, it is necessary to buy them out, it is clear that the proposed Irish Government is not likely to be fair and just, in which case it ought not to be established. If, on the other hand, it is thought that the Government would be just, there is no reason for buying out the landlords. Another argument in favour of the measure before the House is that hon. Members below the Gangway opposite accept it and will be satisfied with it. But can we be sure of that? I have not heard any Irish Member state that the Bill is to be final, and the hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell) has said distinctly that he accepts the measure as an indication of the goodwill of the Ministry, but that it will require serious modifications in Committee for him to be satisfied with it. But even if hon. Members from Ireland do agree as to the finality of the Bill, how can they bind generations unborn and future Parliaments? Much stress is laid by the supporters of the measure on the safeguards which it provides. But those safeguards are altogether illusory. We are told, in the first place, that the minority would be protected by the first Order in the Irish Legislature. But if safeguards are necessary, you admit that the majority will not treat them fairly; and the question immediately strikes one whether it is likely that this first Order will long continue in existence? I think not, considering its peculiar constitution; and I cannot refrain from expressing my great astonishment that the head of a Liberal Ministry should in these days propose to introduce a special property qualification, both for electors and elected. Another supposed safeguard is the power of veto. If the Irish Legislature were to take in hand subjects which might be thought to be beyond its province the

Privy Council in England is to have the power of deciding whether the Lord Lieutenant should exercise his veto or not. The consequence would be that the Lord Lieutenant would be placed in a very false position, and that a demand would spring up for the abolition of this alien authority—namely, that of the Privy Council and of the Lord Lieutenant. It would be far better that the veto should be exercised by the Imperial Parliament rather than by the Privy Council, because the Irish Members would then be present to defend the acts of their own Legislature. That, too, might insure a real protection to minorities. Another important point is that regarding the position of the Army in Ireland. I fear that under this measure it would be viewed as a hostile force, merely there for the purpose of enforcing the payment of taxes. The Prime Minister has told us that the Nationalists are identified with disorder and disunion; they are now to become the Representatives of order. Should the Loyalists object to the decrees of the new Government, would the Army be employed to coerce them? If not, you would allow civil war; and if yes, then you are still going to have coercion. The position of the Loyalist Party in Ireland, which, it is admitted, ought to be well safeguarded, is to be secured by a second Bill dealing with land; but the only way of effectively safeguarding them is by establishing the supremacy of the Parliament at Westminster, and giving it a veto over the Irish Parliament. The noble Lord the Member for the Tavistock Division of Devon (Viscount Ebrington) has investigated the election addresses of Liberal candidates at the last Election, and he finds that only six Members of the present House of Commons declared themselves in favour of Home Rule. Some gave direct pledges against it, and they cannot be expected to swallow their opinions. The Prime Minister's Mid Lothian Manifesto conveyed no idea that he intended to take up this subject. He mentioned four prominent points in the Liberal programme as pressing for settlement, and indicated others to remain in the background; but Home Rule was not among them. The Liberals accepted the programme, and many of them spoke strongly against the separation of the Imperial Parliament. They are now asked to swallow their pledges, and to join hands with the Irish, who, to a man, where they could, opposed their elections. If they are unwilling to comply, they are told they are "seceders," and even "traitors." If there are any seceders, they are the supporters of this Bill. In his address to the electors of Mid Lothian, the right hon. Gentleman said he hoped they might be able to proceed in the path of progress, allowing fair latitude of opinion to every Liberal. Yet threats have been uttered that those Liberals who do not agree with the Government's Irish policy are to be politically ostracized. If they do not vote for the second reading of that Bill, everything is to be done to prevent their re-election. Now, I remember well the time when, after the Elections in 1874, the right hon. Gentleman thought he would no longer lead the Liberal Party, but would retire to his hermitage in Cheshire. Then the noble Marquess the Member for Rossendale (the Marquess of Hartington) stepped forward and stood in the breach. I myself was present at the meeting of the Reform Club when the right hon. Gentleman the senior Member for Birmingham (Mr. John Bright) proposed that the noble Marquess should lead the Liberal Party; and for six long years, with occasional assistance from the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister, the noble Marquess rendered that service to the Liberal Party which resulted in the great victory of 1880. The noble Marquess then did good work for the Party, and it is a little too strong now to call him a traitor because he does not agree in opinion with some hon. Members on this side. Again, the right hon. Member for the Border Burghs (Mr. Trevelyan) deserves well of the Liberal Party, for he has done more than any other man to carry the recent extension of the county franchise. Are you going to exclude the right hon. Gentleman from public life? [Mr. LABOUCHERE (Northampton): Until he repents.] My hon. Friend the Member for Northampton says—"Until he repents." So that there is to be a limited seclusion for him, and it is to be supposed that he will be sent to a lunatic asylum until he takes the same view as my hon. Friend the Member for Northampton, whose consistency on this question must be acknowledged, because he has always supported Home Rule. I have given the names of two men whom it is proposed to ostracize, and they are men who, as the Prime Minister, with the generosity which characterizes him, will admit, have done the greatest service to the Liberal Party. Therefore, if we do that, we should do a thing that is singularly ungrateful. Then I come to the right hon. Member for West Birmingham (Mr. Chamberlain), against whom Irish Members opposite launch all their wonderful artillery of jibe and innuendo; but they forget that he has been a chief exponent of the great Radical measures carried during the last 10 or 15 years—a fact on which they used to congratulate him a short time ago. Then of all the men who ought not to be ostracized in that way is the senior Member for Birmingham (Mr. John Bright), who has done the greatest service to the Liberal cause. That right hon. Gentleman had said in the most solemn manner that he objected to the Bill of the Prime Minister.

THE FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY (Mr. W. E. GLADSTONE) (Edinburgh, Mid Lothian): Let us see his letter?

SIR JULIAN GOLDSMID: The senior Member for Birmingham wrote a letter that was read at the meeting held by the noble Marquess the Member for Rossendale (the Marquess of Hartington), which sufficiently indicated his opinion. [An hon. MEMBER: The other letter.] The right hon. Gentleman said in his letter—

> "Does anyone imagine that such Bills could become law without a manifestation of the differences and doubts which they have created? It would be a calamity for this country if measures of this transcendent magnitude were to be accepted on the authority of a Leader of a Party, or of a Minister, however eminent, and that no other Member of the Party was to be permitted to hold or express strong doubts or even adverse opinions of the measures proposed. For constituencies to accept this system would be to betray their value in the working of Representative Institutions. The sad Party division has arisen from the introduction of measures of vast importance without any sufficient preparation of the public or the Party mind to accept them. The measures themselves, and the time and the manner of their introduction in Parliament, are the causes of the division of the Liberal Party, and not the opinions or criticisms of honourable men. The Party may be shaken for a time, but it will recover; for consistency and courage and honour will never be without value in the estimation of our countrymen."

I myself agree with that great man; and I venture to say that hon. Members have a right to criticize and express their objections to this Bill, and that they ought not to be ostracized by those who sit around because they do what they consider to be right. But whether they are to be ostracized or not, individually, I think, it is their duty to ignore all personal considerations, and to consider only what the result of any vote they give will be upon the public interest. It is admitted that this Bill, if not exactly a bad one, is certainly not a good one. I have looked at all the resolutions which have been passed at the Liberal meetings which have been recently held, and I find that the measure is regarded not as one that ought to pass as it stands, but as a mere basis for future legislation—just as an empty orange is by an able culinary artist made the basis of a *glace en surprise.* We all approve the title of the measure—that of "A Bill for the better government of Ireland"—but, with that exception, almost everything it contains is to be swept away, and something else substituted for it. The truth is that what we are practically asked to do is, to read the Bill a second time because the Prime Minister has introduced it. In my opinion, we ought to put aside all considerations of personal admiration for the right hon. Gentleman, and should examine the measure before us, and see whether its provisions are such as are calculated to tend to the good government of Ireland in the present, and to the improvement of the relations between the two countries in the future. I know of half-a-dozen, or a dozen, hon. Members who are going to support the second reading of the Bill merely on the ground of their personal admiration of the right hon. Gentleman. [*Cries of* "Name!"] It appears to afford some amusement to hon. Members to cry "Name!" whenever reference is made to any individual Members; but I do not intend to give any names, and shall content myself by adhering to my statement. In my opinion, it is a bad thing to vote merely on the ground of personal admiration. I, for one, cannot accept the infallibility of either Pope or Premier. Hon. Members are sent to this House to exercise their judgment on matters that are brought before them. I say it, and say it unhesitatingly, that every Member of Parliament should only vote on his own personal responsibility, and not on account of his personal admiration for the right hon. Gentleman. He is not sent here as a mere voting machine simply to register the decrees of the right hon. Gentleman. That is an unworthy position, which I, for one, cannot accept. The Secretary of State for War (Mr. Campbell-Bannerman) told us the other day that the Irish Members were to return to this House upon certain specified conditions; but it appears to me that the way in which that plan has been sketched out would only make matters worse. The majority, for instance, might support certain financial arrangements in order to carry out which the presence of the Irish Members would be necessary. They are summoned to attend at Westminster; they disapprove of the financial arrangements submitted to them; they turn the majority into a minority, and the Ministry would disappear owing to the momentary presence of the Irish Members. On the other hand, I infer that naval and military matters would be settled by the Imperial Parliament without the Irish Members being personally consulted. But the Irish Parliament, as I have pointed out, might legislate upon forbidden subjects, and great danger would immediately arise. I, for one, have no desire to see these dangers arise. I am not opposed to any reasonable and fair arrangement which would afford to the Irish people a greater opportunity of deciding with regard to their own affairs; but I do not wish to be a consenting party to any plan which would be likely to create increased difficulties between England and Ireland, and lead to further demands which would culminate in the separation of the two countries. We are told that if this Bill is not passed we are incurring grave responsibilities. I admit it. But hon. Members who vote for it are also incurring grave responsibilities. It has been said that if this Bill is rejected murders and outrages will follow in Ireland. What I say is that it is for the hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell) and his followers, who have shown for months past that they are able to put a stop to outrages, and to keep the country in order, and who have done themselves credit by the course they have pursued—it is for them to persuade the Irish people to continue their present pacific attitude, and to convince them that outrage and murder are no arguments. I am quite satisfied that they are much more likely to alienate the English people by encouraging outrage and disturbance than by doing their best sternly to repress them; and I trust that, whatever the result of the division upon this Bill may be, the Irish Members will take care that there shall be no disorder in their country. There are only one or two other points upon which I desire to say a word. We have been told that the relations of the Liberal Party to the Irish are different from what they were. ["Divide!"] I have not troubled hon. Members very long; and when I remember that nearly every Irish Member who has addressed the House has spoken for at least an hour and a-half, and some of them for more than two hours, I do not think it is unreasonable for an English Member to speak for half-an-hour. What I was about to say was that the hon. Member who spoke just now said that the Bill had been prepared in haste. My hon. Friend the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Mr. Bryce), who made an admirable speech in support of the Bill the other night, asked us how we could expect the Bill to be anything like perfect seeing that it had been prepared in such a hurry. That is true; for it is not to be expected that a scheme for a Constitution drawn up in a few weeks should be perfect, when the British Constitution, which has taken centuries to develop, is still full of imperfections. But that is all the more reason why the Bill should not be pressed forward now, and why a second reading vote should not be forced upon us on a Bill which is not before the House, because it is admitted that the present Bill is not to be prosecuted further. [Mr. W. E. GLADSTONE: No.] It is admitted that the present Bill will not be proceeded with, but that another measure will be brought in in the autumn. [Mr. W. E. GLADSTONE: No.] Then, if it is the same Bill, it is the Bill with a great many modifications. The Bill in every clause will require numerous modifications; and, therefore, I say that we ought not to be asked to vote for the second reading of a measure which, to a great extent, contains within itself nothing that is likely to pass into law. We are asked to vote for the Bill simply because it contains some clauses of which hon. Members opposite may approve, but which it is admitted by my hon. Friends around me are only to form the basis of future legislation. I maintain that there is no precedent for asking the House to vote for the second reading of a Bill of this kind, when we know that the greater part of it is to be altered hereafter. I cannot for the life of me understand what the object of Her Majesty's Government is. It certainly appears to be much more like Constitution mongering than Constitution making. We are told that it is merely to be an acknowledgment of the right of Ireland to autonomy. If hon. Members want autonomy I am ready to give them a substantial change; but I want to know, in the first place, not only what is to be done in regard to Irish questions, but in regard to English questions also? As far as they are concerned, is it their desire not only to secure autonomy for themselves, but to provide autonomy for us also? It is to be regretted that there should be this great difference among Members of the Liberal Party, not only in the House, but all over the country; but it is admitted that the Bill will have to be materially altered, and that it will only pass a second reading in a reluctant House of Commons in order to secure a Ministerial triumph. Whether the second reading is carried or defeated by some half-dozen votes I say the result will be the same. Hon. Members talk about a Dissolution. I do not think that signifies an atom. But we are asked to vote for this Bill, and are told that it is to take the place of a Resolution. That is altogether contrary to Parliamentary precedent, and the Government should give up the Bill, and, if desired, pass a Resolution. The Bill does not accomplish the object which the Government have in view, and there can be no reason for proceeding with it. I would, therefore, venture to make an urgent appeal to the Prime Minister to reconsider his decision, not only in the interest of the Government but in the interest of the Liberal Party. Is it not possible to take a more common-sense course? Is it not possible to take the Conservative Party into counsel? I can give an example of what I mean. We remember the fight that used to take place over the question of Reform. But what did the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister do two years ago? He met the Heads of the Conservative Party, and the result was the two great measures which now stand upon the Statute Book. That was a great precedent once set by the right hon. Gentleman, and why should not the same course be followed now? What I contend is that nothing will be gained by pressing the Bill forward now. The only result is the division of the Liberal Party, followed by disasters to the Government hereafter. Therefore, I hope we shall not be asked to go to a second reading. Hon. Members opposite would lose nothing by displaying a spirit of moderation in the matter. I, for one, have always entertained the highest respect for the hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell), perhaps more for the patient and eloquent speeches which he has delivered in this House than for hose he has delivered out-of-doors, which have not always been as patient or as loyal. I desire to meet as fairly as possible the views of hon. Members opposite. Whatever the result of this division may be—whether we are sent to the country or not—I consider it the duty of every Member, regardless of being returned again or not, to vote against the Bill if he thinks it a bad Bill, and for it if he thinks it a good Bill. I am sure the right hon. Gentleman will feel that, not only do we owe him loyalty as our Leader, but that he owes us loyalty for having faithfully followed him for years past, and he will be convinced that it is our first desire to heal the wound which has temporarily separated the Liberal Party. What I have said has not been said in any spirit of cavil, or any desire to attack the right hon. Gentleman. No one can entertain a higher sense of the great public services of the right hon. Gentleman; but I am satisfied that the Bill, as it stands, will not accomplish the object he has in view, and therefore I find it impossible to vote for the second reading.

The CHIEF SECRETARY for IRELAND (Mr. John Morley) (Newcastle-on-Tyne): Mr. Speaker, I am quite sure that my hon. Friend who has just sat down is not animated by any spirit of cavil. The only fault which I should venture to find in his speech is, that I am quite unable to discover the drift of his argument, or to see any thread of argument running through that speech at all. There were a number of interesting but exceedingly desultory remarks as to the history of the Liberal Party; what it was in 1880, and sundry other matters. But I think my hon. Friend gave the House very few reasons—if, indeed, he adduced any reasons at all—for the course he is about to take. My hon. Friend did not even to the last inform the House what course he is about to take. ["Oh!"] If hon. Gentlemen opposite have been able to discover it, they are certainly more clear-sighted than I am. My hon. Friend proposed a course to which, if the conditions were favourable, I, for one, should have no objection. He proposed that there should be an understanding arrived at between ourselves and right hon. Gentlemen opposite; but in order to bring about a satisfactory result there must be some consensus of opinion as to the end, and as to the means, as there was in the case of the Redistribution Bill, to which my hon. Friend referred. But, so far from there being any consensus of opinion in the present case, there is a very deep and clear opposition. I do not understand altogether what are the lines of opposition which separate us from our Friends; but I understand quite clearly the line of opposition which divides us from right hon. Gentlemen opposite. Do my hon. Friends below the Gangway think any *modus vivendi* can be found between us and hon. Gentlemen opposite, who are in favour of 20 years of coercion for Ireland? [*Cries of* "No!" *and* "Withdraw!"] I will withdraw that imputation as soon as I hear one single right hon. Gentleman on that Bench disavow what the Marquess of Salisbury has said. My hon. Friend said he was at a loss to know the basis upon which Liberal Associations in the country were sending up resolutions of remonstrance to Members who are going to vote against their Party.

SIR JULIAN GOLDSMID (St. Pancras, S.): I did not say that. What I said was that the Liberal Associations in the country admitted that they did not approve of the Bill — ["*Cries of* "No!"]—because they only said that the Bill contained the basis of future legislation.

MR. JOHN MORLEY: At all events, whatever else the Liberal Associations in the country which send up resolutions mean, they mean that Liberal Members are to vote, if they possibly can, for the second reading of the Bill. Now, Sir, I am the last person in the world to give any support or favour to any of those practices of ostracism of which my hon. Friend complained. I think this is a very grave and serious issue. I think it is an issue on which we all of us ought to listen to the voice of those who dissent from us with the utmost tolerance and consideration. But when my hon. Friend said that it was we who are the seceders I cannot admit that. I cannot admit that when we find, at all events, putting it at the very lowest, two-thirds of the Party, and after all one who is the Leader of the Party, on our side—I cannot admit that we can be fairly described as the seceders. If we are to speak of ostracism, I have seen it reported in the newspapers that my right hon. Friend the Member for East Edinburgh (Mr. Goschen) made some remarks at the meeting at Devonshire House as to the value and duty of using the long purse against those who did not agree with the views of that meeting. I think, therefore, it is we rather who may complain of being ostracized, and ostracized, not by arguments, but by a long purse.

Now, Sir, before the speech of my hon. Friend who has just sat down, there was another hon. Friend of mine who made a more interesting and serious speech protesting against our Bill—I mean the hon. Member for the Cirencester Division of Gloucestershire (Mr. Winterbotham). Every portion of that speech showed that my hon. Friend was speaking from honest and straightforward conviction. But when I come to examine in the light of that speech my hon. Friend's position, I confess that I am at a loss to understand it. My hon. Friend said that destructive criticism was very easy, and that constructive criticism was less easy. I am afraid I must say that my hon. Friend's speech illustrated that proposition. He made two suggestions towards constructive criticism. One was that you were to give the English democracy a chance. This may be constructive, but it is vague. The other was that you were not to have a coercion policy. He expressed, in language which I greatly admired, a sentiment with which I entirely sympathized—that he wished to dissociate himself from coercion. That was his second attempt at constructive criticism. Well, but then which Party is my hon. Friend going to support by the vote that he is about to give? The effect of his vote, whatever the design of it may be, will be, if the country ratifies it, to instal in power the Coercion Party. [*Opposition cries of* "No!"] Another difficulty I have in understanding my hon. Friend's position is that he expressed his willingness to vote for a Resolution which should affirm the principle of self-government and Home Rule for Ireland; and yet, in the same speech, within a few sentences of that proposition, my hon. Friend went on to say that he, for his part, was not for going one inch beyond some small and moderate measure of local self-government. [Mr. WINTERBOTHAM dissented.] Now, Sir, I want my hon. Friend, and those who agree with him, to ask themselves where their action is going to land them, and whither it leads them? My hon. Friend does not agree with the policy of the Party opposite. He agrees with us so far as to be willing to affirm the principle of Home Rule for Ireland. He dissents from the right hon. Member for West Birmingham (Mr. Chamberlain), because, he says, he will not go further than to give to Ireland some small measure of local self-government. But when his vote has taken effect, where will he be? Will any one of the conditions he has laid down be satisfied? I think he will find that he is completely baulked; and all who think with him, and who vote as he says he will vote, will find themselves baulked, and all their calculations baffled and thrown out.

My hon. Friend, in his speech, illustrated a great number of what I must venture to call the sophisms and fallacies which have gone through this debate. He seemed to think—as many other hon. Members who have spoken seem to think—that when we say we are in the midst of a crisis we mean that it is some mere Parliamentary, Party, or political crisis. I mean, when I say we are in a crisis something much more, much deeper, and much wider than that. I am quite sure that hon. Gentlemen opposite — those who know most of Ireland—will be most willing to agree with me in my estimate of the gravity and magnitude of the crisis. I was rather surprised to hear my noble Friend the Member for Rossendale (the Marquess of Hartington) say that the power of the hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell) was far inferior to the power possessed by Mr. O'Connell, and that the movement of O'Connell reached national proportions and raised national enthusiasm far beyond anything reached by the hon. Member for the City of Cork. The noble Lord opposite (Lord Randolph Churchill), too, in his speech, said that no Irish political Party has ever held long together, and he illustrated that by the Party of O'Connell. He said that O'Connell's Party broke to pieces and melted away. Well, Sir, I am amazed that two noble Lords, who have both of them exceptional knowledge of Ireland and of the condition of Ireland, should suppose that there is any analogy whatever between the position of O'Connell and the position of the hon. Member for the City of Cork. Why, in Mr. O'Connell's time the whole apparatus and machinery of Protestant ascendancy was absolute and complete. The Protestant Establishment reared its head as the symbol of that ascendancy. The power of the landlords in those days was absolute and undisputed. The whole number of the voters of Ireland, in a population of something like 8,000,000 in O'Connell's time, after the passing of the Reform Bill, was 150,000. But now, Sir, the whole scene has been transformed. Gentlemen from Ulster sitting opposite to me may differ from us as to the cause and as to the cure; but they will not differ from me when I say that there has come over the scene a complete transformation since the days of O'Connell. All that was then weakest is now strongest, and what was then omnipotent over the destinies of the people of Ireland is now trying to save what remains of the shreds of its power. The Ecclesiastical Establishment is gone. The landlords are no longer above the law, and the tenants are no longer serfs without rights. Where you had, in O'Connell's time, a constituency of 150,000 out of a population of 8,000,000, you have now nearly 750,000 voters in a population of less than 5,000,000. Again, in O'Connell's time the tenant voted under the eye—the vigilant eye—of the agent; he is now free by the Ballot to vote as he pleases. There is one more important change than any which has come over the political condition of Ireland and her political relations with

England. Mr. O'Connell died in the spring of 1847. That was the era of the famine. The famine was followed by the great emigration and the wholesale evictions—one of the most monstrous chapters in the history of any modern society, and a chapter of which we have not yet come to the last page. I have heard a great deal of talk in this debate about the "dismemberment of the Empire." There, Sir, was a true dismemberment of the Empire—a dispersion of the population of the country, which planted in every quarter of the globe an enemy to your rule. That is the most important of all the changes, because the growth of an Ireland across the seas has given to the Irish people at home a self-confidence and a moral power and a command of material resources of which O'Connell never dreamed. On that account, Sir, I confess I am dismayed and surprised that my noble Friend the Member for Rossendale (the Marquess of Hartington), who has played and must play so important a part in the settlement of this great question, should so ignore the change that has come over the relations between England and Ireland. My hon. Friend the Member for Cirencester (Mr. Winterbotham) said he was in favour of giving to Ireland some small measure of local self-government. Well, that will dissociate my hon. Friend from my right hon. Friend the Member for West Birmingham (Mr. Chamberlain).

MR. WINTERBOTHAM (Gloucester, Cirencester): I did not say a small measure; I said a generous and liberal measure of local self-government.

MR. JOHN MORLEY: Very good; a generous and liberal measure of local self-government, but still a purely local self-government. ["Hear, hear!"] Hon. Gentlemen opposite say "Hear, hear!" Now, they will not, I dare say, regard an argument from me; but perhaps they will listen to something said not many months ago by that very eminent and illustrious man, the Leader of their Party. Sir, the Marquess of Salisbury, speaking at Newport, made some remarks which I have always thought extremely wise and sensible, and I will venture to read them for the benefit of some of his followers. The Marquess of Salisbury said—

> "A Local Authority is more exposed to the temptations, and has more facility for enabling a majority to be unjust to the minority than is the case when the authority derives its sanction and extends its jurisdiction over a wide area. That is one of the weaknesses of Local Authority. In a large Central Authority the wisdom of several parts of the country will correct the folly or mistake of one. In a Local Authority that correction to a much greater extent is wanting, and it would be impossible to leave that out of sight in the extension of any such Local Authority in Ireland."

Now, I think that is a sound and statesmanlike view, and it expresses the reasons why I, for one, am convinced that you will do more harm than good to the objects you are professing to serve if you extend popular power in small local areas, instead of ventilating the whole mine from the top to the bottom, erecting a large Central Authority with full powers, wide knowledge, and large responsibilities. I hope that I have not in any way forced the Marquess of Salisbury's meaning; but I know not what other construction to put upon his words.

We have had already in Ireland a very considerable experience of the working of small Local Authorities, and I must point out to hon. Gentlemen on both sides of the House who are taken in by the phrase that all you have to do is to "govern Ireland"—I must point out that you do not govern a country with free institutions merely by Civil Courts, by the tax collector, and by the constable. You govern a country by the agency of institutions which have now broken in your hands for the purposes of government. The institution of trial by jury is one of those institutions which in this country we find of the utmost value; but trial by jury does not facilitate the work of the Government in Ireland. It does not make government easier in Ireland. I am not going to labour that subject; but I will read a word or two from the Report of the Committee of the House of Lords which sat in 1881. That Committee reported about Irish juries—

> "Men of higher social position than the ordinary juries are, as a rule, disinclined to take their burden of service, and frequently avoid it. They will submit to the infliction of a small fine, or the chance of incurring a large one, sooner than associate with the class of men who serve as common jurors."

It may be said that this is due to intimidation, and that if we had accepted your policy of January 26, and suppressed the National League, the juries would have done their duty. ["Hear,

hear!"] Let hon. Gentlemen who say "Hear, hear!" listen to the opinion of the Committee of the House of Lords on that point. They state—

> "That the sympathy of the jurors, belonging as they do almost entirely to the farming class, in all trials relating to land renders intimidation superfluous."

Therefore, if you had suppressed the National League, and had put an end to the intimidation it is supposed to exercise, you would not have made trial by jury one atom more effective as an instrument of government in your hands. Even if you abolish trial by jury, to which my hon. Friend the Member for Cirencester (Mr. Winterbotham), for example, rather seemed to give his assent, you would not make government in Ireland any easier, because you would not find it any easier to get evidence. I may here mention a little incident which occurred to me some time back. When I was in Ireland three or four years ago, I was in a district in the South where a dreadful murder had taken place, and I chanced to meet the magistrate who was investigating the case. I said to him—"I suppose you will not find anything out," and he said—"Probably not for a long time." This magistrate by chance came to see me officially the other day, and I reminded him of the circumstances under which we had last met, and I said—"By the way, you never found out who perpetrated such and such a murder." He said—"Oh, yes; we know perfectly well who committed the murder; we know the men, but we cannot get one jot of evidence to justify a prosecution and lead to a successful conviction." Now, when hon. Gentlemen talk of governing Ireland through such institutions as prevail here and in other civilized countries, I say how can you do it when the whole feeling of the country is against your government? So much for juries. Take Boards of Guardians. My hon. Friend will say that he is in favour of extending the powers of Boards of Guardians, Town Councils, and Local Boards. Well, I am not going to quote any more from Blue Books; but there is a Blue Book in existence giving an account of what a Lords Committee did in 1885, and that Committee, having had the evidence before it, reported that the Local Authorities are constantly turning off efficient officers who are not of their way of thinking; men of education and position will not attend, because their companions are not to their taste; the relief given, it is said, is on an extravagant scale; and finally—and this I know from my own personal experience—the Local Government Board have very little of that guiding authority which is possessed by the corresponding Board in England, because in Ireland it is associated with an unpopular system of government. To sum up, I say that, whether you look at Town Councils, Boards of Guardians, or Local Boards, the case is always the same. You find the whole set of arrangements based on the principle of popular consent; on the principle that you are governing by the consent of the population. But the frame of mind of the population is not one of consent, and that vitiates the working of the whole of your system and baffles all your calculations.

Another remedy which some Gentlemen on both sides of the House look to as a substitute for our measure and our policy is improvement in administration. On that I will say very little. It is admitted by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham (Mr. J. Chamberlain) that the system of administration in Ireland is as bureaucratic as that which prevailed in old times in Venice under Austria, and in Poland under Russia. The noble Marquess the Member for Rossendale (the Marquess of Hartington) goes on the same tack, and admits that the system popularly known as Central Government in Ireland is not the best that could be desired concurrently with Legislative Union between the two countries; and though my noble Friend is not ready to say in what direction and in what manner they are to be revised, he is ready to admit that there are a great many reforms necessary. It would be unbecoming in me to say anything against what is known as the Castle Administration; but my noble Friend, who has had many years' experience of Irish Government, admits that reforms in the administration are indispensable. But I should like to understand rather more clearly from the noble Marquess and the right hon. Gentleman how they are going to bring about these reforms. How did we improve our own administration in Great Britain and give virtue to our own

Executive? Why, by making it responsible to the Representatives of the people, and as that responsibility has grown closer and more direct, so has your administration grown purer and more Liberal, more enlightened, and more active. But this is exactly what you refuse to do in Ireland. You say that you will not make the Irish Administration in any real degree responsible to the Irish people. I am certain that without an Irish Legislature and an Irish Executive it never can be more responsible in the future than it has been in the past. The hon. Member for Preston (Mr. Hanbury), in a strong and very interesting speech, said—"Why do you not try to get an Irish Member for Chief Secretary?" And in an article attributed to the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham (Mr. J. Chamberlain)—though I am rather chary of imputing articles to him after his disclaimers — still, I imagine that I recognize his style—in an article attributed to him no later than February last it was said—"Why do you not ask the hon. Member for the City of Cork to be Chief Secretary?" I do not deny that there are many Irish Members who might be perfectly competent to undertake the rather arduous post of Chief Secretary; but there are two difficulties in the way of making the hon. Member for the City of Cork Chief Secretary. The first is, that you could not get either him or any one of his Colleagues to take the post—I mean to take the post with the existing system of Government. The second is, that if the hon. Member for the City of Cork were to take the post with the existing system of Government, his influence would at once vanish into thin air. No, Sir; I, for one, have no faith in any of those great administrative improvements which both my right hon. Friend the Member for West Birmingham (Mr. J. Chamberlain) and the noble Marquess the Member for Rossendale (the Marquess of Hartington) admit to be indispensable and urgently necessary. I have no faith either in improvements being effected by a Government which, if it were formed by my noble Friend the Member for Rossendale, would not have one single Irish Member in its ranks, and which would lean entirely on Irish Members above the Gangway, who, so far as I have observed, are against any decent reform in Irish administration.

My hon. Friend the Member for St. Pancras (Sir Julian Goldsmid) who has just sat down made a remark which I should like to notice. He said—"Why do you bring in a Land Bill, and why have you declared legislation upon land to be inseparable from legislation upon government?" Many hon. Members in the course of the debate have said that this policy implies a radical misgiving of the probity of the proposed Irish Legislative Body. Well, I only wish to make one remark on that observation. We have proposed a resort on a large scale to the use of British credit, not in order merely to buy out the Irish landlords. We know all that is to be said against the claims of the Irish landlords to be bought out. But there is another side to this question. There is another base to this part of our policy. In buying out the Irish landlords you are, by the same process, making the present occupier into his own landlord, and those who help to pay this sum of which my hon. Friend complains will get something for their money. The tenants will pay some 20 or 30 per cent less than their present rent, and as each year goes by they will come nearer and nearer to the time when the land will be their own, and when they will pay no rent at all. Our motive in this is a political motive, and not a motive of particular tenderness to the landlords. You must have in the peasantry of Ireland—it is downright indispensable — a class who are interested in the maintenance of order, and who will have some reason—which, unfortunately, hitherto they have not had—to rally round the institutions of the country. I was surprised to hear an hon. Gentleman in that quarter of the House cheer the hon. Member for St. Pancras (Sir Julian Goldsmid) when he said he was against the Land Bill. It showed a sagacity and perspicuity equalled by the fact I have heard mentioned, that at a great meeting held in the Rotunda at Dublin by the Loyal and Patriotic Union, or some such Body, the name of the right hon. Member for West Birmingham (Mr. J. Chamberlain) was received, as anywhere else it might deserve to be, with the wildest enthusiasm. Hon. Gentlemen opposite who represent the interests of the Irish landlords cannot be well advised in the bestowal of their applause when they cheer Gentlemen who speak against the Land Bill from this side of the House.

I have only a word to say on the advice which the hon. Member who has just sat down has given to us as to the course we ought to take in reference to this Bill. But before coming to that point I should like to notice one or two very slight questions which have been raised in the course of the debate. One favourite argument and topic which certainly surprised me enormously was that one great flaw which has been discovered in this Bill is that it will lead to the degradation of the Irish people. [" Hear, hear ! "] Gentlemen who say " Hear, hear!" must have their own ideas of degradation. For my part, I should think my country was a great deal more degraded by being subjected to 20 years of coercion. [" Oh ! "] I really am amazed to see this jealous resentment against the degradation of Ireland from Gentlemen who propose to govern Ireland by force and against her will. [Sir ROBERT FOWLER: No.] Why, you surely cannot deny that you intend to govern her by force and against her will for 20 years? [Sir ROBERT FOWLER: No.] The hon. Baronet says "No," and I have no doubt he means it. [Sir ROBERT FOWLER: Hear, hear!] If you are not going to govern her against her will, are you going to govern her by her will? The hon. Baronet says that is another proposition. The hon. Baronet, who has governed a population nearly as large as that of Ireland before now, maintains the extraordinary proposition that he is going to govern Ireland neither with her will nor against her will. Seriously, is it not a farce for you to pretend to be so jealous of the degradation of Ireland, when you are prepared—when you were prepared, on January 26, to embark upon a policy which would have meant the gagging of newspapers, the suppression of public meetings, and the imprisonment, pretty nearly at random, of as many citizens as you cared to lay your hands on. I cannot understand why hon. Gentlemen opposite should be so anxious to disown the policy of their Leaders. There is another word I should like to say about degradation. A very curious and novel idea has come into our politics, chiefly from that quarter of the House—I mean the astonishing assumption that nothing can be so interesting to the people of the country as foreign and Colonial affairs. That which elevates and dignifies a citizen, it appears, is not solicitude for the interests and concerns of the land which gave him birth and of the people who are his fellow-citizens, but rather the consideration of the concerns of all other countries of the world except his own. Just as if the peasants of Norway, or Sweden, or Switzerland are degraded and unmanly because they are not always meddling with foreign affairs. If we had been wise enough to spare for Ireland a fraction of the attention and the vigilance and treasure which we have lavished on Egypt and on half the world besides, Ireland might to-day have been a support to us instead of being a torment. If the Irish Parliament is content to give all its time and all its mind to the affairs of Ireland, to the improvement of the condition of the cultivation of the soil, to the supply of better dwellings, purer water, and fresher air, we on this side of the House, so far from looking down upon their statesmanship as degrading, will feel it to be in the highest degree patriotic and wise, and perhaps containing an uncommonly useful lesson to ourselves.

Very much has been said as to what the Irish Legislative Body will be like. There have been many gloomy prophecies made as to what the Irish Legislative Body will do. It has been assumed—and this is the basis of half the arguments against the Bill—that the Irish Parliament will become the home of what the Americans call " wild cat schemes." Mr. Grattan said of the English government of Ireland that it was as if the English Government went to hell for their principles and to Bedlam for their discretion. [" Hear, hear ! " *from the Opposition Benches.*] Hon Gentlemen cheer even that. I do not believe that that description, which may, or may not, have been true of English policy towards Ireland in the last century, is a true description of what the Irish Parliament is likely to be. I do not believe there is any reason to anticipate the prevalence of a single idea in the Irish Parliament which you are not likely to hear in our own Parliament. There are very few ideas, indeed, expressed on Wednesday afternoons by hon. Gentlemen opposite which are not echoed by hon. Members below the Gangway on this side of the House. What are the ideas of which hon. Members opposite are so much afraid? Is it a graduated Income Tax? We have an eminent and powerful authority on these Benches for that. Are you afraid of electing Judges for short terms? That is an idea I do not approve. But when I know that it is the practice in most States in America, though I think the idea a bad one, still it does not fill me with alarm; and I am not going to refuse to the Irish Parliament the right of considering a principle of that kind. Then, as to education. Some fears have been expressed by my hon. Friend the Member for Bath (Mr. Wodehouse) on that score. Now, I contend that the reason why the great education controversy has not gone along the regular European lines in Ireland is exactly because the disturbing element of nationality and of the national controversy has drawn men's opinions away from it. I say that the very means of drawing out the Liberal forces which are to be found in every Catholic country in the West of Europe, except Ireland, with respect to education are the removal of this disturbing political element. Why is it—and this is a consideration which hon. Members opposite may appreciate—why is it that in Ireland alone of all Catholic countries in Western Europe the authority of the clergy in education is undisputed? In every other Catholic country—in Belgium, in France, in Italy—there is a struggle between clergy and laity for the possession of the schools and Colleges; and so in Ireland, were this national controversy at an end, the cause of education would gain by the free play of rival theories and competing intellectual forces.

There has also been felt some alarm, of which the right hon. Gentleman the Member for East Edinburgh (Mr. Goschen) is a powerful exponent, lest dangerous economic ideas should find favour in Ireland. Well, Sir, I know, during the short time that I have been President of the Local Government Board in Ireland, I have had plenty of opportunity of coming in contact with those bad economic ideas. I have observed the deplorable tendency in the criticism of the Poor Law administration in Ireland to denounce economic common sense as the routine of hard-hearted officialism, and to abuse the inexorable nature of things as red tape. But who has taught—and I invite the attention of my right hon. Friend to this—who has taught the Irish people the evil lesson of mendicancy instead of self-reliance? It is we who have taught them this lesson; because we have been incessantly trying to bolster up the most monstrous system of land tenure the world has ever seen, by national subsidies and alms, and to appease discontent with the political system by a lavish administration of bribes and sops. These are the things which have demoralized the economic ideas; and I am afraid that if right hon. Gentlemen opposite come into power, besides the evil they will do by their repressive policy, they will do quite as much evil in another way. Lord Salisbury said that—

> "The duty of the Government is to devote its energies to the amelioration of the condition of the people—their amelioration materially as well as morally—to do all that is possible to stimulate their education and increase their culture, to do all that can be done to make their industry easy, to open the paths of prosperity to them."

Those are very admirable words. These things have to be done; moral and material condition has to be ameliorated; education has to be stimulated; culture has to be increased; but if you are to insist upon doing this yourselves instead of letting the Irish Leaders, whoever they may prove to be, do it, you will have to pay for it by more bribes and subsidies, and that economical demoralization which so many fear from an Irish Parliament will, in effect, be brought about by the absence of an Irish Parliament.

I only mention one more argument of which I have heard a great deal in this debate. My hon. Friend the Member for Cirencester (Mr. Winterbotham) said — and we have heard it, I suppose, 100 times — that, whatever else we ought to do, we ought to be sure that we erect a system of government in Ireland which will be capable equally of application to Scotland, England, and Wales. My right hon. Friend the Member for East Edinburgh also said that one cardinal point ought to lie at the basis of our schemes—namely, that they ought to be equally applicable to the three countries. But, Sir, we have never kept to the principle of identity in our institutions. The diversity of political constitution within the British Empire has been the secret of our political success. You have got a beneficent despotism in India; in the Colonies you have got representative government, responsible government, direct Crown government; while in Canada you have a Dominion of Confederated States. I repeat that this splendid flexibility and variety has been the very secret of your success and stability. There is one place, Sir, and one place only, where you have failed, and that is the place where you have jealously insisted on forcing an English religion and Church, an English land system, and English ideas of education and administration upon a people who have never assimilated themselves to you, who have never been incorporated with our system. The history of Ireland, Sir, is utterly different from the history of England; the religion of the mass of the population is wholly different; the whole attitude of the population is different; the relations of classes are different. In the face of all this it is absurd to contend that if a certain measure is large and good enough for England, Scotland, and Wales, it must necessarily be large and good enough for a country which does not in the least degree resemble England, Scotland, or Wales. Here, again, I conclude this topic with a quotation from a statesman whom, I suppose, hon. Gentlemen opposite will accept as an authority. Mr. Disraeli said that—

> "Justice to Ireland is said to mean an identity of institutions with England. I believe that to be the greatest fallacy that can be brought forward. I have always thought that the greatest cause of misery in Ireland was an identity of Institutions with England, and I venture to lay down as a principle that the government of Ireland should be on a system the reverse of that of England."

I cannot say that I follow the Earl of Beaconsfield so far as that; but I think that in these remarks he hits the cardinal point in the situation.

Now, with the permission of the House, although the hour is late (12.30), I should like to say a word or two as to the position in which we stand from a Parliamentary point of view. A good deal has been said as to what would be the meaning of a vote for the second reading of this Bill. At the meeting at the Foreign Office my right hon. Friend at the head of the Government quoted the opinion of the statesman whom I have just referred to. The Earl of Beaconsfield said—

> "I understand that by assenting to the second reading of the Bill I assent to its principle; and I look upon the principle of the Bill before the House (the Irish Land Bill) to be an amendment of the law regarding the occupation and the ownership of land in Ireland."

But we have a more recent authority than that as to the sound interpretation of a vote for a second reading. On the 13th of last month, when the Church Patronage Bill, brought in by the Archbishop of Canterbury, was before the House of Lords, the Marquess of Salisbury said—

> "We cannot be held, in assenting to the second reading, to do more than accept the general principle, that this House is willing to remove the evils against which the Bill is framed."—(3 *Hansard*, [305] 892.)

That is the Marquess of Salisbury's doctrine as to the significance of a vote on the second reading. Now, we do not put it so widely as that. We put the significance of a vote on the second reading on the present occasion much more distinctly than it is put in the Marquess of Salisbury's proposition. We quite admit that nobody can be expected to vote with us on Monday, who, in the Marquess of Salisbury's words, merely wishes to remove the evils against which the Bill is framed. We expect nobody to vote with us who does not go a step further than that, and who does not agree with us, not only in the wish to remove evils affecting social order in Ireland, but also in thinking that there is only one principle on which any attempt to remove those evils can be made with any hope of success. That principle was stated by my right hon Friend the Prime Minister, in words which have been often quoted, to be the creation of a Statutory Body in Dublin with legislative powers to deal with all affairs specifically and exclusively Irish. Now, the argument of my hon. Friend (Mr. Winterbotham) is that if we had only proceeded by Resolution he would have voted for that Resolution, and that all would have been well. Why did we not proceed by way of Resolution? Because it was indispensable that in raising this question and facing this problem, you should also see that we were prepared with a plan for carrying it out. It was indispensable that any body of men in authority, with the least sense of responsibility, should bring their Resolution to a point by raising their question in the form of a Bill. We have raised all the difficulties that are contained in the settlement of the Irish Question. We anticipated all the criticisms to which we have been exposed; but I am sure that we do not in the least degree regret the course we have taken. On the contrary, we look back with the greatest satisfaction on having taken the course we have. That course has shown us where the difficulties are, and where differences arise among men who agree in the general principle of establishing a Legislative Body in Dublin as the true remedy for the evils and embarrassments of the present state of things. We were persuaded that to proceed by way of Bill and not by Resolution was the right and only justifiable course. We never expected to win the battle at a blow. We never expected to carry the measure by a rush, and without modification. Discussion and deliberation have had the effect which we expected and designed, in lighting up disputed and disputable points. Public opinion—one of the most important elements in the matter—the public opinion of England and of Ireland—has been developed and expressed. There are certain leading provisions of the Bill as to which in no case could we have consented, nor could we consent, to surrender our deliberate and carefully-formed judgment, even if public feeling itself should ultimately be found to go against us. But there are many other provisions in respect of which public opinion both in England and Ireland might very properly be taken as a decisive guide; and my right hon. Friend the Prime Minister mentioned two or three of these at the meeting at the Foreign Office. But he did not limit the possible modifications and amendments to those which he, on that occasion, specified and described—

> "Of course," he said, "we shall have the advantage of considering any other improvement that might appear useful; and it is very possible that that might aid in carrying out the principle and the purpose of the Bill, and its main outlines, from which I cannot hold out any expectation of our departing."

Now, Sir, nothing has been said since by my right hon. Friend, or any other responsible Member of the Government, to affect that declaration in the very slightest degree. Whether in the interval of time between now and the autumn, or in Committee, we shall be, as we have been all along, willing to consider—anxious to consider—any proposal or suggestion, provided that it does not violate either of the two conditions which my right hon. Friend mentioned on that occasion—first, that that modification and proposal shall not introduce anarchy and confusion into the working of this Parliament; and, secondly, that no modification shall be proposed and accepted which interferes with the real and substantial liberty and power of the Legislative Body in Dublin. Sir, the hon. Member who spoke first to-night enumerated with perfect correctness the five conditions which my right hon. Friend has, on more than one occasion, specified as setting limits to these modifications. I need not recapitulate them, because they have often been heard in this House, and are familiar to all hon. Members. I only wish to say that, when my right hon. Friend the Member for West Birmingham (Mr. J. Chamberlain) says—if I represent him rightly—that the Prime Minister will have a right to hold any Member who votes for the second reading of this Bill on the understanding, which I have just now repeated, honourably bound to vote for the Bill when it is re-introduced, I contend that my right hon. Friend puts an interpretation on the Prime Minister's words and position which his words and position do not fairly bear. To vote for the second reading of the Bill is to vote for the principle of an autonomous Legislature for dealing with specifically Irish affairs. We do not propose—we are not going to propose—a brand new Bill, or the present Bill turned inside out. I do not think that those who have supported us so far would respect us if we did. But we deny the contention that voting for this Bill on Monday means more than voting for a Legislature in Ireland, because, as we contend, the Bill, which is ultimately going to be produced in the autumn, may contain some modifications, and some different provisions. I hope that those who are in the frame of mind of the hon. Member for Cirencester (Mr. Winterbotham) will think very seriously before they give their vote. We are told that many hon.

thought it would have occurred to my hon. Friend as right that the improvements should be suitable to the holding, because it would be very unjust in fixing the rent to raise the rent in regard to improvements, if they did not really improve the holding to the incoming tenant. There may have been injudicious and improvident expenditure upon improvements, as there is sometimes. I am sure no one would ever desire that the rent should be lowered because improvements have been made which are unsuitable to the holding.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Page 4, line 1, leave out ("Land") and insert ("Crofters"); line 4, leave out ("Land") and insert ("Crofters"); line 7, leave out ("Land") and insert ("Crofters"), and leave out ("judicially"); line 9, leave out ("in") and insert ("at"); line 14, leave out ("Land") and insert ("Crofters"); line 15, leave out ("Land") and insert ("Crofters"); line 21, leave out ("Land") and insert ("Crofters"); line 27, leave out ("whole") and insert ("one payment"); page 5, line 16, after ("improvements") insert—

("The provisions of the preceding section and of this section shall not apply to any buildings erected by a crofter or a cottar in violation of any interdict or other judicial order.")

Motion made, and Question, "That this House doth agree with the Lords in the said Amendments," — (*The Lord Advocate,*)—put, and *agreed to.*

Page 5, line 27, after ("resident") insert ("on neighbouring holdings").

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That this House doth agree with the Lords in the said Amendment."—(*The Lord Advocate.*)

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL (Kirkcaldy, &c.): I suppose it is no use struggling against Amendments which are made in this Bill; but I wish to point out to the House that this is distinctly a narrowing of the provisions of the Bill. A good deal of objection was taken in this House to the provisions which limited the benefits of this Bill to cases where five crofters applied for extensions of holdings. The result of the insertion of these words "on neighbouring holdings" is that five crofters can only obtain the benefit of extensions of holdings when they happen to have holdings closely adjoining one another. If the crofters reside at some distance from each other, they are not to have the benefit which an increase of holding would give them. It seems to me it would be most unjust to insert these words.

MR. HUNTER (Aberdeen, N.): I hope that on this point the Government will stand firm. We proposed many Amendments in this House, but all to no purpose. The Government narrowed the scope of the Bill to such an extent that, in the opinion of the Crofter Members, it was completely valueless. The Lords have now narrowed it still further. I trust the Government will not assent to the Amendment now under consideration.

THE LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. B. BALFOUR) (Clackmannan, &c.): May I point out that the reason why the Government decided that the application should be made by a group of crofters was that it involved a recognition of the well-known Highland unit—a township or group. We thought that in taking the number of 5 we were taking a small number; but it was pointed out in the discussions in the House of Lords that, under the Bill as it stood, the application might be made by crofters in a situation which certainly was not contemplated—that is to say, a concurrent application might be made by persons 30 or 40 miles apart. They might not be members of a township or group. There might be no common tie binding them together. The idea is that the crofters should have pasture holdings in common, and in order to avoid any misunderstanding the Lords inserted the words "on neighbouring holdings." It is not intended that the holdings should necessarily adjoin; but that the crofters should, in a reasonable sense, be neighbours; in a broad and wide sense, that they should form part of something like a community. These words are intended to express what was fairly implied in the Bill as framed.

MR. MACDONALD CAMERON (Wick, &c): I sincerely trust the House will not agree with this Amendment.

Question put.

The House *divided:*—Ayes 155; Noes 139: Majority 16.—(Div. List, No. 117.)

Page 5, line 31, leave out ("Land") and insert ("Crofters"), and after ("parish") insert ("or in an adjacent crofting parish").

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That this House doth agree with the Lords in the said Amendment."—(*The Lord Advocate.*)

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL (Kirkcaldy, &c.): I think it right to acknowledge that by this Amendment the Lords have made a small extension of the Bill, and that I am very grateful to them for it.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Page 5, line 38, leave out ("Land") and insert ("Crofters"); page 6, line 2, after ("thereupon") insert—

"And shall ascertain as far as possible how far the small size of the holdings has been due to the action of the landlord or of the crofters;"

line 5, after ("parish") insert ("or in an adjacent crofting parish"); line 14, leave out ("Land") and insert ("Crofters"); line 17, leave out ("Land") and insert ("Crofters"); line 18, leave out ("Land") and insert ("Crofters"); line 24, leave out ("Land") and insert ("Crofters"); line 25, leave out ("Land") and insert ("Crofters"); line 26, after ("seaweed") insert ("for the reasonable purposes of their holdings"); page 7, line 1, leave out ("Land") and insert ("Crofters"); line 6, leave out ("Land") and insert ("Crofters"); line 32, leave out ("Land") and insert ("Crofters"); line 39, leave out ("Land") and insert ("Crofters"); line 41, leave out ("Land") and insert ("Crofters"); page 8, line 6, leave out ("Land") and insert ("Crofters"); line 29, leave out from ("holding") to ("as") in line 30; line 41, leave out ("decree") and insert ("decern"); page 9, line 6, after ("shown") insert—

"(*g.*) If the legatee shall accept the bequest, and the bequest is not declared to be null and void as aforesaid, the legatee shall be entitled to possess the holding on the same terms and conditions as if he had been the nearest heir of the crofter;"

line 8, leave out ("of") and insert ("to").

Motion made, and Question, "That this House doth agree with the Lords in the said Amendments,"—(*The Lord Advocate,*)—put, and *agreed to.*

Line 10, after ("made") insert—

"Provided always, that in the case of any legatee, or heir-at-law more distant than wife, son, grandson, brother, or son-in-law, it shall be competent to the landlord on his own part, or on the part of neighbouring crofters, to represent that, for the purpose of enlarging their holding or holdings, the holding ought to be added to them; and in all cases in which the sheriff shall determine in favour of such representation, the heir, or the legatee, as the case may be, who, but for such determination, would have succeeded to the holding, shall have right to any claim of compensation for improvements thereon which would have been competent to the deceased crofter if he had been removed at the date of his death: provided, further, that if in any such case the landlord shall fail, within six months after the determination of the sheriff, to add the holding to one or more of the adjoining holdings, it shall be competent for the neighbouring crofters to apply to the Crofters Commission, who shall make an order assigning the holding to one or more of the neighbouring crofters for the enlargement of his or their holding or holdings."

DR. R. McDONALD (Ross and Cromarty): I strongly approve of the Amendment, and I have merely to say this—that it appears to me that the Lords have done more than I expected; and if the Bill is properly carried out by the Commissioners, I think we shall find that it is a much more beneficial measure than was expected. I would suggest, however, to complete the Amendment, to insert, after the word "son," in line 2, the words "daughter, grand-daughter."

Amendment proposed, to amend the Lords Amendment by inserting, after "son," in line 2, the words "daughter, grand-daughter."

Amendment *agreed to.*

Lords Amendment, as amended, *agreed to.*

Line 11, leave out ("Land") and insert ("Crofters"); line 13 and 14, leave out ("one of whom can speak the Gaelic language"); line 14, leave out ("Land") and insert ("Crofters"); line 15, after ("Commission") insert—

"One of the said Commissioners shall be a person who can speak the Gaelic language;"

line 23, leave out ("Commissioners") and insert (Crofters Commission"); line 27, leave out (Commissioners") and insert ("Crofters Commission"); after clause 17, insert clause (A)—

"The Crofters Commission shall once in every year after the year one thousand eight hundred and eighty-six make a report to the

Secretary for Scotland as to their proceedings under this Act, and every such report shall be presented to Parliament;"

line 32, leave out ("Commissioners") and insert ("Crofters Commission"); page 10, line 5, after ("heirs") insert ("and legatees"); line 10, leave out ("Land") and insert ("Crofters"); line 13, leave out ("Land") and insert ("Crofters"); line 23, leave out ("Land") and insert ("Crofters"); line 36, after first ("the") insert ("erection and maintenance of"); line 37, after ("expedient") insert—

("And to decern that the expense of such erection and maintenance shall be paid by the person or persons interested, as the Crofters Commission shall consider just, having regard to the advantage accruing to the said person or persons respectively from such fencing;")

line 40, leave first ("crofts") and insert ("crofters holdings") and leave out second ("crofts") and insert ("crofters holdings"); page 11, line 4, leave out ("Land") and insert ("Crofters"); line 8, leave out ("Commissioners") and insert ("Crofters Commission"); line 9, leave out ("one or"); line 10, leave out ("one or"); line 13, leave out ("the Land Commissioners") and insert—

("Any of the parties thereto to demand, and for the Crofters Commission to order that the evidence shall be taken upon oath, and it shall also be competent to the Crofters Commission;")

line 15, leave out ("Land") and insert ("Crofters"); line 18, leave out ("Land") and insert ("Crofters"); line 21, leave out (Land") and insert ("Crofters"); line 29, leave out ("Land") and insert ("Crofters"); line 32, leave out ("Land") and insert ("Crofters"); line 40, leave out ("Land") and insert ("Crofters"); page 12, line 1, leave out ("Land") and insert ("Crofters"); line 5, leave out ("Commissioners") and insert—

("Crofters Commission, or two of their number acting as hereinbefore provided;")

line 10, leave out ("Land") and insert ("Crofters"); line 14, leave out ("Land") and insert ("Crofters"); line 20, leave out ("Land") and insert ("Crofters"); line 23, leave out ("Land") and insert ("Crofters"); line 27, leave out ("Land") and insert ("Crofters"); line 28, leave out ("Land") and insert ("Crofters"); line 35, leave out ("Land") and insert ("Crofters"); page 13, line 40, after ("holding") insert ("or building"); line 42, at end of clause 32, add—

("Nor to any holding or building let at a nominal rent, or without rent, as a pension for former service, or on account of old age or poverty, nor to any holding or building let to a person during his tenure of any office such as that of minister of religion or schoolmaster, nor to any innkeeper or tradesman placed in the district by the landlord for the benefit of the neighbourhood;"

page 14, line 1, leave out first ("a") and insert ("any person who at the passing of this Act is"); line 2, leave out ("or near").

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That this House doth agree with the Lords in the said Amendment.—(*The Lord Advocate.*)

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL) Kirkcaldy, &c.): The leaving out of these words is a very important Amendment. The House will remember that upon this point we challenged Her Majesty's Government and the Opposition on the other side, and we then decided by a majority of this House that these words should be put in the clause; and in regard to the change which has now been made, I confess that I cannot appreciate the action either of the House of Lords or of the Government. I do not think it was a very magnanimous thing for the Government, after what had taken place in this House, to take advantage of the House of Lords to strike the words out, and I do hope that they will be reinserted. I do not see why when a man has made a little money and is able to take a small house away from his holding he should be deprived of his three acres and a cow, it may be for his children. In this matter I venture to say that although the House of Lords have a great authority in the Duke of Argyll, they are historically wrong. I know something about these matters. The question is, whether a man shall according to the ancient historical custom be allowed to hold his house under one tenure and his croft under another. I hold that that is an old practice; it is the practice all over India; and I say it is historically wrong to insist on a man having his house and his croft under the same tenure. In illustration of this I will read a letter from a friend of mine who has some property in a poor crofting village high up in the Grampians. He says—

> "The people here have all land direct from the landlord. The houses are their own property. The village was laid off in lots or farms in 1825, parties living in houses on large farms receiving on lease from the landlord a quarter of an acre at the annual rent of 12*s*. Those that were able built fair, good houses, others huts, the lease to expire about 1938. The land about the village was divided into strips of from one and a-half acre to two and a-half, none exceeding this. The strips were let to parties having houses, some at 15*s*. per acre, others at 25*s*., according to the quality of the land. Some of these villagers are in possession of two or three strips, others have trades which enable them to scrape a living. The most of the villagers would be glad of more land — arable, I mean — if it could be obtained. As to grazing land, they have the privilege of grazing on the moor at the south end of the village free of rent."

I will only say this, that here you have in the heart of the Grampians this ancient custom, and I think it is a very hard thing that these people should be deprived of the benefits of this Bill. Justice will not be done unless the words are restored, and I, therefore, beg to move "That this House do disagree with the Lords Amendment."

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the House doth disagree with The Lords in the said Amendment."—(*Sir George Campbell.*)

MR. MACDONALD CAMERON (Wick, &c.): I hope that this Amendment will be re-inserted in the Bill to-night. I beg to tell the House, Sir, that there are a great number of people who are the descendants of evicted crofters, and who have their houses from one landlord and their crofts from another, and they will be deprived of whatever benefits this Bill may contain if this Amendment is not put in. I hope, therefore, that on this occasion the original Amendment will be accepted and this one of the Lords rejected.

THE LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. B. BALFOUR) (Clackmannan, &c.): I shall not occupy more than a few moments in showing why the Government accepted this Amendment. I shall not follow my hon. Friend the Member for Kirkcaldy (Sir George Campbell) into the ancient history of tenures, nor shall I go into the tenures of Hindostan, which are outside the scope of this Bill. Although they may be very good, nothing could be more foreign to the common tenure under which the crofter of the Highlands holds his croft, which is from year to year. It is to these crofters that we propose to apply the Bill, and to no others. Very well; what would be the effect of the Amendment? It would be this, that persons, whatever their position, who happened to be living near a place where the tenements are held from year to year, they are to be turned into "crofters." That would lead to people coming under the scope of the Bill who were never intended to come under it, and who were not in any sense of the term crofters at all. It would lead to wealthy people, having taken a house in the neighbourhood of a crofting village—if they had a small piece of land in the crofting village, although they might be large landed proprietors in the neighbourhood—coming under this Bill. Such a person is not a crofter, however, and does not fulfil the conditions which this Bill is intended to deal with at all. At the same time, a real crofter will not lose the benefits of this Bill, although he does not actually reside on the land which he cultivates, because the case is dealt with in Clause 14, as hon. Members will see if they refer to it, so that although a crofter's dwelling might not be on the land he cultivates, if he is holding land in connection with it from the same landlord, he will not be deprived of the benefits of the Bill. The effect of disagreeing with the Lords Amendment, therefore, would be to open the door for the admission of an indefinite number of persons who are not entitled to the benefits of the Bill; and, therefore, I cannot accept the Motion of the hon. Member.

Motion, by leave, *withdrawn.*

DR. R. McDONALD (Ross and Cromarty): I hope the House will not agree to rescind the vote which it gave on a previous occasion. We have heard speak of towns in the Highlands, but as a matter of fact there are none. We have only small villages, and by leaving out this Amendment we shall prevent the benefits of this Bill being applied to all the poor people who live in those villages. What is to become of the poor fishermen who have small crofts, but live in the fishing villages? They will be in exactly the same position as they are now without this Amendment, and I think, therefore, that the Government are very foolish in not accepting it.

MR. E. ROBERTSON (Dundee): I am very sorry that the Lord Advocate is so obstinate in his refusal to accept this Amendment, if he will excuse me for saying so. With regard to the possibility of wealthy persons coming under the Bill, I do not see why that should create alarm. This is not a charitable Act; it is not framed on eleemosynary principles. We believe that it is framed on the principles of common sense; and, therefore, I hope that hon. Members will reaffirm what they declared to be necessary when the Bill was before the House on a former occasion.

Original Question put.

The House *divided*:—Ayes 144; Noes 142: Majority 2.—(Div. List, No. 118.)

Line 4, after ("parish"), insert ("and the successors of such person in the holding being his heirs or legatees").

Page 15, after line 11, insert—

"(9.) Roads practicable for carriages from the holding or holdings to the public road on the sea shore."

Line 12, leave out ("Land") and insert ("Crofters"); the remaining Amendments *agreed to*.

### WAYS AND MEANS.

Resolution *reported*, and *agreed to*:— Bill *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. Courtney, Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Mr. Henry H. Fowler.

## TERMS OF REMOVAL (SCOTLAND) BILL.—[Bill 187.]

*The Lord Advocate, Mr. Solicitor General for Scotland.*)

COMMITTEE. [*Progress* 10th *May*.]

Bill *considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Clause 1 (Short title and extent of Act).

Mr. MARK STEWART (Kirkcudbright): I think I am justified in making an appeal to the Government not to commence the discussion of the Bill at this early hour of the morning. This is a Bill with regard to which many different opinions are held in Scotland, and I therefore think that we should report Progress.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again."—(*Mr. Mark Stewart.*)

The LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. B. Balfour) (Clackmannan, &c.): I hope the hon. Member opposite will not think it necessary to press his Motion to report Progress. I understand that there was only one point in the Bill about which there was any difference of opinion, and I submit that that matter has been thoroughly discussed already, and that there is nothing to prevent a settlement being arrived at.

Sir GEORGE CAMPBELL (Kirkcaldy, &c.): I think I am justified in saying that there has been in Scotland an enormous amount of inconvenience with regard to this matter, which I fear, if it is not settled to-night in Committee, may perhaps never be settled at all. What we want is uniformity of settlement, and as that principle has been supported by the majority, I think we ought to continue and venture to express the hope that the hon. Member for Kircudbright will withdraw his Motion.

Question put.

The Committee *divided*:— Ayes 88; Noes 195: Majority 107.—(Div. List, No. 119.)

Sir ROBERT FOWLER (London): At this late hour of the night, or rather early hour of the morning, I think it is well that respectable people should be thinking of going to bed. There was one remark which fell from the hon. Member for Kirkcaldy (Sir George Campbell) to which I wish to refer. He said that this Bill should be passed at once, because this Parliament is likely to come to an end shortly, and, therefore, it was as well to get this measure through as soon as possible. What I want to point out is this—that if the Parliament is to come to an end, it will do so next week, in which case the Bill cannot be got through in time, and if it is not to come to an end, then I suppose we shall go on sitting until the end of July; and, therefore, there is no reason why we should be asked to sit up all night to-night to discuss this question now. Under those circumstances, Sir, I beg to move that you do now leave the Chair.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Chairman do now leave the Chair."—(*Sir Robert Fowler.*)

The LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. B. Balfour) (Clackmannan, &c.): I will venture to make an appeal to the hon. Baronet not to press this Motion. There is practically no opposition to the Bill, and it will only take a few minutes to get through it. It is a very particular Bill, and it will be very convenient to take this stage now.

SIR R. ASSHETON CROSS (Lancashire, S.W., Newton): The question seems to me to be this—how long are we to go on to-night? What we want to know from the Government is this—are they going on with any other Business to-night, or if this measure is taken will they then move the adjournment of the House? We do not feel inclined to go on at this hour of the night discussing private Members' Business. If the Government will move the adjournment of the House directly this is taken, all well and good; but if they will not give a distinct pledge of that sort, I shall, for one, support the Motion.

THE PRESIDENT OF THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD (Mr. STANSFELD) (Halifax): I appreciate the demand of the right hon. Gentleman, which is that we shall not keep the House here for an unreasonable period of time; but I would point out that my right hon. and learned Friend the Lord Advocate is simply asking for this Bill, which will not take five minutes to dispose of. It appears to me that the question of the adjournment would arise very much better after this measure has been disposed of.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL (Kirkcaldy, &c.): I would urge the hon. Baronet not to press his Motion. This Bill is quite as important as the Home Rule debate. It appeals to the minds of the people, and is very urgently wanted by the people of Scotland.

MR. PARNELL (Cork): I hope that Scotch Members will take a lesson from these proceedings. In defining the meaning of "Obstruction" before a Committee which sat upon the question of Obstruction some years ago, the right hon. Member for the University of Cambridge (Mr. Raikes), who was perhaps as great an authority on the subject as could have been found in the House, said that it was the interruption of Bills which were not objected to, in order to prevent other Bills from coming on. That is what is being done now. This Bill is not objected to on its own merits, but it is opposed by the right hon. Member for South-West Lancashire (Sir R. Assheton Cross), so that other Bills may come on at so late an hour that obvious tactics may be used in order to prevent them being dealt with. I hope Scotch Members will mark this conduct of the right hon. Member for South-West Lancashire and his Friends—that their innocent measures for Scotland are objected to by the right hon. Gentleman and his followers, to prevent other measures coming on, and that they will see that the best way to prevent themselves being made the cat's-paw for the purpose of pulling the chesnuts out of the fire for the right hon. Gentleman and his Friends is by allowing Irish Business to be conducted by an Irish Parliament.

SIR R. ASSHETON CROSS (Lancashire, S.W., Newton): The hon. Member for Cork (Mr. Parnell) has entirely mistaken what I said. I am quite prepared to discuss any question from whatever country it comes, at a reasonable hour, but I am not prepared to devote an hour to the discussion of this Bill at this time in the morning, and then go on to other Business.

Question put.

The Committee *divided*:—Ayes 59; Noes 206: Majority 147.—(Div. List, No. 120.)

Clause *agreed to.*

Clauses 2 and 3 *agreed to.*

Clause 4 (Terms of entry and removal from houses).

MR. MARK STEWART (Kirkcudbright): I beg to move to leave out "fifteenth," in page 2, line 10, and insert "twenty-sixth." I do so because in many counties the 26th is a recognized term.

Amendment proposed, in page 2, line 10, to leave out the word "fifteenth," and insert the words "twenty-sixth."—(*Mr. Mark Stewart.*)

Question proposed, "That the word 'fifteenth' stand part of the Clause."

MR. E. ROBERTSON (Dundee): I beg to move that "twenty-eighth" be inserted instead of "twenty-sixth."

THE CHAIRMAN: The Committee must first negative the "fifteenth."

THE LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. B. BALFOUR) (Clackmannan, &c.): As far as I can gather the opinion of the Scotch Members, it is that the 15th is not the most convenient day to adopt. Accordingly, whether the 26th or 28th be decided upon, I think it is well that the 15th should be left out.

Question put, and *negatived.*

Question proposed, "That the words 'twenty-sixth' be there inserted."

Mr. E. ROBERTSON (Dundee): I suggest that, instead of "twenty-sixth," "twenty-eighth" be inserted.

Sir GEORGE CAMPBELL (Kirkcaldy, &c.): I believe that if we were approaching this subject for the first time the 26th would be the best day to adopt. But the fact is that at this moment the 28th prevails in many parts of Scotland. The great object of this Bill is to make the term uniform with as little change as possible. I prefer the 28th, and shall support it.

Mr. WOODHEAD (York, W.R., Spen Valley): I have received a great many letters regarding this matter, and in them the writers say that the 28th is absolutely necessary for the proper conduct of business. It has long been the practice in many parts of Scotland to have the 28th, and it is found that to change the day would lead to great inconvenience and a disturbance of business. It seems a very small matter, but from the letters which I have received I can tell you it is looked upon in Scotland as an important matter. I trust the Lord Advocate will adopt the 28th.

Mr. E. ROBERTSON (Dundee): I believe the Lord Advocate is in possession of more information as to the opinion of various districts of Scotland than anyone else; and I respectfully submit to him that he tell us what that opinion is.

The LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. B. Balfour) (Clackmannan, &c.): I have taken a good deal of trouble to ascertain whether, if the 15th was not to be the day, what other day would suit the general convenience. I must admit that, according to the evidence I gathered, the 28th is most preferred.

Mr. MARK STEWART (Kirkcudbright): With the leave of the Committee, I beg to withdraw my Amendment.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Motion made, and Question, "That the words 'twenty-eight' be there inserted,"—(*Mr. E. Robertson,*)—put, and *agreed to.*

Mr. MARK STEWART (Kirkcudbright): I beg to move the omission of "eleventh," in line 11, and the insertion of "twenty-second." This Amendment will, I think, be generally accepted by the Committee, as the 22nd of November is a term universally observed in Scotland.

Amendment proposed, in page 2, line 11, to leave out the word "eleventh," and insert the words "twenty-second."—(*Mr. Mark Stewart.*)

Question proposed, "That the word 'eleventh' stand part of the Clause."

Mr. E. ROBERTSON (Dundee): I think the 28th is as proper a term in this case as in the other. I appeal to the Lord Advocate whether the evidence he has received does not bear out that view?

Question put, and *negatived.*

Question proposed, "That the words 'twenty-second' be there inserted."

The LORD ADVOCATE: The information we have received certainly bears out the view the hon. Member for Dundee has expressed.

Question put, and *negatived.*

Motion made and Question, "That the words 'twenty-eight' be there inserted,"—(*Mr. E. Robertson,*)—put, and *agreed to.*

Clause, as amended, *agreed to.*

Remaining Clauses *agreed to.*

Bill *reported;* as amended, to be considered *To-morrow.*

## INTERNATIONAL AND COLONIAL COPYRIGHT BILL.—[Bill 156.]

(*Mr. Acland, Mr. Mundella, Mr. Bryce, Mr. Osborne Morgan, Sir Ughtred Kay-Shuttleworth.*)

### CONSIDERATION.

Bill, as amended, *considered.*

On Motion of The Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Mr. Bryce) (Aberdeen, S.), the following Amendments made:—Clause 2, page 2, line 19, after "work," insert "unless the order otherwise provides;" line 21, leave out "the," and insert "any."

On Motion of The Secretary to the Board of Trade (Mr. Acland), the following Amendments made:—Clause 10, page 5, line 25, leave out "to revoke or alter," and insert "for revoking or altering;" line 30, leave out from "and," to end of Clause, and insert "shall provide for the protection of such rights;" Clause 11, page 6, line 10, leave out "in the case of a drama and music."

Bill read the third time, and *passed*.

## PUBLIC HEALTH ACTS (IMPROVEMENT EXPENSES) BILL.—[BILL 230.]

(*Mr. Dodds, Sir Edward Reed, Mr. Arnold Morley, Mr. William Cook, Mr. Bullard.*)

### CONSIDERATION.

Bill as amended, *considered*.

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE (Chelsea): I beg to move the following new Clause:—

(Grouping of streets.)

"When the sanitary authority intend to sewer two or more streets by a series of connected sewers, they may, if they think fit, group such streets together for the purposes of the construction of sewerage works under this Act, and such works shall thereupon be deemed to be one street for the purposes connected with the apportionment of the expenses of the sewerage works therein."

I move this clause to carry out the objections which were made by myself and another hon. Member when this Bill was in Committee. There are frequent cases of hardship arising where streets are sewered together, and when, in consequence of other streets draining down into a large sewer running through one particular street, it is found necessary to enlarge the latter. In those cases the cost is charged on the particular street in which the larger sewer is made, and that, of course, is exceedingly hard. I shall not insist on the exact words which I have on the Paper; but I believe my right hon. Friend (Mr. Stansfeld) has been advised that the principle is not necessary at all. I do not object to the words being left out; but as regards the principle, I wish to ask the House to consider it. The contention of the right hon. Member is that it would necessitate special rates in regard to each sewer, and that the Local Authority would get the cost of the larger sewers from the general rates. I do not think, however, that that will be done. My right hon. Friend thinks there would be great difficulty in the grouping which I suggest; but I have gone into that matter with competent surveyors, and I am bound to say that there is no great difficulty in the matter, because in all the various contracts the work in the different streets has already to be worked out separately. That is bound to be the case, because no one man takes all the works. Therefore, they are separated already; and although there seems to be a clerical difficulty, it is not a real one. This matter is not an imaginary grievance; for I may mention that in the case of Chiswick there has been a cost of 10 per cent additional put on some of the streets above any benefit that they receive from the sewer in respect of which they are charged. That cost might have been put on the whole rate, but no Sanitary Authority is likely to do that.

New Clause (Grouping of streets,)—(*Sir Charles W. Dilke,*)—*brought up*, and read the first time.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the said Clause be now read a second time."

THE PRESIDENT OF THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD (Mr. STANSFELD) (Halifax): My objection to the right hon. Gentleman's clause is that I think it would be impolitic and I think it would be unjust. The common sewer ought to be charged for out of the local rates; but my right hon. Friend says that will not be done. But I say that under this Bill there is great and peculiar facility given for resisting any increased charge that would otherwise be made. I think that the expenses chargeable against the owners of private property ought to be restricted to the exact amount of benefit that they derive from the works done. I think they are not without their remedy under the Bill as it stands, and therefore I cannot accept the Amendment.

Motion and Clause, by leave, *withdrawn*.

MR. JACKSON (Leeds, N.): I desire to move the following new Clause after Clause 13:—

(Exemption of premises of Railway or Canal Company having no communication with street.)

"No Railway or Canal Company shall be liable to any expenses under this Act in respect of any of their premises fronting, adjoining, or abutting on any street, if such premises are used solely for the purposes of their Railway or Canal undertaking, and have no communication with such street, but in the event of a communication being made with such street at any time after the expenses of any private street works in respect thereof shall have been apportioned under this Act, the Railway or Canal Company making such communication shall pay to the sanitary authority the amount which, but for the provisions of this section, they would, in the first instance, have been liable to pay, and the sanitary authority shall divide such amount among the owners for the time being of the other premises, according to the proportions in which the original expenses were divided amongst them in the final apportionment made under this Act."

I hope the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Local Government Board (Mr. Stansfeld) will be able to accept it. It is for the purpose of excluding specifically certain railway property and canal property, which, under no possible arrangement, can have any advantage or derive any benefit from streets made either alongside or connected with the railways or canals, and to which the Companies have no access. I believe it has been said that Clause 7 makes provision for these cases. In fact, it gives the authorities the power in apportioning the expenses to take into account the greater or less amount of use that is made of the street. But I would point out that a great many cases of undoubted hardship have arisen, and many Railway Companies have been called upon to pay many thousands of pounds to defray the expense of street improvements from which they have received no advantage. It should be borne in mind that this is not a question as between the Railway Companies and the general public or the ratepayers, but it is really and only a question as between particular owners of property who have benefited by the laying out of particular streets. I think that the principle of the Bill is that private street improvements of this kind ought to be charged on the party who is benefited in the particular street. This clause will in specific terms carry out that which I believe the hon. Member who is responsible for this Bill (Mr. Dodds) intends should be carried out in regard to the power to be given to the Local Authority, and which, I think, it is not at all clear is carried out in the the Bill as it stands. I would remind the House also that the principle is admitted in the Bill that a greater or less degree of benefit should be taken into account; and I would point out that there are at least 17 Private Bills in which I know that this clause has been introduced. I would also inform hon. Members that quite recently the Police and Sanitary Committee sitting upstairs upon the Carlisle Police and Improvement Bill admitted this clause. [An hon. MEMBER: No.] Somebody says "No;" but it is quite clear that the Committee did accept on that Bill a clause which, if not in the same words as this clause, is for all practical purposes the same. [An hon. MEMBER: No, no.] The hon. Member who says "No, no," will probably inform the House in what sense the clause introduced into the Carlisle Bill differs from that which I have proposed. I will not trespass further on the time of the House, but will content myself with asking the House to accept my clause.

New Clause (Exemption of premises of Railway or Canal Company having no communication with street,)—(*Mr. Jackson,*)—*brought up*, and read the first time.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the said Clause be now read a second time."

MR. FORWOOD (Lancashire, Ormskirk): Before the House consents to read this clause a second time, I hope the House will allow me to explain that, by accepting it, they will be reversing a principle already affirmed by the House through the Police and Sanitary Committee. The question came before that Committee, and it was pointed out that, if a factory were built adjoining the street, that factory would have to contribute to the expenses of the street; but if a Railway Company made large locomotive works, they would be exempt. A real grievance only arises where the Railway Companies have streets made beside their lines or sidings; and therefore the Sanitary Committee struck out the word "premises," and inserted the words "lines or sidings." Therefore, I hope the House will not accept this Amendment.

THE PRESIDENT OF THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD (Mr. STANSFELD) (Halifax): I would point out to the hon. Member that Clause 4 provides for the contingency he has suggested. In Clause 4 it is provided that owners may object to the proposals of the Sanitary Authority if they allege that the premises ought to be excluded from the apportionment.

MR. F. S. POWELL (Wigan): I would remind the House that in the clause of my hon. Friend (Mr. Jackson) there is a direction which is commandatory that these premises should be excluded; but in the clause in the Bill that is not so. If the clause in the Bill stands as it is, the Companies will find themselves rated in respect of streets from which they receive no benefit whatever.

Question put, and *negatived.*

Mr. CARBUTT (Monmouth, &c.): I beg to move, in Clause 2, page 2, line 25, at end, to add—

"'Owner,' in addition to having the meaning assigned to it by 'The Public Health Act, 1875,' shall, where the lands or premises fronting, adjoining, or abutting upon any street are held upon a building lease having less than twenty years to run, subject to a ground rent, include the freeholder or lessor, who shall become liable to be charged with the expenses of executing the private street works jointly with the 'owner,' as defined in 'The Public Health Act, 1875,' and in proportion to the benefit to be derived by him from such private street improvements, regard being had not only to the ground rent payable to him, but also to the number of years remaining unexpired under the building lease."

The CHAIRMAN: Is the hon. Member moving a new clause?

Mr. CARBUTT: It is on the Paper. The question deals with houses built on leasehold property where the houses are on very short leases. In such cases the expenses of street improvements come on the lessee, and the lessor has nothing to pay. What I say is, that the expenses should be proportionately divided between them.

The CHAIRMAN: I understand the hon. Member is substituting another Amendment for that on the Paper.

Mr. CARBUTT: I am now moving the Amendment on the Paper; but if that is accepted, I understand the Government desire me to move certain words as an Amendment to it.

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

The PRESIDENT of the LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD (Mr. Stansfeld) (Halifax): This is not the Amendment which I understood my hon. Friend was going to move. It is one which was rejected in the Committee, and I also object to its introduction in the Bill.

Question put.

The House *divided:*—Ayes 135; Noes 112: Majority 23.—(Div. List, No. 121.)

On Motion of Mr. Stansfeld, the following Amendment made:—Clause 3, page 2, line 29, leave out "or made good or is not," and insert "made good and."

Amendment proposed,

In page 3, line 39, after the word "respectively," to insert the words—

"(a.) That the alleged street is not a street within the meaning of this Act;

"(b.) That the proposed works are insufficient or unreasonable, or that the estimated expenses are excessive."—(*Mr. Dodds.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

Sir CHARLES W. DILKE (Chelsea): The Amendment proposed by the hon. Member would undo what we did in Committee, and, therefore, I cannot support it. I had previously moved the Amendment in the name of the hon. Member for Leeds (Mr. Jackson). The hon. Member was not present, and I did so simply for the purpose of raising discussion. There are cases in which a single owner can object, and also cases where the majority of owners can raise an objection. The hon. Member for Leeds had put on the Paper an Amendment which would have in all cases allowed a single owner to make objection. I withdrew the Amendment. I pointed out in the Committee the very considerable hardships which would ensue if the clause were accepted in its original form. As I have said, the hon. Member is now seeking to undo what we did in Committee. I do not know whether the hon. Member agrees with me, but, certainly, I feel inclined to take a division.

Mr. JACKSON (Leeds, N.): The transposition of the words suggested would make the matter subject to the majority of owners, whereas in the form they are in at present any owner may make an objection. I think that is a very material point.

The PRESIDENT of the LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD (Mr. Stansfeld) (Halifax): I do not see sufficient reason to hark back to the Amendment rejected in Committee, and, therefore, I shall support the view of the right hon. Baronet.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Mr. JACKSON (Leeds, N.): I beg to move, in Clause 7, page 6, line 14, after the word "but," to omit the words—

"The sanitary authority may, if they think it just, resolve that."

The effect of this omission would be to render the clause much more definite than it is at present, and to express more clearly the intention the clause is designed to express. I believe the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Local Government Board will accept the Amendment.

Amendment proposed, in Clause 7, page 6, line 14, after the word "but," to leave out the words "the sanitary authority may, if they think it just, resolve that."—(*Mr. Jackson.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Clause."

MR. DODDS (Stockton): I have considered these words since my hon. Friend opposite (Mr. Jackson) spoke to me on the subject, and I am afraid I cannot accept the Amendment. It would limit the power of the Sanitary Authority in the exercise of their discretion. I would point out that Railway Companies and others, if they do not approve of the apportionment of the expenses by the Sanitary Authority, have the power of appealing.

THE PRESIDENT OF THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD (Mr. STANSFELD) (Halifax): The hon. Member behind me (Mr. Dodds) has not, I think, understood the proposal. It not only leaves the Sanitary Authority at liberty in settling the apportionment to have regard to the "considerations" contained in the clause, but it absolutely directs them to do so.

Question put, and *negatived.*

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE (Chelsea): Is the hon. Member in charge of the Bill satisfied with the way the clause reads now? If he is, well and good.

On Motion of Mr. STANSFELD, the following Amendment made:—Clause 10, page 8, line 40, at end, insert "except quit rents and Crown debts."

MR. CARVELL WILLIAMS (Nottingham, S.): I beg to propose to amend Clause 10, by adding, at the end—

"This provision shall apply in all cases where notices or orders have been already given or made, or works executed under 'The Public Health Act, 1875,' in regard to all expenses which have not been actually already paid by the owner, as well as where they may hereafter be given, made, or executed under the Act."

I move the addition in consequence of a decision given in December last in the case of "*Wright* v. *Ingle.*" Prior to that it was assumed that the 151st section of the Public Health Act exempted chapels from the operation of the Statute; but since that decision it has been suggested that, though ministers are exempt, trustees are liable under the Definition Clause. The Bill has removed the doubt raised in that case. So far it is very satisfactory, and I am only asking that those persons on whom claims have been made shall be put in the same position as all other parties will be in when this Bill has become law.

Amendment proposed, in Clause 13, page 10, at end, insert—

"This provision shall apply in all cases where notices or orders have been already given or made, or works executed under 'The Public Health Act, 1875,' in regard to all expenses which have not been actually already paid by the owner, as well as where they may hereafter be given, made, or executed under the Act."—(*Mr. Carvell Williams.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

MR. DODDS (Stockton): It seems to me that the proposed addition is rather retrospective in its character, and is one that the House ought to be careful in accepting. I should prefer that the words be not accepted.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

On Motion of Mr. STANSFELD, the following Amendments made:—Clause 16, page 10, line 36, leave out "temporarily;" Clause 17, page 11, line 1, leave out "whether;" line 1, leave out "or interest;" line 3, after "works," insert "the cost of which has been defrayed out of a loan;" line 3, leave out "and interest;" line 4, leave out "any loan borrowed for the purpose of such works," and insert "such loan."

CAPTAIN COTTON (Cheshire, Wirral): The next two Amendments which stand on the Paper in my name have for their object simply to render one of the new clauses added to the Bill of the same scope as the remainder of the measure.

Amendment proposed, in Clause 21, page 13, line 7, leave out "of the urban," and insert "of the sanitary;" line 16, leave out "urban," and insert "sanitary."—(*Captain Cotton.*)

Amendment *agreed to.*

MR. DODDS (Stockton): As the Bill meets with the general concurrence of the House, perhaps it will assent to the proposal that the Bill be now read a third time.

Motion made, and Question, "That the Bill be now read the third time,"—(*Mr. Dodds,*)—put, and *agreed to.*

Bill *passed.*

## PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS (RETURNING OFFICERS) ACT (1875) AMENDMENT BILL.—[BILL 241.]

(*Mr. T. M. Healy, Mr. Chance.*)

CONSIDERATION.

Further Proceeding on Consideration, as amended, *resumed.*

MR. CHANCE (Kilkenny, S.): I regret it is my duty at such a late hour—or, rather, at such an early hour (3.30 A.M.)—to ask the House to proceed with the consideration of this Bill. I think the course that has been taken was not quite unexpected by hon. Gentlemen who sit below the Gangway on this side of the House. This Order would have been reached an hour ago but for the plainly obstructive tactics of hon. Gentlemen above the Gangway. I do not wish to imitate their tactics there; I merely content myself with moving the following clause as to the First Schedule:—

> "The First Schedule to the principal Act is hereby repealed, and the Schedule to this Act substituted therefor."

A Clause (Revised Schedule of returning officers' charges,)—(*Mr. Chance,*)—*brought up*, and read the first time.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the said Clause be now read a second time."

SIR JAMES FERGUSSON (Manchester, N.E.): I have never before been charged in this House with anything like obstruction, and I am quite sure there is no hon. Gentleman who sat with me in the House years ago who can contradict me. I would, however, ask the House whether it is at all consistent with its usual practice to approach the consideration of such questions as are down on the Notice Paper at this hour of the morning? I shall have to put it to you, Sir, when we come to some of the Amendments on the Paper, whether it is competent at this stage of the Bill to widen the scope of the measure in the manner proposed? There are Amendments coming on of a perfectly novel character—I am not going to discuss them—but I maintain that, consistently with our usual practice, it is improper for us at this stage to add clauses foreign to the objects of the Bill. I say it is impossible for us to consider the Bill at all at this time in the morning. The state of the Front Benches shows that it has not been contemplated that this Bill would be gone on with. The Amendments are important and novel, and have only been presented to-day. Up to 2 o'clock this morning I had no idea that this Bill was to be brought on. It must have taken hon. Members entirely by surprise. I beg to move the adjournment of the debate.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Debate be now adjourned."—(*Sir James Fergusson.*)

MR. T. M. HEALY (Londonderry, S.): I trust hon. Gentlemen will approach this question with unprejudiced minds. It is very late—it will not be unnatural if some hon. Members think it too late to go on with these Amendments—but I would point out that the first Amendment which has been moved by the hon. Gentleman the Member for South Kilkenny is one which has been on the Paper several days. It is only fair to deal with the Amendments as they come up. If the right hon. Baronet objects to some of them, he can object at a later stage, and can then move the adjournment of the debate. The first Amendment merely asserts the principle that the Revising Officers' charges require to be amended. If hon. Gentlemen are opposed to subsequent new clauses, such as that throwing the expenses on the rates, they can offer opposition to them when the proper time arrives, but that is no reason why we should not dispose of this Amendment now before us. I do trust that we shall be allowed to dispose of this matter. The passing of this clause will not commit the House to the Schedule down in the name of my hon. Friend. It will, as I say, only assert the principle that it is desirable to revise the Schedule of the principal Act. I trust, therefore, that the opposition will not be continued.

Mr. PLUNKET (Dublin University): I think there is a great deal in what the hon. and learned Gentleman who has just sat down has said as to the first Amendment which stands in the name of the hon. Gentleman the Member for South Kilkenny (Mr. Chance). Though I concur in what has fallen from the right hon. Baronet behind me as to the possibility of our going on with subsequent Amendments, I think that so far as this particular proposal is concerned we might go on with it. I should not advise my right hon. Friend to press his Motion for the adjournment of the debate on this particular clause. On the next clause, if he makes a similar proposal, I shall certainly support him and appeal to the Government to support him also.

Sir JAMES FERGUSSON (Manchester, N.E.): If the hon. and learned Gentleman in charge of the Bill (Mr. T. M. Healy) will agree to report Progress after this Amendment, I will withdraw my Motion.

Mr. CHANCE (Kilkenny, S.): The question of reporting Progress must be wholly in the hands of the House.

Mr. SPEAKER: Does the right hon. Baronet withdraw the Motion?

Sir JAMES FERGUSSON: If the hon. and learned Member will not give the promise I ask for, I must persist in my Motion.

Mr. T. M. HEALY (Londonderry, S.): With the indulgence of the House, I may say that after this first Amendment is disposed of I will not ask the House to inflict upon itself a longer Sitting. Of course, the question of reporting is one for the feeling of the House.

Motion, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Original Question put, and *agreed to.*

Clause read a second time, and *added* to the Bill.

Mr. MARK STEWART (Kirkcudbright): I wish to make one remark. When I moved that Progress be reported on another Bill, two hours ago, I did not know that this Bill was coming on; therefore, the insinuations cast on us from those Benches were not deserved. I beg to move that the House do now adjourn.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That this House do now adjourn."—(*Mr. Mark Stewart.*)

Mr. LABOUCHERE (Northampton): I really do not see why we should adjourn. This new Parliament has got into the very bad habit of wishing to go home early. It seems to me that we frequently sit as late as this. The clause I have to move is of some importance. Hon. Gentlemen have remained here until now in order to express their opinions, or vote on the clause; therefore, I certainly shall oppose the Motion for the adjournment of the House.

Mr. PLUNKET (Dublin University): I venture now to appeal to the Government on this question. This Notice Paper has only been circulated this morning. It bears date "Thursday, 3rd June" and it professes to contain new clauses to this Bill. But really the clauses it contains—and I am not going to discuss them on this Motion for Adjournment—have nothing to do with the Bill. They are not of little importance, they are of extreme importance. Each one of these clauses is a Bill in itself, and I do not think that even the hon. Gentlemen who propose them can seriously urge us to discuss them at the present time. No decision arrived at under such circumstances could be of the least value; and I would further point out that every decision, no matter how arrived at, must be final, because this is the last stage of the Bill at which an Amendment can be moved. It is not as if we were in Committee, when anything we do can be revised on Report. I do not know whether it is of use to appeal to the hon. Gentleman the Member for Northampton (Mr. Labouchere) not to resist the Motion for Adjournment; but I would, at any rate, appeal to the Government in the present state of the House not to allow the Sitting to be further extended.

The PRESIDENT of the LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD (Mr. Stansfeld) (Halifax): I understood the hon. and learned Member opposite (Mr. Healy) to express the opinion, in which his Friends about him were agreed, that it would be reasonable to adjourn the debate after the passing of the last clause. ["No, no!"] Well, I understood that. I confess it does appear to me that no good purpose would be served by the House endeavouring to go on with the Bill. It is quite true that we have a considerable number of Members present, and it is also true that a considerable proportion of those Members are in favour of the further discussion of this Bill; but, on the other hand, I would ask hon. Members whether persistence in the attempt to make further progress can result in anything but a succession of divisions on Motions for Adjournment, and whether it is not practically impossible to make further progress with the Bill to-night? I think I may say that if I had the entire responsibility of representing the Government, I should not be ready to advise the House, or any portion of it, at this moment to enter upon this controversy which can, it seems to me, only end in one way, and which may prejudice discussion on a future occasion. I do not think I should have been able to take this view as strongly as I do had it not been for, as I venture to think, the very reasonable remarks of the hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for South Londonderry (Mr. Healy). After the remarks of the hon. and learned Gentleman, and the evidence we have had that they indicated the sense of the House, I think it is impossible to resist the Motion made.

**Mr. T. M. HEALY** (Londonderry, S.): Perhaps I may be allowed to say a word, as the 1st clause was passed on the faith of an understanding with me to the effect that no further Amendment would be taken. I thank hon. Friends on the opposite side for having sat up so long, and, as I carried a point on the understanding referred to, I shall have to vote for the adjournment.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

House adjourned at a quarter before Four o'clock in the morning.

# HOUSE OF LORDS,

*Friday, 4th June,* 1886.

MINUTES.]—Public Bills—*First Reading*—Jurors' Detention* (142); Public Health Acts (Improvement Expenses)* (143); International and Colonial Copyright* (144).

*Second Reading*—Patriotic Fund (131); Tramways Order in Council (Ireland) (132); Patents Amendment (133); Sea Fishing Boats (Scotland)* (140).

*Committee* — Contagious Diseases (Animals) (122-149).

*Select Committee — Report* — Church Patronage [No. 145]; Electric Lighting Act (1882) Amendment (No. 1); Electric Lighting Act (1882) Amendment (No. 2) [No. 147].

*Report*—Church Patronage* (63-146); Electric Lighting Act (1882) Amendment (No. 3)* (48-148); Labourers (Ireland) Acts Amendment*(120); Arbitration* (138).

*Third Reading*—Oxford University (Justices)* (119), and *passed.*

*Royal Assent*—Customs and Inland Revenue [49 *Vict.* c. 18]; Metropolitan Police (Stations) [49 *Vict.* c. 22]; Drowned Persons (Discovery and Interment) [49 *Vict.* c. 20]; Burial Grounds (Scotland) Act (1855) Amendment [49 *Vict.* c. 21]; National Debt [49 *Vict.* c. 19]; Companies Acts Amendment [49 *Vict.* c. 23]; Arms (Ireland) [49 *Vict.* c. 24].

Provisional Order Bills — *Committee* — Elementary Education Confirmation (Birmingham)* (96); Elementary Education Confirmation (London)* (97).

*Royal Assent*—Metropolitan Commons [49 *Vict.* c. xiv]; Commons Regulation (Stoke) [49 *Vict.* c. xv]; Commons Regulation and Inclosure (Totternhoe) [49 *Vict.* c. xvi]; Local Government (No. 1) [49 *Vict.* c. xvii]; Local Government (No. 2) [49 *Vict.* c. xviii]; Local Government (Poor Law) (No. 1) [49 *Vict.* c. xix]; Local Government (Poor Law) (No. 2) [49 *Vict.* c. xx]; Local Government (Poor Law) (No. 3) [49 *Vict.* c. xxi]; Local Government (Poor Law) (No. 4) [49 *Vict.* c. xxii]; Local Government (Poor Law) (No. 5) [49 *Vict.* c. xxiii]; Local Government (Poor Law) (No. 6) [49 *Vict.* c. xxiv].

## THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY—TWENTY YEARS OF COERCION.

### PERSONAL EXPLANATION.

**The Marquess of SALISBURY:** My Lords, I should like to ask the indulgence of your Lordships for a few words of personal explanation. Eminent persons "elsewhere" have been in the habit of turning aside from their own proper antagonists and discussing my observations. I have no objection to that practice. I only desire that they should quote correctly. I should not in general trouble your Lordships with corrections of any misquotations except where the position of the individual or the special nature of the challenge rather exposes me to the choice between doing so and of allowing it to be believed that the quotations were correct. The first person to whose quotation I demur is the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. John Morley). I observe that last night, if he is properly reported, he used these words—

"Do my hon. Friends below the Gangway think that any *modus vivendi* can be found between us and Gentlemen opposite who are in favour of 20 years of coercion? [*Opposition cries* *of* 'Withdraw!'] I will withdraw that imputation," Mr. Morley replied, "as soon as I hear one single right hon. Gentleman on that Bench disavow what Lord Salisbury said in Her Majesty's Theatre."

Now, my Lords, that statement of my observations is not correct. I never used these words either in Her Majesty's Theatre or in St. James's Hall. I never said that I was in favour of 20 years of coercion, and I never spoke in that sense, which is more important. The object of my observations was to show that the application of the word "coercion" to the measures recommended by us was wholly unsuitable and improper; and coercion, according to the ordinary use of the term, means legislation in restraint of liberty and directed against political disaffection. I have never, either in Her Majesty's Theatre or in St. James's Hall, recommended legislation in restraint of liberty or legislation against political disaffection. What we have desired to recommend is legislation in protection of liberty—legislation to defend the innocent population against the unlawful acts of criminal men and criminal associations. This has never been called coercion up to this time. If it is coercion, I agree with the noble Duke, whom I do not see present (the Duke of Argyll) that it ought to be recommended, not only for 20 years, but for ever, and not only in Ireland, but in every civilized country. The other correction which I humbly wish to make is directed to the observations of a gentleman who is not a subject of Her Majesty. I observe that Mr. Blaine, who, I believe, is canvassing for the exalted post of President of the Republic of the United States, did me the honour to denounce me in somewhat vigorous and un-Parliamentary terms. If it in any way assists the candidature which Mr. Blaine has in view, I trust that he will continue his denunciations of me; but I hope he will do so without misquoting entirely the observations I have made. I venture to correct him because, stated in the prominent manner in which his observations have been, I am afraid that if I did not do so it might be thought there was a shred of foundation for the language he has imputed to me. What it appears, by telegraph, he wrote yesterday is as follows:—

> "I was referring to Lord Salisbury's declaration that the Irish might remain as they are now or emigrate."

*The Marquess of Salisbury*

I never made any declaration of that kind, or any declaration which could be by any ingenuity or malignity tortured into that statement. Perhaps your Lordships will allow me to remind you of what I did say. I said that I thought I could not recommend the expenditure of £150,000,000, because I thought that it would be too heavy a burden for the people of this country; but that if the money was to be spent it could be better spent in emigrating an additional portion of the Irish people than in buying out the landlords. I did that, as my words will show, in no sense of telling them to go if they did not like the institutions under which they lived. I did that on grounds of pure humanity. My words were these—

> "I would point out to the Government that if they could only emigrate another 1,000,000 of the Irish people they might do it for a great deal less than £150,000,000 sterling. They could set them up in a distant Colony under conditions in which they would be certain to prosper. They could give them in place of present misery and agitation a bright future of industry and prosperity; and if they should spend this money in conveying a large portion of the inhabitants of the congested districts to Manitoba, the result would be magical on the social condition of the Irish people. Wages would immediately rise; rents, if they were too high, would fall."

I may be wrong in my estimate of the value of emigration; but it used to be universally admitted as true that to assist men to leave a country where wages were low and employment was scarce and to go to a rich and a new country was a beneficent act. I adhere to that belief; but whether I am right or wrong, there is not the slightest ground for saying that in such a suggestion there was anything in the least degree approaching to insult to any portion of the Irish people.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA (The Earl of KIMBERLEY): My Lords, it is natural and proper that the noble Marquess should desire to give a contradiction to what he considers to be a misunderstanding or a misquotation of one of his speeches. Of course, we are placed at a considerable disadvantage. [*A laugh.*] The noble Lord laughs.

LORD ELLENBOROUGH: As the noble Earl very frequently does. [*Cries of* "Order!"]

THE EARL OF KIMBERLEY: I am perfectly in Order. The noble Lord laughs before he hears what I have to say. What I was about to state was that, of course, I have not the advantage of having with me a copy of the speech of the noble Marquess. If, therefore, in any remarks I am about to make I should fall into error, the noble Marquess will, perhaps, correct me, as I only speak from recollection. The noble Marquess takes exception to what was said by my right hon. Friend the Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. John Morley) in "another place" last night. With regard to that speech of my right hon. Friend, from a report of which the noble Marquess quotes from *The Times*, and which report, I presume, is substantially correct, the noble Marquess complains that my right hon. Friend ascribed to him the recommendation of 20 years of coercion. In the first place, I wish to observe that a vast deal more is made to turn upon a verbal difference than can be really sustained. My own view may be expressed in this way—just as a rose by any other name may smell as sweet, so the converse may be perfectly true. What I wish to point out to the noble Marquess is, that in the speech he made at St. James's Hall he said that after 20 years of such measures as he recommended there might come a time when you might repeal or get rid of coercive measures. If I remember rightly, those were the words used. Is it, therefore, very unreasonable that, connecting one part of the speech with another, it should be generally assumed that 20 years of resolute government — the very words used by the noble Marquess—meant 20 years of, I will not say coercion, but the kind of repressive measures to which we have been accustomed for so many years? There is no question about that. We have had a system of repressive measures towards Ireland, and the argument is that the noble Marquess is recommending a continuance of that system. For my own part, I think the inference drawn from the speech of the noble Marquess was very natural, not only because of what I believe were the words used in the latter part of the speech, but also as coupled with an announcement made by the Government of which he was the Head at the commencement of the Session. What was the policy which was recommended at the beginning of the Session, after the journey and examination by the right hon. Gentleman Mr. W. H. Smith, but the introduction of some repressive measures? When my right hon. Friend argued, as I understand he did in the other House, that the alternative to our policy is a policy of repression, such as we have pursued for many years past, and that this was the policy recommended by the noble Marquess, I must say that, notwithstanding the explanation now made by the noble Marquess, that I think my right hon. Friend was entirely justified.

## SITTINGS AND ADJOURNMENT OF THE HOUSE — THE WHITSUNTIDE RECESS.—QUESTION.

In reply to Lord Balfour,

The SECRETARY of STATE for INDIA (The Earl of Kimberley) said, that the state of Business in the House of Commons was such that it would be inconvenient for the Government to adjourn that day for the Whitsuntide Holidays. He did not think it would be possible to do so on Monday. Tuesday, he thought, would be a more probable day on which to propose an adjournment.

The Marquess of SALISBURY said, their Lordships had a very convenient form of adjourning during pleasure; and if they adopted that form, and if anything untoward should happen on Monday or Tuesday, and the Government should have anything important to communicate to the House, they could meet at any hour to hear it.

## COPYHOLD ENFRANCHISEMENT BILL.

### RESOLUTION.

Standing Order No. XXXIV. *considered* (according to Order).

Lord HOBHOUSE, in rising to move—

> "That Standing Order No. XXXIV. be considered in order to its being dispensed with,"

said, the reason why he asked their Lordships to suspend the Order was that it provided that when a Bill came up from the House of Commons it should be struck off the Minutes if Notice of second reading were not given within 12 days. The object of the Bill which he desired to submit for second reading was to accelerate the enfranchisement of copyholds. The greater part of the Bill consisted of Amendments, suggested by the Copyhold Commissioners, to the present procedure; and it would be for their Lordships to consider whether they would send it to a Select Committee. It was generally admitted that this was a desirable object, although they might differ as to the steps that ought to be taken in order to obtain it. When the Bill came up from the House of Commons he was asked to take charge of it, and, finding that there was a great quantity of detail in it, he was desirous of corresponding with several stewards of manors, who had a good deal to say upon the subject. About a week ago he came down to the House for the purpose of giving Notice of the second reading, and found that the Order which he now asked their Lordships to suspend, and the existence of which he was unaware of, had killed the Bill. He, therefore, asked their Lordships, under these circumstances, to enable him to give Notice of the second reading by suspending the Order in question. If their Lordships suspended the Order he proposed to notify the second reading for the earliest possible day after Whitsuntide; but, should it not be suspended, the Bill would have to take the more circuitous and troublesome course of being introduced again. He understood that the noble Duke the Chairman of Committees (the Duke of Buckingham) had stated that there was a precedent for remedying an oversight such as that which had occurred in the case of this Bill.

*Moved*, "That the said Order be dispensed with in respect of the said Bill."—(*The Lord Hobhouse.*)

EARL BEAUCHAMP said, he desired to point out that the Standing Order provided that a Bill which remained on the Table of the House without Notice of second reading being given within the time stated should not be proceeded with in the same Session. The object of the Order was to prevent a surprise being sprung upon the House; and, considering the importance of this Bill, and the uncertainty as to whether it would be brought on or not, he called the attention of the officers of the House a few days ago to the fact that Notice of second reading had not been given within the required time. The noble and learned Lord (Lord Hobhouse), he submitted, had taken a very inconvenient course. The Motion should have been made by a responsible Minister of the Crown, and not by a private Member, and full Notice of at least a week ought to have been given of it.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA (The Earl of KIMBERLEY) said, he hoped that their Lordships would take into consideration the fact that the noble and learned Lord (Lord Hobhouse) was not aware of the existence of the Standing Order, and that they would allow the Bill to proceed.

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY said, that a few days ago he was not able to induce the House to suspend a Standing Order to provide work for 7,000 people; and yet they were now asked to suspend a Standing Order to provide work for a single Peer. He did not say that the Standing Order should not be suspended; what he said was that if it were to be suspended some reason should be given for doing so, and the noble and learned Lord (Lord Hobhouse) had not given a sufficient reason for suspending it. He (the Marquess of Salisbury) should like to hear better reasons for this proposal than that the noble Lord did not know the Standing Order. He did not express an opinion on the Bill beyond saying that it was a very complicated measure. It had passed the House of Commons through the pertinacity of particular Members, and as it affected great interests it could hardly be adopted by their Lordships without being thoroughly inquired into by a competent Committee and to hear evidence. They were now on the eve of the Whitsuntide Holidays, the Bill could not be read until about the end of June, and even supposing that everything went on normally, and that the Session lived the length of life of other Sessions, he did not think there was much chance for the Bill. But this Session was not in good condition, and there were signs of an attack of illness, which might or might not prove fatal, so that he did not see what advantage might or might not be got by suspending the Standing Order and reading the Bill a second time. He was afraid that this was only another instance of the strange desire to read Bills a second time and then drop them. He wanted the Bill thoroughly inquired into by a Select Committee, and if the Committee could devise a mode of reducing these heterogeneous tenures into a more simple system he should be very glad. He could not say that any cause had been given for suspending the

Standing Order, and he should vote against it.

The LORD CHANCELLOR (Lord Herschell) said, he thought the noble Marquess (the Marquess of Salisbury) was proposing that the House should mete out a very hard measure to the noble Lord in charge of the Bill (Lord Hobhouse), and to the great number of persons who were interested in the question. The Bill had been fully discussed in that House, and had passed through the House of Commons with great care, and been dealt with by a Select Committee. The subject was one in which a large number of persons were deeply interested; and if the noble Marquess inquired into the state of opinion in Lancashire, he would find that the Bill excited the greatest interest there. Would anyone suffer from this Bill being allowed to proceed? It would have a most unfortunate appearance if the noble Marquess prevented the suspension of the Standing Order when the noble and learned Lord (Lord Hobhouse), a Member of the minority of that House, had explained the reason why this unfortunate mistake had occurred. The other day the noble Marquess was for suspending a Standing Order to get a Private Bill passed, and he was opposed to doing so now on a question which was of great importance to a numerous class. There was a precedent for what their Lordships were asked to do. On a former occasion, when a Bill was in a similar position, a noble Earl (the Earl of Carnarvon) took the matter up, and the Motion to suspend the Standing Order was agreed to. Both the noble Earl (Earl Beauchamp) and the noble Marquess (the Marquess of Salisbury) were opposed to the Bill, and had voted against a similar measure.

The Marquess of SALISBURY: Will the noble and learned Lord give the ground for his statement?

The LORD CHANCELLOR: The noble Marquess voted against the Bill.

The Marquess of SALISBURY: I did not vote against the principle of the Bill, but I voted against it only on account of the time. I never expressed any opinion with regard to the Bill.

The LORD CHANCELLOR: I thought the noble Marquess stated——

The Marquess of SALISBURY: I never opened my lips.

The LORD CHANCELLOR said, he could not know that the noble Marquess only voted against the Bill on account of time if he never opened his lips.

The Duke of RICHMOND and GORDON said, he would remind the noble and learned Lord that the last occasion that Bill was before the House, and to which he had referred, was 13 years ago. He must enter his protest against the assertion of the noble and learned Lord that it was because the Motion for the suspension of the Standing Order was moved from the Ministerial side of the House it was opposed on that side.

The LORD CHANCELLOR said, he never intended to make such an assertion. What he meant was that it would appear that an indulgence which had been accorded to a noble Lord on the Opposition side would not be allowed to a noble Lord on the Ministerial side.

The Duke of RICHMOND and GORDON said, of course he accepted the disclaimer; but if the noble and learned Lord wished to make a precedent out of what had been done, he might remind him what had occurred, not 13 years ago, but only three or four days ago. A Motion was made to suspend the Standing Orders by the noble Earl (Earl Cadogan), and it was supported by the noble Marquess (the Marquess of Salisbury), but was refused. Therefore, the noble and learned Lord was not justified in his statement.

On Question? Their Lordships *divided*:—Contents 39; Not-Contents 63: Majority 24.

*Resolved* in the *negative*.

## NAVY—UNARMOUR-ENDED SHIPS.

### QUESTION. OBSERVATIONS.

Viscount SIDMOUTH, in rising to ask the First Lord of the Admiralty, Whether all the unarmour-ended ships of the *Admiral*, or of any other class such as the *Agamemnon*, *Ajax*, *Edinburgh*, and *Colossus*, are designed as has been stated by the Chief Constructor of the Navy to be sunk 15 or 18 inches by the admission of several hundred tons of water before going into action as a means of maintaining the requisite trim; whether such orders have been issued as to make it perfectly clear to officers in command that this method is to be adopted by them when an immediate battle is expected; and whether the Admiralty intend to issue instructions, or have already issued any, for experiments to be tried with the object of ascertaining the effect of such a system? said, he asked the Question with the object of ascertaining if it were the serious intention of the designer of these vessels that this plan should be adopted. He understood that the Chief Constructor had stated that there would practically be no reduction in speed by the adoption of this plan. It was very important to ascertain that, because all the vessels he had named were totally incapable of being steered at a greater speed than 10 knots, and if any reduction in that amount of speed were made their powers in action would be altogether crippled. He thought the noble Marquess (the Marquess of Ripon), and everyone who occupied his post, should be careful that officers should have, before the critical moment of action arrived, every possible means of satisfying themselves as to the conditions under which they were expected to fight.

THE FIRST LORD OF THE ADMIRALTY (The Marquess of RIPON) said, the noble Viscount was, he thought, mistaken in the first part of his Question, the statement referred to having been made by the late Chief Constructor, and not by the present. It was by no means intended that, under all circumstances, water should be admitted into these vessels before going into action. If the vessels were properly laden with all their usual stores, there would be no occasion for admitting water. This plan was only intended to be adopted when a vessel happened to be light and the trim required to be corrected. There was no Regulation laid down nor any Order issued, nor was it the intention of the Admiralty to issue any Order that upon all occasions water was to be admitted to any extent at all, and certainly not to the large extent mentioned in the noble Viscount's Question. It was quite likely that in action one of the compartments of a vessel might be pierced by a shot, and in such an event it might be desirable to admit water into another compartment in order to set the trim right. It was clear that the matter was one which ought to be left entirely to the discretion of the gallant officers commanding the vessels, who had at their disposal full information in regard to every part of their vessels and everything connected with them. The noble Viscount was, of course, aware that water ballast was very extensively used in the Merchant Navy. An experiment in connection with this matter had been made some time ago with the *Howe*, and the result was that the ship was immersed 13 inches deeper, with the loss of only half-a-knot per hour in speed. Therefore, there was reason to believe that generally there would be very little loss in speed. He quite admitted the highly scientific character of these vessels and the great responsibility which the nature of their construction had thrown upon naval officers, who, he believed, were fully competent to discharge the important trusts committed to them. As to 43-ton guns, he desired to supplement what he had stated the other evening. They had now 10 of these guns. Six of them were to be replaced by six land service guns of a better type, and the Admiralty had taken steps to order six new guns. They were to be of the best description, and would be supplied as speedily as possible, although he was afraid they would not be able to have them for some 12 or 14 months.

## PATRIOTIC FUND BILL.—(No. 131.)

(*The Lord Sandhurst.*)

### SECOND READING.

Order of the Day for the Second Reading read.

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR WAR (Lord SANDHURST), in rising to move the second reading of the Bill, said, that previous to the introduction of the Bill of 1881 some changes in the *status* of the Patriotic Fund Commission were in contemplation, and these changes included a statement in the Preamble of the Bill—that the Patriotic Fund Commissioners should apply to the Charity Commissioners for a scheme for the management of their girls' school. The proposed alterations not being carried out, the powers of the Patriotic Fund Commission being somewhat extended, the necessity for the action of the Charity Commissioners in regard to the girls' school ended. By the proposed arrangement it was intended to relieve the Patriotic Fund Commissioners from the obligation to apply to the Charity Commissioners, as it was considered that administrative convenience would ensue, and that the administration would be carried out with greater economy, which would, therefore, not require any reduction in the numbers of the girls. There was a clause giving power to receive subscriptions in aid of the funds of the Commission.

*Moved*, "That the Bill be now read 2ª."—(*The Lord Sandhurst.*)

LORD CHELMSFORD said, he quite approved of the object of the measure.

Motion *agreed to;* Bill read 2ª accordingly, and *committed* to a Committee of the Whole House on *Tuesday* next.

### TRAMWAYS ORDER IN COUNCIL (IRELAND) BILL.—(No 132.)

(*The Lord FitzGerald.*)

SECOND READING.

Order of the Day for the Second Reading read.

LORD FITZGERALD, in rising to move the second reading of the Bill, pointed out at some length the proceedings connected with the Order in Council; and said the Bill was one of great importance, as it referred to a proposed tramway in a rural district adjoining the city of Cork.

*Moved*, "That the Bill be now read 2ª."—(*The Lord FitzGerald.*)

THE EARL OF BELMORE, in moving that the Bill be read a second time that day six months, said, he did this on public grounds. He objected that the Bill had not been introduced before June 1, following the date of the Order in Council. The matter was before the Select Committee of which he was Chairman last year, and the Bill had been already rejected by their Lordships. He was glad to say that he was not interested in any way in the measure. He had no interest in the county of Cork. The substantial objection to the Bill was that it would impose a burden on a district that would not be benefited by the tramway.

Amendment *moved*, to leave out ("now") and add at the end of the Motion ("this day six months.")—(*The Earl of Belmore.*)

LORD ASHBOURNE said, that the Bill was regarded as a very important one, and was viewed with the keenest interest in the county of Cork; and he hoped the noble Earl (the Earl of Belmore) would not press his Motion to a division. He was sure their Lordships would regret that anything should interfere, especially of a technical character, with the carrying out of what was a legitimate and important public work. He should like to point out that it was only in consequence of a misunderstanding of the law that the Bill had come under the jurisdiction of the Committee over which his noble Friend presided; and, therefore, he thought that by passing the Bill their Lordships would not be acting in a disrespectful manner towards the noble Earl or the Committee over which he presided if they did not follow the decision at which the Committee arrived. He did not think, although the question was most doubtful, that the date, June 1, was necessarily in all contingencies to be regarded as a mandatory and governing date in this matter. The date, he was disposed to think, might be looked upon as binding only where it required the promoters to be in a condition to show that they had done everything they could do before June 1.

THE LORD PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL (Earl SPENCER) said, he thought it right to point out the position of the Irish Government in this matter. They looked merely to the merits of the case, and found that the Bill was one of very great interest in the locality. He entirely concurred in all that had been urged by the noble and learned Lord (Lord FitzGerald) and the noble and learned Lord opposite (Lord Ashbourne). If their Lordships, following the advice of the noble and learned Lords, should read the Bill a second time, the Government would not offer any opposition, but, on the contrary, would be glad of the advantages to be conferred on the county of Cork.

THE EARL OF LIMERICK said, that the feelings of the people of the locality and the whole circumstances of the case might have so changed since last year as to render the passing of the Bill inadvisable.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR (Lord HERSCHELL) said, that the Bill was of some importance, and he always regarded it as a matter of regret that unless there was something in the Statute Book which prohibited the passing of these measures that the House should refuse to act upon them. After the passing of the Order by the Privy Council a Bill was to be introduced as soon as possible. It was evident, however, that if the Order in Council were passed only a short time before the 1st of June, say the 31st or the 30th of May, it would be impossible to introduce the Bill. It was the intention of the Legislature that the question should be considered by Parliament, and either accepted or rejected; but it was never considered by reason of Parliament having come to a conclusion. The matter was not free from very great doubt and difficulty; but there was such a concurrence of opinion in favour of the proposal, that he thought their Lordships would do wisely in not rejecting the Motion of his noble and learned Friend (Lord FitzGerald).

On Question that ("now") stand part of the Motion, *resolved* in the *affirmative*.

Bill read 2ª accordingly, and *committed* to a Committee of the Whole House on the *first sitting day after the recess at Whitsuntide.*

## PATENTS AMENDMENT BILL.

(*The Lord Chancellor.*)

(NO. 133.) SECOND READING.

Order of the Day for the Second Reading read.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR (Lord HERSCHELL), in rising to move the second reading of the Bill, said, its object was to remove some doubts with regard to copies of drawings and specifications. The Bill declared that that which served all needful purposes should be sufficient.

*Moved,* "That the Bill be now read 2ª."—(*The Lord Chancellor.*)

Motion *agreed to;* Bill read 2ª accordingly, and *committed* to a Committee of the Whole House on *Tuesday* next.

## ALLOTMENTS AND COTTAGE GARDENS.—OBSERVATIONS.

THE EARL OF ONSLOW, in rising to call attention to the method adopted by Her Majesty's Government for obtaining a Return of allotments and cottage gardens, said, that since he had moved in their Lordships' House for this Return complaints had reached him from all quarters that the Return forms were being filled in and sent in to the Government in a very incomplete, inaccurate, and unsatisfactory state. He thought a good deal of that was owing to the fact that the parish overseers were expected to collect those Returns without any additional remuneration, and it could hardly be supposed that they would take any great pains with the work under those circumstances. He thought it was very important that the Return should be accurate in all respects. At the last General Election it was frequently asserted that the landlords objected to allotments, whereas it had since been shown that that was by no means the case. It was no longer necessary to inquire whether landowners were ready to grant allotments; but it was of the greatest importance to know exactly the number of cottage gardens and allotments in the hands of labourers in the country, because from that it could be judged whether the demand for them had been satisfied. The overseers of parishes had good reason to complain of the niggardly manner in which their services were recognized. He wished to warn Parliament and the public against placing too much reliance upon the Returns now being collected.

THE LORD PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL (Earl SPENCER) said, he could assure the noble Earl (the Earl of Onslow) that Her Majesty's Government were most anxious that this Return should be as accurate as possible. At the time when the noble Earl made his Motion there was some question as to when the Return should be ready. At first it was promised in September; but it was finally arranged that it should be ready in June. For that purpose it was found necessary to obtain the assistance of the overseers in the different parishes, since the officers of the Inland Revenue and Agricultural Departments in England and Wales were so much engaged that they could not undertake any extra work. If the later time—September—had been adhered to, the Inland Revenue officers might have been able to do the work. In Scotland the work had been done by the Inland Revenue officers—14,500 forms of Return had been sent out, and 11,800 had been returned. The Inland Revenue officers carefully went over all these Returns, and where they found it necessary they asked the overseers for further information, and their inquiries were always most heartily, promptly, and intelligently answered. As to the complaint that the overseers had received no remuneration for their work, he would only point out to the noble Earl that, considering the number of parishes in Great Britain—some 16,000—payment even at £1 per head would require so large a sum of money that the Government would not be justified in asking for it. The overseers had in almost all cases been ready and willing to do the work, and in many cases they had stated that they would be glad to furnish any further information they could obtain. There had not been more than 100 applications for payment. He could assure their Lordships that great pains had been taken to obtain accurate information, and that the English Revenue officers and the Agricultural Department were only too anxious to furnish an accurate Return. With that object in view they would be glad to receive from any of their Lordships any complaints or remonstrances they might think fit to make as to the character of the information obtained, when inquiry should be made into the circumstances. He sincerely hoped that the Return would be found to be satisfactory.

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY said, he fully believed that the noble Earl opposite (the Earl of Onslow) and the Government had been very anxious to obtain an accurate Return; and yet, after hearing the statement of the noble Earl, he could not help fearing that that had not been done. The difficulty lay in the fact that the overseers to whom the noble Earl had appealed did not of themselves possess the knowledge necessary for making the Return. These allotments, if under a quarter of an acre, did not appear upon the books, and the result was that an overseer officially knew nothing about them. If an overseer wanted to know what the number of allotments on a particular property was he might ascertain it from the agent of the property; but if he could not he must take a walk round the parish and see for himself. It was not only a matter of counting allotments; that would be a comparatively easy thing, for they generally lay in one or two fields. But when there was included in the Return the number of cottage gardens it required a considerable knowledge of the parish to find them out. His impression was that overseers, unless they should obtain assistance from the land agents in their parishes, would find it very difficult to prepare complete Returns. If the overseers and agents were not brought into communication, Returns such as were contemplated in the Notice of the noble Earl must almost necessarily be defective. A Return when made ought to be placed on the church or chapel door, where attention would be attracted to it. Then, if it should contain anything which was defective, the local knowledge of the people would at once supply the deficiency. A defective Return would be worse than useless, because it would create a false impression. They all remembered the panic that was caused by the Census officers when they returned the owners of land in this country as 30,000 instead of nearly 1,000,000.

THE DUKE OF RICHMOND AND GORDON said, he believed that a great many cottages to which allotments were attached, and which ought, therefore, to be included in the Returns promised by the Government, would not appear in the official lists. If the overseer should trust for his information to the ratebook, he would fail to learn of the existence of many such cottages. In order that the overseer might be sure of acquiring the desired information a house-to-house visitation would be necessary.

EARL SPENCER said, that in the county with which he was most intimately connected the overseers had held meetings with a view to determine how the Returns could be best compiled.

## CONTAGIOUS DISEASES (ANIMALS) BILL.—(No. 122.)

(*The Lord President.*)

### COMMITTEE.

House in Committee (according to order).

Clauses 1 to 8, inclusive, *agreed to.*

Clause 9 (Transfer to Local Government Board of powers of Privy Council under Section 34, as to regulation of dairies, &c.)

THE LORD PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL (Earl SPENCER) moved an Amendment framed with a view to prevent any possible conflict between the authorities who would be concerned in the management of dairies and cowsheds.

Amendment *agreed to.*

Lord BALFOUR moved an Amendment placing under the control of the Secretary for Scotland the administration of the Act, instead of under the control of the Board of Supervision as the Bill proposed.

Amendment *moved*,

In page 5, lines 11 and 12, to leave out ("Board of Supervision for relief of the Poor in Scotland,") and insert ("Secretary for Scotland.")—(*The Lord Balfour.*)

Earl SPENCER said, he would bring up an Amendment providing that the orders of the Board of Supervision should only be of effect after being confirmed by the Secretary for Scotland.

Lord BALFOUR said, he objected to the manner in which it was proposed to apply the provisions of the Bill to Scotland. The Local Authorities were to be the Parochial Boards, instead of, as at present, the County Authorities. He considered that the Parochial Board was a wholly unfit authority to intrust with this duty. In the meantime, the regulations were uniform; but under the new administration there would be great difficulty, owing to the increase in the number of authorities, in securing uniformity of regulations, while the administration would be more expensive.

The Marquess of TWEEDDALE said, the Parochial Board was eminently fitted to discharge the duty it was proposed to intrust to it.

The Duke of RICHMOND and GORDON said, he was in favour of the proposal in the Bill.

The Earl of DALHOUSIE said, he could assure the noble Lord opposite (Lord Balfour) that any representations on the subject would receive full consideration before the next stage of the Bill.

Amendment (by leave of the Committee) *withdrawn.*

Clause, as amended, *agreed to.*

Remaining clauses *agreed to.*

The Report of the Amendments to be received on *Monday* next; and Bill to be *printed* as amended. (No. 149.)

## ARMY (AUXILIARY FORCES) — THE IRISH MILITIA—SNIDER RIFLES.

### QUESTION. OBSERVATIONS.

The Earl of GRANARD asked the Under Secretary of State for War, Whether, having regard to the reports, made at the conclusion of the last training, on the state of the Snider rifles at present used by the Irish Militia, as to the impossibility of accurate shooting owing to the grooving of the barrels being worn out, Her Majesty's Government are prepared to issue the Martini-Henry rifle to that force? The rifles at present in use were issued in 1869 and 1870. They were not then new, and from wear had become deteriorated, the grooving in many cases being obliterated; they were therefore not only useless, but dangerous, and many complaints were made about them during the training of 1885. It seemed to him unfair to the men, as well as a waste of time, to put them through the course of ball practice with an inefficient weapon. He trusted, therefore, especially as the English and Scotch Militia and the Volunteers were already supplied with Martini-Henrys, that the noble Lord would be able to give an assurance that the Martini-Henry would be issued, or, at all events, the defective weapons replaced by effective ones.

The Earl of LIMERICK said, he was able to confirm the statement contained in the Question of the noble Earl (the Earl of Granard). The Irish Militia regiment which he had the honour to command finished their training a few days ago. The instructor of musketry in the regiment reported that the rifles with which the men were armed were not only incapable of correct firing, but they were positively dangerous, because, the grooving of the barrels being worn out in most cases, the projectiles, in consequence, struck the targets at an angle. The result was that in many cases the projectile was deflected, and came back with very great force. Two officers and several men were struck during the recent firing, so that the practice was attended with considerable risk. The accoutrements, too, of the men were so rotten that it was impossible for the men to keep them on their backs, as when they strapped them on their backs the straps broke.

The UNDER SECRETARY of STATE for WAR (Lord Sandhurst), in reply, said, it was the intention of the Secretary of State to order a distribution of Martini-Henry rifles to the Irish Militia so soon as the new arm was ready for issue to the Infantry of the Line. At the same time, those Sniders then in the possession of the Irish Militia which were reported as unfit would be exchanged, and notice of that was given on receipt of the report of unfitness from the Commander-in-Chief. He might say that the Superintendent of the Royal Small Arms Factory had received orders to make a general inspection of the arms and to effect repairs. They were overhauled after last training, and would be after that training. The Irish Militia would be dealt with next, Martini-Henry carbines for Artillery, and Martini-Henry rifles for Infantry, as soon as our store admitted of it.

## CRIME AND OUTRAGE (IRELAND)—MUTILATION OF CATTLE.

### QUESTION. OBSERVATIONS.

The Earl of LIMERICK asked the Lord President of the Council, Whether it is the fact that five milch cows, the property of Patrick Kerin, a farmer, had been mutilated at Dromonin, their ears and tails cut off, and the legs of two broken, punctured wounds, from which the blood flowed, being also visible on their hides; whether the causes assigned are either that Kerin had paid his rent or that he had put his cattle on boycotted land; and, further, if the above facts are true, whether any persons have been made amenable, or what steps are being taken to bring the persons implicated to justice? These outrages upon animals disgraced Ireland. The noble Earl (Earl Spencer) had quoted statistics showing an improved condition, as he contended, in Ireland; but it was impossible from statistics to gather whether the condition of the country had improved or not. An explanation of the fact that the figures did not show an increase in crime might be found in the fact that very few people were now found with courage sufficient to resist the mandates of the National League. People were compelled to do their bidding, right or wrong. Notwithstanding this, outrages upon cattle were of almost daily occurrence; and he saw that, only last night, a caretaker was shot by Moonlighters. Only those who lived in the country could have any idea of the state of things which existed there. Noble Lords would agree with him that the matter required the earliest and serious attention of the Government.

The LORD PRESIDENT of the COUNCIL (Earl Spencer) said, he would confine himself merely to the Question on the Paper of Business, as he was not cognizant of the latest reported outrage, excepting from what he had read in the newspapers. The outrage mentioned in the Question was not of that barbarous character indicated. The animals were not milch cows, but calves; the legs were not broken, neither were their ears or tails cut off, nor their hides punctured. No injury was inflicted on any part of their bodies, and in four out of the six cases only the hair was removed. The police were making diligent inquiries in order to trace the perpetrators, and had some clue; but it would not be in the interests of justice that he should give any details at present. As far as he was able to judge, the outrage was not attributable to any such cause as that mentioned by the noble Earl.

House adjourned at Eight o'clock,
to Monday next, a quarter
past Four o'clock.

## HOUSE OF COMMONS,

*Friday, 4th June,* 1886.

MINUTES.]—Public Bills—*Ordered — First Reading*—Assizes Relief * [257]; Owners of Dogs Liability * [258]; Public Works Loans (Tramways Ireland) * [259]; Turnpike Roads (South Wales) * [260].

*Second Reading*—Government of Ireland [181] [*Eleventh Night*], *debate further adjourned.*

*Committee* — Sale of Intoxicating Liquors on Sunday [27]—r.p.

*Considered as amended* — Terms of Removal (Scotland) [187].

Provisional Order Bills — *Report* — Gas (No. 1) * [196].

*Considered as amended* — Police and Improvement (Scotland) (Leith) * [197].

## *QUESTIONS.*

## IRELAND—THE DUBLIN MOUNTED POLICE—SERGEANT CHASE.

Mr. T. M. HEALY (Londonderry, S.) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Has a junior officer ever hitherto been promoted over the heads of others against whom no complaint could be urged, without winning at a competitive examination; if so, will the instances be stated; if not, why was that course departed from in the case of Sergeant Chase of the Dublin Mounted Police; and, is it the intention to promote Sergeant Chase to the rank of inspector, or to leave the charge of the troop in the hands of a sergeant?

THE CHIEF SECRETARY (Mr. JOHN MORLEY) (Newcastle-on-Tyne), in reply, said, the Commissioner of Police informed him that junior men were often promoted over the heads of others who were not regarded as fitted for a higher rank. For obvious reasons it would not be desirable to give any names. There was no such thing as promotion by competitive examination. He had already explained, in answer to previous Questions, that the mode of procedure by which Sergeant Chase, although a Protestant, was recommended for promotion, was by a Board consisting exclusively of Catholic officers. The Commissioner stated that it was not intended to make any change in the arrangements which had been completed.

### POST OFFICE (IRELAND)—CORK POSTMEN.

MR. MAURICE HEALY (Cork) asked the Secretary to the Treasury, Whether it is the fact that while postmen attached to other offices of a similar status are eligible for promotion to positions of a higher grade in the service, such as that of letter sorter, when vacancies occur, the postmen attached to the Cork Post Office are excluded from any such privilege; and, whether it is also the fact that Cork postmen (married or single) receive, while sick, only half-pay, whereas Dublin postmen while sick receive (if married) full pay, and (if single) three-fourths pay, Dublin and Cork being both first class offices; and, if so, what reason exists for subjecting Cork postmen, whose wages are twenty-five per cent less than those paid in other first class offices, to these additional disadvantages?

THE SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY (Mr. HENRY H. FOWLER) (Wolverhampton, E.): It is not easy, within the limits of an ordinary answer, to explain this subject fully; but, briefly, it may be stated that the circumstances of Cork are so entirely different to the circumstances of Dublin and of certain other towns that no comparison can be made between them. The population is different, the volume of business different, the size of the offices different, and also the rate of wages. As regards sick pay, the Regulations of the Service permit an established postman to have half-pay during absence. At one or two offices, of which Dublin is one, by virtue of an old Regulation applicable to those offices only, postmen are allowed more than half-pay. It was decided some time ago that no new exceptions would be allowed, and the Postmaster General is considering whether the old Regulation should not now be abrogated.

### THE MAGISTRACY (IRELAND)—CO. DOWN MAGISTRATES.

MR. A. BLANE (Armagh, S.) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether Captain John Harrison, J.P., of Hollywood House, county Down, has made an arrangement with his creditors through the Bankruptcy Court recently; whether Mr. George Walker, J.P., of Castle Gardens, Newtownards, county Down, arranged through the Bankruptcy Court with his creditors for 15*s*., payable in six instalments of 2*s*. 6*d*. each over eighteen months; and, if true, whether it is intended to continue the above-named gentlemen in the Commission of the Peace?

THE CHIEF SECRETARY (Mr. JOHN MORLEY) (Newcastle-on-Tyne): The law is that bankruptcy or composition with creditors is a disqualification for the Commission of the Peace, and *ipso facto* suspends the Commission. It is the practice of the Lord Chancellor to point this out to any magistrate whose case comes under his cognizance, and this has been done in the case of Captain Harrison. As regards Mr. Walker, the hon. Member appears to have been misinformed.

### CUSTOMS DEPARTMENT, LONDON—OUTDOOR OFFICERS.

MR. LAWSON (St. Pancras, W.) asked the Secretary to the Treasury, Whether he is aware that officers of the Outdoor Customs, London, are employed in vaults and warehouses in a highly insanitary condition without the ordinary means of warmth and ventilation where gas has constantly to be used at all times, especially at (1) East India Avenue Vaults, Leadenhall Street; (2) Cooper's Row (Wet Goods), Tower Hill; (3) Colonial Wharf, near the Tower; (4) the

Ganger's Boxes in the various Docks; (5) the Clerical Offices in the Fenchurch Street Tea Warehouses, and other places in the heart of the City; and, as most of these offices, &c. have only been in actual use since 1882, who was responsible for their selection and approval; and, if he will institute an inquiry, and cause a Report to be drawn up on the subject?

THE SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY (Mr. HENRY H. FOWLER) (Wolverhampton, E.): Some of the offices in which outdoor officers of the Customs are employed are not of a description so satisfactory as might be desired; but, at the same time, in most instances they are not such as would be complained of by officers accustomed to the outdoor service. The duty on which some of these officers are employed—namely, gauging in vaults lighted only by gas—makes it very difficult to provide satisfactory accommodation for the clerical work which has to be done by a few officers in connection with it. Most of the offices in which clerical duty is performed by all the officers employed in them were taken by the Board of Works in 1882, when the new system of keeping the accounts at the warehouses was introduced; and at that time it was found extremely difficult to get any accommodation at all in places where it was requisite. As opportunities occur better accommodation will be provided; but it is not considered necessary that any Report should be made on the subject.

## POST OFFICE (IRELAND)—CLONMEL, &c.—ACCELERATED MAIL SERVICE.

MR. CONDON (Tipperary, E.) asked the Secretary to the Treasury, When it may be expected that the town of Clonmel and other places on the Waterford and Limerick Railway will receive the benefit of the accelerated mail service *viâ* the Limerick Junction; whether the Waterford and Limerick Railway Company have made the Post Office authorities an offer to provide the necessary service, including an accelerated mail from Ennis, on terms which they allege would only cover the cost of same, and if they have offered to submit those terms to arbitration; and, will the Post Office either agree to the terms or arbitrate them, so as to put an end to the serious public inconvenience now existing?

THE SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY (Mr. HENRY H. FOWLER) (Wolverhampton, E.): In reply to the hon. Member, I beg to state that the Postmaster General is still in communication with the Waterford and Limerick Railway Company on the subject of the accelerated services referred to in this Question, and it is not usual to make any definite statement while negotiations are pending; but perhaps the hon. Member will accept my assurance that the Postmaster General is using his best endeavour to bring this matter to a satisfactory settlement.

## ARMY (AUXILIARY FORCES) — THE IRISH MILITIA—6TH BRIGADE, NORTH IRISH DIVISION, R.A.

MR. BERNARD KELLY (Donegal, E.) asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether it is a fact that the Militia of the 6th Brigade, North Irish Division, R.A. stationed at Dungannon, is called out this year for training, having only eight recruits; whether the said Brigade occupies the workhouse at an annual rent of £140; whether the training grounds cost £80, and camping ground £40; whether the married men are entitled to separation allowance, the distance from the camp to the barracks being under specified allowance; and, whether the Government intend to incur this expenditure under the circumstances mentioned?

THE FINANCIAL SECRETARY (Mr. HERBERT GLADSTONE) (Leeds, W.) (who replied) said: Since the last training the brigade has enrolled 105 recruits, of whom 82 have elected to train on enrolment. All will come up for training when the brigade is called out. The charges for barrack accommodation and drill grounds are less than those stated in the hon. Member's Question by nearly 40 per cent, and they are incurred for the training of the brigade itself, and not merely for the recruits. The circumstances of the case have been considered to justify the issue of separation allowance.

## FISHERIES (IRELAND)—THE FISHERMEN OF ARKLOW—LOANS FOR BUILDING BOATS.

MR. W. J. CORBET asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, with reference to the refusal to grant loans to the fishermen of Arklow for building boats, Whether he will inquire as to the fact of a large number of Arklow fishermen having just taken service in Scotch boats, for the want of vessels of their own; and, whether, with reference to the decision of Government that the Rule regulating such loans applies only to the North-west and West Coasts of Ireland, he will lay a Copy of the last Rules and Regulations for the administration of the Irish Reproductive Loan Fund Acts upon the Table of the House?

THE CHIEF SECRETARY (Mr. JOHN MORLEY) (Newcastle-on-Tyne): It appears that several Arklow fishermen have taken service in Scotch boats this year; but it is not clear that this is the first year they have done so; and on the question whether they would do so if they could buy boats of their own we are making inquiries. The Rules for the regulation of the Reproductive Loan Fund are published in *The Dublin Gazette*, and it scarcely seems necessary to make a Parliamentary Return.

### POST OFFICE (SCOTLAND)—OBAN POST OFFICE.

MR. MACFARLANE (Argyll) asked the Secretary to the Treasury, If he can say why it is proposed to move the Post Office at Oban from its present central position to one near the end of the town; and, if this is done, will an additional Post Office be given near the other end or in the office of *The Oban Times?*

THE SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY (Mr. HENRY H. FOWLER) (Wolverhampton, E.), in reply, said, it was absolutely necessary to provide improved accommodation for the increased Post Office business at Oban; and as the premises hitherto used could not be adequately enlarged, removal elsewhere was unavoidable. The intended new office—the only suitable place that could be obtained—is near the railway station and one of the steamboat piers, and will afford very good accommodation. The Postmaster General will have inquiry made as to the necessity for a second office in any other part of the town.

### AFRICA (WEST COAST)—BRITISH PROTECTORATE IN THE GULF OF GUINEA.

MR. HUTTON (Manchester, N.) asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign

Affairs, Whether Her Majesty's Government is aware that, since the announcement in October 1884 of the establishment of the British protectorate in the Gulf of Guinea, in Western Africa, British commerce has materially declined and its interests have seriously suffered; and, whether, this altered condition of the trade being attributed in a great measure to delay on the part of Her Majesty's Government in providing adequate administration in this part of the dominions of Great Britain, Her Majesty's Government will take steps to remedy as soon as possible this unfavourable condition of an important future outlet for our manufactures?

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. BRYCE) (Aberdeen, S.): Her Majesty's Government do not conceive that if British commerce has materially declined since the date specified in my hon. Friend's Question such decline is attributable to the cause suggested. Consul Hewett returned to his post in December, and has already dealt with difficulties which arose in his absence. Active steps are being taken to complete the administrative organization of the Protectorate, and to insure, so far as the action of the Government can, the development of a thriving trade in this productive region.

### AFRICA (WEST COAST)—THE GOLD COAST.

MR. HUTTON (Manchester, N.) asked the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, Whether Her Majesty's Government is aware that the trade of the Gold Coast possessions is in a ruinous condition, through disturbances on the borders of British Territories, and the closing of the trade routes to the interior; whether Her Majesty's Government have received information that the Native tribes, who closed the paths, petitioned Her Majesty's Government to arbitrate between them, and that the Government officials delayed taking steps to settle their disputes amicably until after war had broken out; and, whether Her Majesty's Government will now use their influence to restore peace, and to keep open the trade routes between British Territory and the Native tribes in the interior?

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. OSBORNE MORGAN) (Denbighshire, E.): No doubt trade throughout West Africa has lately fallen off, and at the Gold Coast this may be partly due to disturbances in the interior; but the revenue does not as yet indicate that the falling-off is very serious, and trade cannot be described as in a ruinous condition. So far as I am aware, the hostile tribes did not join in inviting mediation; but the Governor of the Gold Coast made every possible effort to negotiate between them, and with this view sent an officer of considerable experience up to the frontier with a proposal to mediate. That officer was at first refused permission to proceed, and afterwards, when he visited the scene of hostilities, his intervention proved fruitless. No disturbances have taken place within the British Protectorate; and the matters to which the hon. Member refers occurred among the independent tribes constituting the old Kingdom of Ashantee, beyond the Prah, which is the boundary of the British Protectorate. But the Governor of the Gold Coast has expressed his intention to lose no favourable opportunity of exercising his influence to restore peace and re-open the trade routes, and his proposed course of action has been approved.

## COMMERCIAL TREATIES WITH FOREIGN STATES — THE BRITISH COLONIES.

LORD CLAUD HAMILTON (Liverpool, West Derby) asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Whether a Commercial Treaty with any Foreign Country granting Most Favoured Nation Treatment, for any term, precludes during such term Her Majesty's Government from granting any special privileges affecting tariffs to British Colonies, as well as to Foreign States; and, whether it is the case that, during the existence of such Treaty between the United Kingdom and any Foreign Country, those of our Colonies and dependencies which possess Legislatures of their own are not free to make whatever fiscal arrangements they choose independently of the Mother Country?

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. BRYCE) (Aberdeen, S.): A Commercial Treaty with a foreign country conveying a grant of the most favoured nation treatment does not, in the opinion of Her Majesty's Government, preclude the grant of special tariff privileges to British Colonies unless some express stipulation to a contrary effect is contained in the Treaty. The question whether the self-governing Colonies can determine their own fiscal arrangements during the existence of a Most Favoured Nation Clause Treaty between the United Kingdom and a foreign country depends on the terms of the Treaty itself. It has of late years been the invariable practice of this country, in making Commercial Treaties, to provide for the omission therefrom of the self-governing Colonies in case they should desire to be omitted. This has been done in the case of the recently concluded Commercial Convention with Spain.

## ADMIRALTY—COPYING WRITERS.

MR. BURDETT-COUTTS (Westminster) asked the Secretary to the Admiralty, Whether he is aware that writers who have been engaged in his Department for several years past upon various duties other than and superior to mere copying, have, within the last few days, been transferred to the Copying Rooms; and, whether this action will result in its being reported, in answer to the inquiries now set on foot by the Treasury, that those writers were employed on copying only?

THE CIVIL LORD OF THE ADMIRALTY (Mr. R. W. DUFF) (Banffshire) (who replied) said: Three copyists in the Admiralty have recently been moved to one of the copying rooms, their services being no longer required in the branch. This was done in the interests of the copyists themselves, who would otherwise have been discharged, and had no reference whatever to any Treasury inquiries.

## COMMERCIAL TREATIES — THE MOST FAVOURED NATION CLAUSE— NOTICE OF WITHDRAWAL.

LORD CLAUD HAMILTON (Liverpool, West Derby) asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Whether, since the expiration of the Anglo-French Treaty in 1881, any Commercial Treaty, involving the question of tariffs, or including the most favoured nation clause, has been concluded or exists in which the United Kingdom has not power to give notice of withdrawal at the end of twelve months; and, whether the Convention concluded by Her Majesty's Government for a Treaty, binding Her Majesty to give the most favoured nation treatment until June 30, 1892, is not the first occasion, since the lapse of the Anglo-French Treaty, in which it has been proposed to bind the United Kingdom for a definite term of years?

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. BRYCE) (Aberdeen, S.): Yes, Sir; several Treaties, each for a term of years, containing a Most Favoured Nation Clause have been concluded since the date mentioned in the Question. Among them are the Commercial Treaties with Portugal of 1882 and with Italy of 1883, the Provisional Agreement with Mexico of 1883, and the Commercial Convention with Egypt of 1884. None of these Treaties is terminable by a notice of withdrawal at the end of 12 months.

## "IMPERIAL FEDERATION, NAVAL AND MILITARY"—CAPTAIN COLOMB'S LECTURE.

MR. HOWARD VINCENT (Sheffield, Central) asked the First Lord of the Treasury, If his attention has been called to the lecture delivered at the Royal United Service Institution on May 31st by Captain J. C. R. Colomb, R.M.A., upon *Imperial Federation, Naval and Military;* and, whether Her Majesty's Government still declines to take advantage of the exceptional opportunity afforded by the welcome presence at this time in London of many leading statesmen and representatives of our brethren of Greater Britain to hold a conference under official auspices, even without a definite pre-arranged plan of federation, upon the possibility of establishing a closer union between the Mother Country and the other dominions of the British people for the imperial purposes of the defence of the Empire, the extension of the interchange of commerce, and the regulation of Foreign affairs?

THE FIRST LORD (Mr. W. E. GLADSTONE) (Edinburgh, Mid Lothian): In reply to the Question of the hon. Member, I have to state that those whose duty it has been to consider matters of this kind do not think that the Colonial Exhibition offers a very favourable opportunity for the examination of a great political and Constitutional question affecting the Colonies. The examination of such a question, instituted or promoted by voluntary effort, might probably be useful—at any rate, I do not see what inconvenience could attend it—but, promoted by the Government, it would be a serious affair; and there is not at present, as I am informed, in this country a single Prime Minister, nor even any Member of a Cabinet of any Colony which is under a responsible Government, I must say that I think, under these circumstances, the suggestion that the Government should promote a discussion of this kind upon its own responsibility in the absence of all such persons is not a very happy suggestion. That, I confess, is my opinion. Important proposals, I am informed, are at present under the consideration of the Australian Colonial Governments, in conjunction with the Admiral of the Station, for the establishment of United, Imperial, and Colonial action for defensive purposes; but no general scheme for the objects mentioned in the concluding part of the hon. Member's Question has met with acceptance in the Colonies down to the present time.

MR. HOWARD VINCENT: I would venture, with the permission of the right hon. Gentleman, to ask him if he is aware that Sir Alexander Stewart, lately Prime Minister of New South Wales, who sent the Australian Contingent to the Soudan, is now in London; that Mr. Service, long Premier of Victoria, the pioneer of Australasian Federation, the Right Hon. Sir John Macdonald, Premier of Canada, and the founder of the British North American Confederation, and the Hon. Gordon Sprigg, the distinguished statesman of Cape Colony, are shortly expected?

MR. W. E. GLADSTONE: Sir, I am not struck with the great felicity of the idea of inviting a combination of late Prime Ministers. They are gentlemen who are in an unfortunate position, as I myself have been on more than one occasion, and possibly may be again. I hardly think they are the best possible persons to appear here as the Representatives of the present politics of their respective countries. They may be excellent Representatives, and it may be my slowness of conception; but I confess that the notion does not commend itself to me on the first view.

## DEFENCES OF THE EMPIRE—A NAVAL REVIEW.

MR. BADEN-POWELL (Liverpool, Kirkdale) asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether, in view of the loyal share taken by the Colonies in the defence of the Empire, Her Majesty's Government will arrange for a Naval Review on a large scale, to be held this summer, in order that the many distinguished Colonists now in this Country may have the opportunity of witnessing a muster of ironclads and other vessels representative of the Naval strength of the Empire?

THE FIRST LORD (Mr. W. E. GLADSTONE) (Edinburgh, Mid Lothian): On making inquiries, I find it is undoubtedly desirable that every sort of attention should be paid to gentlemen from the Colonies visiting this country on an interesting occasion; but nothing of the kind suggested in the Question has been contemplated in the naval arrangements of the year; and very considerable inconvenience in connection with the Public Service would be experienced if an attempt were made to do that which clearly, if done at all, ought to be done on a very large scale. It has, however, been suggested that it would be of greater interest and utility to the Colonies and to those gentlemen, if they were disposed, as they probably would be, to avail themselves of the opportunities we shall be happy to extend to those specially interested in such matters, of obtaining access to the Naval and Military Constructive Departments, where they might see for themselves the real state of progress and organization, and probably would be able to acquire a great deal of useful information. I can say, with the utmost confidence, that every possible facility will be granted for such a purpose.

## SALE OF INTOXICATING LIQUORS ON SUNDAY BILL.

VISCOUNT CRANBORNE (Lancashire, N.E., Darwen) said, in view of the extraordinary hour to which the House was kept sitting by the Government this (Friday) morning, he should like to ask the hon. Baronet the Member for the Barnard Castle Division of Durham, After what hour he would not proceed with the Committee stage of this Bill?

SIR JOSEPH PEASE (Durham, Barnard Castle), in reply, said he quite hoped to be able to make some kind of progress with the Bill to-night, and he hoped the House would be disposed to extend to him the indulgence which had been granted to other private Members, who had great difficulty in advancing their Bills under existing circumstances. Of course, he should consult the convenience of the House as to the hour; but as the place occupied by the Bill on the Orders of the Day was tolerably near the top of the Paper he hoped it might be reached at a reasonable time.

## *ORDERS OF THE DAY.*

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## GOVERNMENT OF IRELAND BILL.—[BILL 181.]

(*Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Secretary Childers, Mr. John Morley, Mr. Attorney General.*)

SECOND READING. [ADJOURNED DEBATE.]

[ELEVENTH NIGHT.]

Order read, for resuming Adjourned Debate on Amendment proposed to Question [10th May], "That the Bill be now read a second time."

And which Amendment was, to leave out the word "now," and at the end of the Question to add the words "upon this day six months."—(*The Marquess of Hartington.*)

Question again proposed, "That the word 'now' stand part of the Question."

Debate *resumed.*

MR. ILLINGWORTH (Bradford, W.) said, it was not alone the particular provisions of the Bill they had to keep in view; but they must be aware—and in this he perfectly agreed with the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. John Morley)—that they were in the presence of a great national crisis. That being so, they should approach it with all due regard to its importance and to the responsibility imposed on them. If the Liberal Party were united, as it had generally been under the Leadership of the Prime Minister, there would be little difficulty in approaching the event, for they would have a majority in the Lobby in favour of the Bill of at least from 160 to 170. But, unfortunately, that was not so. At the same time, they were not distressed by the opposition which came from the quarter where opposition was always looked for; but they were distressed by the opposition from hon. and right hon. Gentlemen on their own side. With regard to that section of the Party led by the noble Marquess the Member for Rossendale (the Marquess of Hartington), he wished to say nothing in any way reflecting upon the view they took, or the action which necessarily followed it. The eminent services which the noble Marquess had rendered to the Liberal Party and the country would never be forgotten, and the fact that he was inclined now to separate himself from the Party was felt to be a pure misfortune. He (Mr. Illingworth) would only venture to express the hope that the noble Marquess would come out of his turmoil as sound a Liberal as he had been in the past. But, at the same time, he could not help thinking there was some little danger from the associations into which the noble Marquess was now entering. As he understood it, the noble Marquess and his followers objected to the whole scheme root and branch; and, in these circumstances, were bound, as honourable and conscientious men, to do that which their duty seemed to demand of them—namely, either to refrain from voting, or to go even the length of voting straight against the Bill. But there was another section of the Party—that led by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham (Mr. Joseph Chamberlain—whose action must be looked at in a somewhat different spirit. With respect to them, he would almost be inclined to repeat the same sentiments he had made use of with respect to the noble Marquess and his Friends, though their action was somewhat difficult to understand. That right hon. Gentleman and his Friends had taken up a position which, in his (Mr. Illingworth's) opinion, was scarcely justifiable, and which could hardly be explained either to their Friends in that House or to the country. He hoped no observation would fall from him which would give pain; and he was sure if his right hon. Friend and those with him were disposed to review their position and reconsider their decision at the 11th hour their return to the fold would be warmly hailed, and there would be a disposition, on the part of the great body of Liberals, to welcome their support with the greatest pleasure and gratification. He wished to ask—Were the right hon. Gentleman and his Friends prepared, at that moment, by voting against the second reading of the Bill, to take upon themselves the whole responsibility —for such he (Mr. Illingworth) believed the great majority of the House and the country would regard it—the whole responsibility for wrecking this measure, for destroying that Parliament, and for preventing the work, which he believed that Parliament was capable of doing, not at all because they were in a difficulty not as to agreeing to the principle of the measure, but because some detail, some plan, included in the Government Bill did not meet with their approbation? It was said their first determination, privately arrived at, was to absent themselves from the division. If that was correct, their abstention would have been a friendly act to many of those who had acted with them in public life, and who hoped to do so again. Reference had more than once been made to a letter written by his right hon. Friend the senior and venerated Member for Birmingham (Mr. John Bright). He (Mr. Illingworth) could not help feeling that, if that letter had been given to everybody publicly in the first instance, its effect might have been different. His right hon. Friend's position would have been made perfectly clear at the outset—that he was another Member to be added to the number who objected to this stage of the Bill being taken. But, as it was, the effect of that letter had been somewhat contrary to what his right hon. Friend intended, or what he could scarcely have anticipated or desired. What was the prospect before them in case the Bill were rejected, and the Government either resigned or appealed to the country? He would not undertake to prophesy what might happen if the Government were to resign. He could only point to the history and to the fallibility of the Party opposite when they came into power. They had ever shown themselves ready to turn their backs on their most cherished convictions; and by a rough journey, it might be, the end which the present Government were seeking peacefully to attain would be reached under the Government of Lord Salisbury, assisted by the able lieutenancy of the noble Lord the Member for South Paddington. Supposing that the alternative of Dissolution were before us, the Irish Nationalists had had an experience in the past that fitted them for any emergency. They would come back with increased numbers and increased power, and confidence in their claim for self-government for Ireland. Was it really and deliberately intended on the part of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham, and those who acted with him, that they should send this Party to the country, after so recent an Election, upon the narrow ground not of a difference of principle, but of a difference in method, and that difference minimized, as it had been, by the promises and the declarations of the Prime Minister and other right hon. Gentlemen on the Treasury Bench? He (Mr. Illingworth), himself, had been in Parliament now for about 20 years, and had had the felicity of cooperating in many great reforms. He had done so as an independent Member, and it was as an independent Member that he failed to understand the position taken up by his right hon. Friend and other Radicals. Never was there a great measure, which had occasioned differences in a Party, where the promises and assurances of a Prime Minister had been made so openly, widely, and generously, so well and open-handed, as they were in the present case. He thought the Government were justified in adhering to the position they had already taken up; to go beyond that, and to give more assurances, would be to humiliate the Government without serving any good end, or giving any additional satisfaction to those doubting Liberals who were hesitating about the course they would take. Every individual Member in favour of the principle of the Bill was justified in voting for the second reading, and, if necessary, debating and urging alterations or improvements in detail. When those details came to be dealt with, improvements might be, no doubt, effected. The great Ulster Question had been put before them as a Protestant question. For his own part, as regarded the Protestantism he valued, he had never claimed a single iota in the spirit of ascendancy; but the difficulty in regard to the Protestantism of Ulster was, and had always been, that it was associated with ascendancy. The present troubles and past misfortunes of Ireland were almost altogether due to the fact that there was a minority of Protestants in that country, able to ally themselves to the power of Great Britain, and so dividing Ireland, and presenting it before our eyes as two bitterly hostile sections. He was convinced that if a National Assembly of the kind provided for by the Bill were established, Protestantism would be absolutely safe in Ireland. The modern conditions of life made it impossible for bigotry to be mischievous. His main hope was that if the wealth and intelligence and Protestantism of Ireland exhibited themselves in a rational form, as they should do, they would be the most potent factors in the regeneration of that country; but if they turned their backs on the work, he believed the mischief and the suffering which would follow would be again, in large measure, due to the minority. He deeply deplored that the suggestion should have been made by a man in the influential position of his right hon. Friend the Member for West Birmingham that there were some risk of danger to the Protestants of Ulster. The members of the Catholic Church, through their Leaders, had declared their determination not in any respect to do anything in the slightest degree to interfere with the rights and liberties of their Protestant fellow-countrymen; and nothing, in his judgment, was more certain than that, in the position of Ireland now, absolute religious equality would be maintained. Then there was the question of the withdrawal of the Irish Members from the House, to which objection was taken on the ground that it was taxation without representation. But he would point out that when that principle had been asserted in our national life, whenever Radical Members had hitherto vindicated the principle of taxation and representation it had always been on the occasion of a right to tax being claimed without the right of representation, and not with the consent of the taxed. But Members were not asked to forego their own private views on this subject. If that question arose here, it arose from the inherent difficulties of the situation. When a system of federation should be established Ireland would form a part of it, and resume her old position under the new state of things. The mischief was not a substantial, but a sentimental one; and it was only necessary for the present to come to some rough-and-ready decision on the question. He could wish the Prime Minister had not, as regarded the 25th clause, so readily acceded to the request that the Bill should be remodelled, but had left all changes to be made in the Committee stage. But, at all events, the concession had been made in the interests of certain Radical Members who had been putting pressure upon the Government, and from whom therefore some return was due, and who ought not so readily to throw away all confidence in the Party to which they belonged. The attitude taken up by the Nationalist Members, even when not so numerous as they were now, had been such as to afford a strong argument in favour of the provision. Then about the supremacy of Parliament. But he had long doubted whether, in view of the obstruction and delay caused to so many Colonial and Imperial questions of great moment by a Nationalist Party not half so numerous as that which now confronted them, they could say there was such a thing as the supremacy of Parliament. They had only been able to give the small remnants of the time of Parliament to great questions affecting the Empire, for the tinkering of Irish questions had taken up most of the energy and time of that Assembly. The integrity and unity of the Empire were also said to be in danger. As far as they were concerned, was it not a matter of notoriety that, in consequence of this absorption in their own affairs, the Irish Nationalist Members had never shown themselves interested in those great foreign problems which were discussed in this House? Apparently they were so concerned, so humiliated by the condition of their own country, and its wants and needs, that they always seemed to have devoted themselves almost exclusively, and with enthusiasm, to that consideration only, and they had never entered into fellow-feeling with the rest of the House in regard to foreign questions. And if the demands of Ireland were not listened to, he could imagine that if Great Britain found herself in some life-and-death struggle, and if the past alienation continued, so far from Ireland being a strength to the Empire we might find her to be an element of weakness and of danger instead of strength, and even openly enlisted in the cause of our enemies. It was largely because they had not solidity and unity at present that he was in favour of the change proposed, and anticipated the best results from the Prime Minister's scheme. It was most important not to overlook the immense bearing upon the issue which the recent wide extension of the question exerted. Added to that was the abandonment of coercion by the late Tory Government and their alleged coquetting with the National Party. All this showed many Liberal Members that they must acquiesce in the old policy of coercion, or try some entirely new policy. Not only was there a new spirit among Nationalists opposite, but there was also a new spirit in the Liberal and Radical section in the present Parliament in favour of a policy of justice and generosity to Ireland. And the Prime Minister had rightly reckoned that measures of justice and generosity to Ireland, which it must have been impossible to carry in previous Parliaments, had some chance of success in this new Parliament. For the first time, too, the hon. Member for the City of Cork and those who acted with him had avowed their readiness to accept certain changes comprised in the measure of the Prime Minister as a full discharge of Ireland's claim, and as giving a guarantee for happier relations between the two countries. In the light of all these circumstances, could it be doubted that some such proposal as that now before them would before long be carried into effect? If so, it would be to the honour of the Prime Minister that he saw and took advantage of the opportunity presented by the overthrow of the Tory Government not to allow coercion to intervene, but that he grasped the hand held out from Ireland; and they were now engaged in a great enterprize which, sooner or later, would end in the success of some such scheme as the Prime Minister had submitted. As to the General Election, he looked forward with great trouble and anxiety to the time when the Elections might take place on this question, feeling that it was impossible to over-estimate the permanent mischief that must arise out of the relationship of a section of his Party with the Tories and their reliance on Tory votes. And he was sorry to say that no doubt a section of the Liberal Party had broken away from the main body. But he would remind hon. Members that he had never known of an instance of a public man who, when alienated for a time from the Liberals, had fortified his position by Conservative support, in which the mischievous effects had not been traceable all through his career. He ventured, with the greatest respect, to warn right hon. and hon. Gentlemen beside him, that they were about to play with edged tools. He had, at the last Election, met with some opposition in his borough from the Church Defence Association, because he was in favour of religious equality. Within the last few days he had received a communication, telling him that if he did not support the Government Bill somebody would not oppose him. This was an example of the danger which some hon. Members might find themselves exposed to, and it might be fatal in the case of men who had not his robustness. The noble Marquess the Member for Rossendale should not be misled by the favourable reception he got recently at Bradford. Would the noble Marquess be surprised to hear from those well able to form an opinion, that at least two-thirds of his audience belonged to the Conservative Party, and that the remaining third belonging to the Liberal Party did not give him any countenance or cheers for the line he was taking in opposing the Bill? The noble Marquess would be altogether mistaken if he drew the conclusion from that meeting that the Liberals in that part of the country were in large numbers likely to be swayed by his eloquence or influence in the matter to abandon the Prime Minister and the Bill. But if, for a moment, they swerved, they would soon recover; and whatever might be the temporary advantage to the Tory Party, it would be no advantage to the noble Marquess or those associated with him If the Bill was rejected, what would happen? It was a very providential thing that Lord Salisbury had been allowed to appear recently at St. James's Hall. As regarded that speech, he (Mr. Illingworth) could well understand that, in all probability, his right hon. Friend the Member for East Edinburgh (Mr. Goschen) and the noble Marquess could have wished in their hearts that he had been a little more prudent. But while the speech of Lord Salisbury was remarkable, the silence of the noble Lord the Member for South Paddington (Lord Randolph Churchill) was still more remarkable. How was it that he had got nothing to say in this debate—he, the stormy petrel that was ever on the wing, when there were clouds hovering round about and storms were brewing? The other night he gave the incomprehensible reason, forsooth, that he did not wish to take up the time of the House, and that he did not wish to hinder a decision being come to. He (Mr. Illingworth) had no doubt whatever that the noble Lord was anxious for a division, and felt that the shorter the debate the better would it be for the purposes of the Tory Party. For his own part, he (Mr. Illingworth) could not think it was in the interests either of Ireland or of this nation, that the question should be disposed of without ample and exhaustive debate. He, therefore, thanked the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Gladstone), and he believed the country would thank him, for maintaining the rights of debate in this matter. He ventured to remind hon. Members on his own side, who were hesitating as to the course they should take on the second reading, that the question, even if the Bill were defeated, could not be postponed for any considerable time. Until it was settled, great domestic reforms affecting Great Britain must be thrust on one side, for Parliament could never deal with several great questions all at one time. He was anxious that those hon. Gentlemen should reconsider their position, and not do that fatal injury to the Liberal Party which would result from their voting against the Bill. Let them show such generosity and secure reunion along the whole line of the Liberal Party at this stage as would secure the second reading, and then apply their individual and collective wisdom to the difficulties which might most fitly be raised in Committee.

MR. TROTTER (Colchester) said, he would not presume to occupy the attention of the House, even for a short time, were it not for the magnitude of the interests involved in the measures under discussion. Since the declarations made by the Prime Minister last Friday, it must be in the minds of all hon. Members that there was a good deal of unreality in the debate, and that the House was being asked, not to pass a law, but to save a Government. But as the right hon. Gentleman had indicated that the Bill would again be presented to the House, very much in its present shape, excepting some alterations of the 24th clause, he wished to urge a few plain, matter-of-fact reasons which had occurred to many minds, including his own, in coming to a conclusion upon this subject. There had been a great deal of recrimination indulged in during the course of the debate; but he would endeavour to avoid the example that had been set in that respect, and discuss the matter solely from the stand-point of the present, and what was wise and right to do at that time. He ventured to assert that a measure like that would not satisfy Ireland, as it would reduce that country to the position of a Dependency or Province of Great Britain, and that the Irish people would not consent to. Hon. Members must mistake that country if they thought that, for any time, that measure would satisfy the aspirations of Ireland. It was provided that Ireland should have no voice in the great questions of Foreign and Colonial affairs, of Peace and War, of the Army and Navy, of Trade and Commerce. But those matters were the very life and soul of a free people and proud nation; and it was impossible to conceive that a country which had shown itself so full both of patriotism and self-assertion should acquiesce in a state of things absolutely fatal to national greatness or independence. If the Nationalist Members held a contrary view, he must maintain, without impugning their sincerity, that they were unable to answer for the Irish people, who probably had a very imperfect knowledge of the restrictions to be imposed upon them. Again, he had never heard, in that House or out of it, any outspoken declaration from a Leader of the Nationalist Party, that, as our islands were encompassed by the same seas, so our interests were, and must be, one, the same, identical and indivisible. If Scotland were to demand a measure of this kind, it might be granted, as Scotland did recognize her identity with England. Ireland did not. As long as he could recollect, he had heard that the great curse of Ireland was absenteeism; yet, by the Government measures, it was proposed to make absenteeism universal. The great want of Ireland arose from an inadequacy of capital. It was proposed by that measure to take several millions of money annually out of Ireland, to prevent the employment of several thousands of people, and thus aggravate the evils under which Ireland suffered. Again, could it be contended that it was possible for a Parliament in Ireland to make better general laws, under which to live, than was done by the Imperial Parliament? He was quite sure that that House was prepared to give up any amount of time, and take any amount of trouble, to meet the wishes of Irish Representatives in regard to legislative requirements. What he said did not apply to local demands for powers to make or administer laws, which was a different subject and well worthy of consideration. But he believed there was nothing the English people were not ready and anxious to do, in order to produce peace and contentment in Ireland, short of agreeing to schemes which could only lead to a separation between the two countries. Again, a great number of English people who went to Ireland to enjoy the beautiful scenery there, and to join in sport, told him that the aspect of the people of Ireland had entirely changed. Whereas, a few years ago, English visitors were made much of, now hatred and contempt were exhibited. They told him that a great many Irishmen of the ordinary working class believed that, if they once had a Parliament, they would be able to enter into alliances with foreign countries and with England's enemies. They were asked to vote for the second reading of the Bill as affirming the principle of autonomy for Ireland; but he wished to know what particular form of autonomy was contemplated, because there were different kinds of autonomy, and the word itself, if it did not come to them in a foreign garb, at least fell upon their ears with a foreign sound? In that case, details were the essence of the autonomy, and it was unreasonable to expect them to vote for autonomy first, and leave the details to adjust themselves afterwards. Some Members of the Government preferred to describe it as voting for a Legislative Body. But that expression was equally vague, for two or three magistrates sitting in Petty Sessions were a Legislative Body, administering the law, and sometimes making it, also, for that matter; and therefore the term Legislative Body included anything from Petty Sessions or a Board of Guardians to a supreme Parliament. It had been said by the hon. Member for the Scotland Division of Liverpool (Mr. T. P. O'Connor) that, if the present Government was not allowed to pass this Bill, probably a weak Conservative Government would pass a similar one. He (Mr. Trotter) asked the House and the country not to believe that. The Leaders of the Conservative Party had declared their hostility to Home Rule. He did not think there was the slightest ground for supposing that, for a moment, they would contemplate passing a measure in the smallest degree resembling that before the House. If the Leaders had any such contemplation, the followers would not follow. But supposing the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant (Mr. John Morley) was a trustworthy guide, the last thing that the Nationalist Members could desire would be the sympathy or support of the Conservative Party; for he had noticed that, on a recent occasion, the right hon. Gentleman said that whenever the Conservative Party identified themselves with any cause, it was always fatal to that cause. He (Mr. Trotter) was a very young Member of that House, but not, he regretted to admit, a very young politician; and he remembered quite well that, when he first fought a contested Election, there was a considerable section of the Liberal Party which was known as the Manchester School, which did not hesitate to say it would be to the advantage of the Mother Country and the Colonies that the connection between them should be severed; but at that time, and ever since, the Conservative Party had always, in season and out of season, opposed that doctrine; and he would like to know if one Member of the House now would say that the connection was not to the advantage of both? He did not underrate the importance of the argument that the future government of Ireland would be much more difficult if this measure were rejected; but it was possible that might not entirely be the case. So long as Home Rule was a mere abstraction, dangled before the eyes of the Irish people, there was a certain fascination about it; but when once it had been brought down to prose, and put in black and white, the difficulties were seen, and would be more realized, especially when it was seen that the Prime Minister's great abilities had been unable to produce an acceptable measure. They were often told that the alternative was coercion. He had the greatest objection to coercion, and to laws for different parts of the country on different principles. If, for instance, some matter arose in Yorkshire which the present law did not meet, the House would not pass a law for that county, but one for the whole Kingdom. If the law required strengthening in any part of the Kingdom, he thought it might be left to the Queen's Lieutenant of any county to proclaim districts in regard to arms, to stop meetings, or to interfere with a Press that was doing harm; and when such a general law was not needed, its power would never be invoked. The most fatal objection to that measure consisted in the difficulties regarding the retention or exclusion of Irish Members at Westminster under the scheme. He believed that the Bill could not be final, and that its effect would be not to make, but to destroy, a nation. His constituents had required no pledge from him; and if he thought this measure would have been for the benefit of all parts of the Queen's Dominions, he would have voted for it. On the contrary, he believed it would be fruitful of harm. They had been told that 30,000,000 of people would have no difficulty in overcoming 5,000,000. That was quite true; but look at the misery that would be caused before an Army could intervene; and then, when it did intervene, the best blood of both countries would have to be freely spilt, and we should have to face all the difficulties that would follow consequent upon the whole of the threads of Government and Administration having passed out of our hands. As the Bill at present stood, separation would be much better, simpler, and much more quickly would result in final pacification, or in re-conquest, than an incomplete measure, with all the vices and none of the benefits of separation. With it the crisis would not be so long delayed, and the intervening friction would not be so intolerable. The Government plans ought, in justice, to include buying out the Loyal minority as well as the landlords. Much had been said about coercion; but he thought there was some coercion in that House in the form of a threat of a Dissolution. The great when there was no peace? People seemed to think there was some magic in an Act of Parliament; but the Act of 1800 might have created a parchment Union—it had certainly not given them true unity. Let them be honest and admit that the real ground of their opposition to the Bill was a deep distrust of the Irish people. That came out very forcibly in the speech in which Lord Salisbury spoke of the Irish as a nation that was accustomed to the slug-shot and the knife, and said he would as soon think of giving them self-government, as of giving it to Afghans or to Hottentots. But they could not predicate of any nation that it was unfit for self-government until it had been given to it. The careers of Sir Charles Gavan Duffy and other distinguished Irishmen in our Colonies illustrated the change that was wrought upon such men, when they breathed the atmosphere of a free self-governed community. The hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell), whom he hoped some day to congratulate on being the first Prime Minister for Ireland, would be a very different man in that capacity from what he was as the Leader of the Obstructionist Party in the House of Commons. When Ireland made her own laws, crime would be crime against Ireland, treason would be treason against Ireland, and sedition would be sedition against Ireland. That, he took it, would make the whole difference. Why, Prince Metternich once spoke of Italy as a mere geographical expression, and described the Italians very much as Lord Salisbury described the Irish people, and as entirely unfit for self-government. But the Italians now enjoyed that great boon, and there was not a better governed nation. Again, Norway had obtained the inestimable privilege of self-government; and, at the present moment, she was so contented with her lot, that she would as little think of separating from Sweden as Scotland would think of separating from England. Austria and Hungary, Denmark and Iceland, were also cases in point. Lord Durham, with a foresight that showed that he was politically in advance of his time, recommended that Home Rule should be given to Canada. The debates which took place at that time on that question might also be supposed to refer to the present Irish Home Rule Bill, it being then as now alleged that the first efforts of the new Legislature would be in the direction of total separation between the two countries, and that Canada would gravitate to the United States, from which she was separated, not as Ireland was by 3,000 miles of water, but by a hedge or a ditch, and in some parts merely by a parallel of latitude. During the debate Sir George Sinclair said—

> "This measure is so constructed as to give a triumph to the French over the English, to the Roman Catholics over the Protestants, to the traitorous over the well-affected."

Lord Ellenborough said that he was opposed to the Bill—

> "Because he thought it the most imprudent, the most fradulent, and the most unjust measure which had ever been proposed to Parliament, and at the same time the most ridiculous, because not one of the objects it professed would be practically affected by it."

Those were the very words in which the Chairman of the Conservative Union the other day had denounced this Bill. The Bill conferring a separate Legislature upon Canada was, however, carried; and it was a remarkable fact that, in the very first Canadian Parliament which assembled under the Act, there sat the two gentlemen who had headed the rebellions in both Upper and Lower Canada, Mr. Mackenzie and Mr. Papineau, both of whom became loyal subjects of the Queen. So it was with the Australian Colonies. As soon as our Colonies were able to walk alone, we gave them separate Legislature. But that course was opposed to all the weight of official opinion; Sir Charles Hotham, the Governor of Victoria, actually declaring that, if the patronage of the Colony was transferred from the Home Government to a Colonial Minister, the tariff of offices would be as notorious as the price of a railway ticket. Yet, at the present moment, Australian statesmen were as pure-minded and as open to reason as any who sat in that House. What the House was asked to do was to give Ireland the same boon as it had given to our Colonies. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for the Border Burghs had based one of his objections to the Bill, on the fact that it would require Ireland to pay tribute to this country, whereas our Colonies paid no such tribute. There was something very misleading about that word "tribute." The fact was, that under the provisions of this Bill Ireland would pay no tribute.

All that she would be required to do was to contribute her own share of the interest on the National Debt, and of the cost of protecting her shores. Was the right hon. Gentleman aware that, when it was necessary for her protection, that she should have British soldiers upon her shores, Australia paid this country at the rate of £40 per soldier for that protection? The same thing had occurred in the case of the other Colonies, and yet it could not be said that they had ever paid tribute to this country. The truth was that the Colonies paid us when they got a *quid pro quo* for what they paid, and that Ireland would only make us a payment upon similar terms. If this Bill were to pass, the connection between England and Ireland would be much closer than that which existed between England and her Colonies. The Colonial Legislatures had power to deal with a number of subjects which the Irish Legislature would have no power to touch. But then it was said by the right hon. and learned Member for Bury that, by the Act of 1865, the Imperial Parliament reserved to itself the right to repeal the Act of the Colonial Legislatures. He wondered what would happen if Parliament were to attempt to exercise that abstract right. If the Colonies did anything in derogation of International Law, the Crown would veto the Statute. The Royal veto in the case of the Colonies was by no means a dead letter, but was constantly exercised. The same would happen in the case of Ireland. If the Irish Parliament were to do some foolish thing, for instance, to pass an Act putting a poll tax on every Protestant, or a tax of 10*s*. upon every acre of land owned by a man not born in Ireland, the Crown, acting on the advice of the Prime Minister, who was for this purpose the creature of Parliament, would veto it, just as it would do now, if the Government of Canada or of Victoria were to pass such a law. Some hon. Members maintained that the bond between the Mother Country and the Colonies was a sentimental one only, and that they could separate themselves from us if they pleased. He denied that the bond between the Mother Country and the Colonies was a sentimental one only; it was a bond of self-interest founded on the instinct of self-preservation. The Colonies knew that united with the Mother Country they were part of a great Empire, while separated from her they would become mere floating atoms. That was the sentiment that would operate on the Irish mind. Whatever Irishmen might be, they were certainly not fools; and, unless he was greatly mistaken, they would take care to make friends of the Mammon of unrighteousness in the shape of their powerful neighbours. An anecdote was told him once by an eminent Protestant physician in Dublin which illustrated this. The physician being called in to attend a Prelate of the Roman Catholic Church, expressed his astonishment that a Roman Catholic physician had not been sent for. To that the Prelate replied, that if the Pope were dangerously ill, and he knew that St. Peter could not cure him and the Devil could, he would call in the Devil. In time he felt sure the tendency of Ireland would be to lean upon England as her natural protector, just as a sister leant on a brother. A Bill of such magnitude must necessarily present many points for attack on matters of detail, and its opponents had availed themselves very skilfully of the opportunities thus presented; but this would be the first time that this House would be asked to reject on its details the second reading of a Bill, the principle of which was approved by the majority of the House. Great objection had been taken to the exclusion of the Irish Members from the Imperial Parliament; but he thought that to give the Irish their full representation at Westminster, as well as the conduct of their own affairs, would be unjust not only to England, but to Ireland. By this Bill they were only voting to transfer the Irish Business, which was the bane and almost the curse of the House of Commons, from Westminster to Dublin. So, again, as to these so-called "safeguards." In time they would fall into disuse, because they would be felt to be unnecessary. The real safeguard for the minority in Ireland would be the growth of a healthy public opinion in Ireland such as had never existed there since the Act of Union. Before sitting down he wished to make an earnest appeal to his hon. Friends on that side of the House, who held the fate of the Bill in their hands. He did not address himself to the Conservatives. They were in the happy position of the monkey in the fable, who had the chestnuts pulled out of the fire for him by the cats below the Gangway. He would not remind them of the disruption of the Liberal Party—that, unfortunately, was past praying for. Still less would he threaten them with the terrors of a Dissolution—that was an ignoble argument, which had no terrors for him, and he did not wish to credit others with lower motives than those by which he himself was actuated. But was it not certain that before many months some measure framed upon the lines of this Bill must be passed? They could no more arrest the progress of the Irish Home Rule movement than the Danish King in the old Saxon legend could stay the rising of the tide. And the tide was rising in favour of this Bill. The country was breast high with the Prime Minister. An hon. Friend behind him had said that Scotland would not desert Ulster. How that might be he knew not; but one thing he knew—Wales would not desert Gladstone. No doubt, some men of light and leading had gone over to the other side; but the people were with them, and in these cases it often happened that the instincts of the people were sounder than those of their natural Leaders. It was so in the case of the War of Italian Independence—it was so in the case of the American Civil War. In both cases "society" was on the wrong side. The noble Marquess, deservedly the most popular Representative in Lancashire, went down to his constituency; but he could get nothing better than a vote of thanks for his speech. His hon. Friend the Member for South Northumberland (Mr. A. Grey) was still more unfortunate; for at a meeting of his Liberal supporters he could only get 13 men—a baker's dozen—to express their confidence in him. In his (Mr. Osborne Morgan's) own constituency, at a meeting of the so-called "Loyal and Patriotic Union," presided over by the Lord Lieutenant, and convened by ticket, nearly one-third of the persons present declared for the Bill. On the previous evening he himself had addressed a mass meeting in the same place—not convened by ticket—at which a resolution in favour of the Bill was carried with only four dissentients. Was the Prime Minister the man to put his hand to the plough and turn back? And if such a thing were possible, there were others — possibly the noble Lord the Member for South Paddington (Lord Randolph Churchill)—who would step into his place. [*Laughter.*] Well, more strange things than that had happened before now. Of one thing they might be sure. If this Bill were thrown out, and another Bill brought in, it would be a stronger and a bolder measure. For it was with these things as in the old story of the Sibylline books—the longer the demand was resisted the higher became the price to be paid. Would it not be well, then, to accept the inevitable? Surely, it was hard to kick against the pricks. Hon. Gentlemen opposite might say that these were the dictates of cowardice and fear. Was the Duke of Wellington a coward when he accepted Catholic Emancipation in order to avert civil war? And if this Bill was rejected, something worse than civil war might be in store for us. But, as a matter of fact, this was the very first concession to Ireland that had not been extorted by fear. For the first time in our history a Minister had come down to the House to offer a boon to Ireland, which was in the nature of a free gift. A tremendous responsibility would rest upon those who sought to withhold it. He implored them to pause before they did so. Pass the second reading of the Bill, and they would be laying the foundations of a real Union — not an Act of Parliament Union—not a parchment Union — but a moral Union, a union of heart and soul between two Sister Nations. Reject it, and they would be widening still further a gulf which—God knows—was wide enough already, and they would be adding another chapter to that long list of failures which had made the history of Ireland the one dark, sad page in the glorious annals of our Empire.

COLONEL KING-HARMAN (Kent, Isle of Thanet) said, that the right hon. and learned Gentleman who had last addressed the House (Mr. Osborne Morgan) gave a few historical statements as to Irishmen who had crossed the seas as rebels, and came back devoted and loyal adherents to the British Crown. The right hon. and learned Gentleman mentioned Sir Charles Gavan Duffy and Mr. O'Shaughnessy; but, for his (Colonel King-Harman's) own part, he had never heard that the latter Gentleman was a rebel, although he might perhaps have been a firebrand.

MR. OSBORNE MORGAN: I never said he was a rebel; but I said he was a firebrand.

COLONEL KING-HARMAN said, at all events, Mr. O'Shaughnessy had been spoken of as an enemy of the British supremacy, who afterwards became a devoted adherent to the Crown. The right hon. and learned Gentleman forgot, however, to mention another Irish gentleman—he meant Mr. D'Arcy M'Ghee —who was also once a rebel, but who went to Canada and became a loyal adherent of the British Crown. The right hon. and learned Gentleman forgot the fate which overtook M'Ghee, who was struck down by the hands of an assassin, because he became a loyal man. The right hon. and learned Gentleman was also somewhat unfortunate as regarded his reference to Canada, for he informed them that the Canadian Parliament could pass such laws as they pleased, subject to the veto of the Crown. But what was the fact? The veto of the Crown would never be exercised in Canada; because they knew very well that, if it were, Canada would break off from the British connection, and not a shot would be fired to prevent it—and the same would be the case in Ireland. That proved how useless and illusory the veto would be in regard to the Irish Parliament. The right hon. and learned Member tried to convey the idea that there was an extraordinary enthusiasm manifested for some such Bill as that before the House. They, however, on his (Colonel King-Harman's) side of the House did not believe in this enthusiasm, and challenged the Prime Minister to go to the country on the question. It was also said, as a proof of the statement, that hon. Gentlemen below the Gangway had been returned from certain Ulster constituencies. They were, however, most conveniently careful to keep from uttering any expressions about Home Rule in Ulster. ["Oh, oh!"] Yes, "The land" was their cry. The right hon. and learned Gentleman misquoted Lord Salisbury's speech, in which he stated the noble Marquess compared the Irish people to Hottentots. The right hon. and learned Gentleman had, however, stated that injustice had brought Ireland into a state like that of Bechuanaland, or worse; so that Members of the Government might compare Irishmen to Natives of Bechuanaland, while Lord Salisbury was misquoted, because he referred to Hottentots. Again, the right hon. and learned Gentleman spoke of 86 years of failure and trouble in Ireland, but omitted to state during how many years out of those 86 Ireland had been under a Liberal Government. He also spoke of 38 Coercion Bills, but he did not state that 35 of them were passed by Liberal Governments. He drew a marvellous picture about his sitting down to breakfast with a detective at his elbow, and another under his chair. About four or five years ago, when coming out of his house, he (Colonel King-Harman) found an enormous policeman on his door-step. He did not want to have a policeman, so he went to the police office and inquired what was the reason. In reply the Inspector informed him that he was really in great danger. He said he did not think he was, but the Inspector informed him that he was done a great honour. He was "treated exactly as a Cabinet Minister." He, however, speaking somewhat impatiently, said—"For God's sake, do not confound me with any of those people." The right hon. and learned Gentleman misquoted Lord Salisbury just as the Radical papers had done over and over again. Lord Salisbury did not explain away his words, but cleared himself of the misrepresentations to which he had been exposed. The right hon. and learned Gentleman had also said that the Bill would relieve us from the necessity of locking up 40,000 British soldiers to preserve the peace in Ireland; but if he could lock up 40 rebels he would preserve the peace—if he could catch them. That would be much better; or, even if 10 were locked up, it would not matter about the remaining 30. The very men who were now fawning upon the Prime Minister had not long ago spoken of him with the greatest hatred and abuse. The right hon. and learned Gentleman had referred to Lombardy, as affording a parallel to Ireland. But Lombardy wanted not separation, but union with the newly-created Kingdom of Italy. Lombardy, therefore, resembled the loyal portion of Ireland—the classes, as the Prime Minister had called them, who were all in favour of maintaining the Union. The right hon. and learned Gentleman had spoken of the animosity of Ulster being conciliated by hon. Gentlemen below the Gangway. But what did Mr. Davitt say? He said a short time ago—"Leave Ulster men to us—the Irish Parliament will soon deal with them."

Mr. DILLON (Mayo, E.) rose to Order. Mr. Davitt had never used these words, which had appeared in a newspaper. Mr. Davitt wrote a long letter to the paper the very next day, in which he stated that the statement was a pure invention.

Colonel KING-HARMAN said, he was exceedingly glad to hear that Mr. Davitt had repudiated the statement, and unhesitatingly withdrew it. He was quite sure the hon. Member was correct, and he would not willingly do an injustice, especially to Mr. Davitt. The hon. Member for Bradford (Mr. Illingworth) had lately addressed the House in favour of the Bill. He (Colonel King-Harman) could not help thinking that there had been another Member for Bradford, who had given great service to the Liberal Party, and who had great experience of Ireland (Mr. Forster), whose loss they all deplored, and from whose lips they would have heard a very different speech. They had heard the repudiation by the hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell) of the speech which had been attributed to him; but since then two telegrams had arrived from Chicago confirming the accuracy of the statement which the hon. Member for the City of Cork denied. The hon. Member for the Scotland Division of Liverpool (Mr. T. P. O'Connor) said the other night that separation was impossible. But they could not forget that, when the same thing was said by others, the hon. Member had replied by referring to the greater Ireland across the Atlantic. The hon. Member said that now the Nationalist Party would have recourse to moral means. But the House would not forget that their instruments in the past had been "Boycotting" and murder. The Prime Minister had urged that the Bill was necessary to preserve social order. But social order had not improved, but declined, since the introduction of the Bill. The Prime Minister was not free to hang up this Bill, because he wanted to catch weak votes, according to his own words. The hon. Member (Mr. T. P. O'Connor) urged that the Bill was now only a draft measure, and the Prime Minister had bowed his head in assent and cheered.

Mr. W. E. GLADSTONE said no; that was quite a mistake. He had noticed the statement in an evening paper of that day, and was observing to an hon. Friend that it was a gross error. He had cheered another statement, and not the one to which the hon. Member referred.

Colonel KING-HARMAN said, that he accepted the correction; but certainly the right hon. Gentleman must have cheered some sentence which was very near that to which he (Colonel King-Harman) had referred. The hon. Member for the Scotland Division of Liverpool had referred to the tampering of the Conservative Party with the Nationalists, and hinted that there was some terrible things to disclose, if honour allowed him to do so. That was a pure *suggestio falsi*, and had, in several cases, been disproved. The hon. Member also hinted that Mr. Wilfrid Blunt could make revelations, as he possessed the confidence of the noble Lord the Member for South Paddington. This, however, was equally true with the statement which was made when Mr. Blunt went to Egypt to visit his friend Arabi Pasha, that he possessed the confidence of the Prime Minister. As to the idea of the abandonment of coercion by the Tory Government having brought about the present crisis, that was no more true than to say the abandonment by the Prime Minister's Cabinet of 1880 of the Peace Preservation Act had brought it about. Hon. Gentlemen below the Gangway opposite were terribly afraid of the word "Coercion," and said they would no longer be mixed up with it. Well, he (Colonel King-Harman) disliked coercion too; but very few of the laws which had been passed for the better government of Ireland of late years deserved that name. Very few of those laws were so framed as to injure, hurt, or annoy any honest, loyal, or God-fearing man. The chief reason why he had risen to speak in the debate was, that he had an intimate relation with the question of Home Rule, and it was right he should explain the difference between the Home Rule Bill of the Prime Minister and the Home Rule movement of 1870. When the Home Rule movement started in that year, he was a follower of Mr. Butt, a thing which not a single one of those hon. Gentlemen—the Home Rulers—could say.

MR. W. O'BRIEN (Tyrone, N.): What nonsense.

MR. SPEAKER: Order, order!

MR. DILLON: The hon. and gallant Member is making a statement which, I am sure, he will withdraw. A great many of us were followers of Mr. Butt. I was present myself, and took part in the Convention in which he first laid his scheme of Home Rule.

COLONEL KING-HARMAN said, he accepted the correction; but, at the same time, there were many there who were not followers of Mr. Butt, and they put up Mr. O'Connor Power, whom they were not so fond of now, as the spokesman of the Fenian Party. He knew all about that. He believed the hon. Member for the Blackfriars Division of Glasgow (Mr. Mitchell Henry) and the Lord Mayor of Dublin (Mr. T. D. Sullivan) were the only two Members now in that House, excepting himself, who were Members of the Home Rule Council of Mr. Butt.

MR. O'HANLON (Cavan, E.): I was a member of the Council of the League.

COLONEL KING-HARMAN said, he did not say the Council of the League, but Mr. Butt's Council. If he had made any mistake, he apologized for it; but the Home Rule Council, at that time, was composed of a very different class of men from those to whom the Prime Minister now proposed to hand over the government of the country. They were leading merchants, magistrates, bankers, and other men who had a great stake in the country, and one and all would have scouted the idea of separation. But what was the Prime Minister's own opinion of the men who then asked for Home Rule? He remembered that, in 1874, when he seconded Mr. Shaw's Resolution, asking for a Special Committee of the House of Commons to inquire into the question of Home Rule, the Prime Minister opposed it, and walked out in the majority.

MR. W. E. GLADSTONE: Hear, hear! And I would do so now, under the same circumstances.

COLONEL KING-HARMAN: Very well, then, would the Prime Minister use the language now, that he used in Aberdeen in 1871 about the Home Rule movement, when he said—

> "Can any sensible man, can any rational man, suppose that at this time of day, in this condition of the world, we are going to upset the great capital institutions of this country for the purpose of making ourselves ridiculous in the sight of all mankind."

Would the right hon. Gentleman hold to the words of that speech now?

MR. W. E. GLADSTONE: Yes, in the same circumstances, certainly.

COLONEL KING-HARMAN said, he believed the right hon. Gentleman with regard to "in the same circumstances," but he did not think he would repeat them in the House of Commons. The right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer used to hold pronounced opinions against Home Rule, and, in a speech at Derby, he violently attacked Lord Beaconsfield because he had done his (Colonel King-Harman's) humble self the honour of making him Lord Lieutenant of the County Roscommon. The right hon. Gentleman's feelings of loyalty were deeply stirred at the making a Lord Lieutenant of a man who supported Home Rule. It was a matter of the deepest gravity to promote such a rebel and a monster. He had changed his opinions since, however, and the conversion of the Prime Minister and of the Chancellor of the Exchequer seemed to have been shared by a good many of their followers. He could quote a good many of their Election addresses, showing how marvellously quickly they had changed their opinions. The hon. Member for St. Austell (Mr. Borlase), for example, who now sat on the Treasury Bench, in his Election address, said—

> "The question of Home Rule is at an end. The conduct of those who have advocated the measure has killed it."

As he had said, Mr. Butt and his followers scorned separation; but they found in time that the movement, as they propounded it, was a mistake, though it was a mistake loyally conceived. They, the loyal men connected with the movement, found, in the first place, that those who were not loyal and were averse to the connection with England were pouring into and flooding their ranks and making the Association a means for carrying on their ideas of separation; and they also found, for it was pointed out to Mr. Butt by the late Mr. P. J. Smyth, in the words of the Prime Minister, that it passed the wit of man to discover what were Imperial and what were Irish measures. The Nationalist Party of to-day not only asked but demanded separation, and would be satisfied with nothing else. [Home Rule MEMBERS: Quote.] He had not the slightest intention of taking up the time of the House. [*Ironical laughter from the Home Rulers.*] Oh, very well. The hon. and learned Member for South Londonderry (Mr. T. M. Healy) had not long ago used these words—

> "We believe that landlordism is the prop of English rule, and we are working to take that prop away. To drive out British rule from Ireland, we will strike at its foundation, and that foundation is landlordism. We seek no bargain with England. As the Master said unto the Tempter, 'Begone, Satan,' so we will say to them, 'Begone, Saxon.'"

In Mr. Butt's time the state of Ireland was very different from what it was now. Freedom of opinion was allowed, for there was no National League, no "Boycotting," and no American agitators; and yet Mr. Butt could not, with all his eloquence, arouse the slightest degree of enthusiasm for the cause he espoused, and he (Colonel King-Harman) ventured to say there was little more enthusiasm now in the hearts of the people than there was in Mr. Butt's time. He maintained that, if they could poll Ireland now, without any fear that the direction in which men voted would be known upon the question of Separation or Home Rule, apart from the question of the land, they would not find 100,000 men in Ireland supporting the policy of the hon. Member for the City of Cork. ["Oh, oh!"] Well, he could say that the small farmers were by no means enamoured of the measure which hon. Gentlemen below the Gangway were proposing to give them as a boon. The small farmers did not speak of it as "a great measure of local self-government." They spoke of it as "separation." They said—"If we are to be separated from England, where shall we find our markets? Where are we to dispose of our little stock?" The small farmers did not want to get rid of England. The small farmers, therefore, did not like the Bill, because they knew it meant separation. The small farmers did not want to get rid of England, neither did they want to get rid of the landlords. They would like to keep the landlords, as well as the connection with England, for they thought the landlords were very convenient, because they paid half the poor rates, and in many cases the whole of the poor rates. They would also keep the landlords, because many of them were regarded as "good fellows;" but they would not like to pay any rent. He would go farther, and say the educated classes were against Bill; but, so far as the Government now cared, the landlords, it appeared, were to be left to stew in their own juice. The effect of the Bill, then, in Ireland would be most disastrous. It would mean for England largely increased taxation and the flooding of the labour markets with Irishmen, who would have no employment in their own country when the landlords were gone. He knew well that it was represented as something very different, and that hon. Gentlemen on the Radical Benches had been informing their constituencies to the contrary—that the Irish workers would all return to Ireland. What to do? To starve? How could that Bill make an acre of land larger or more productive? They had heard the speech of the President of the Local Government Board (Mr. Stansfeld); but they could not forget the visitors to Thurlow Place, and his connections, Mazzini and Orsini, the latter of whom threw a bomb at the Emperor Napoleon. The right hon. Gentleman supported those friends of nationality; but they were in favour of the unity of a great Empire, and this Bill broke up a great Empire. [*Laughter.*] Ninety-nine out of every 100 Members knew that the Bill meant separation. ["No!"] No! Well, every man in Ireland knew it. He and others were denounced as Saxons. They, and their ancestors, had been 350 years in Ireland, and yet they were spoken of as "aliens," and were to be kicked out of the country. Who were the Irish? He should like very much to know. Hon. Gentlemen below the Gangway would only regard as Irishmen those who advocated separation. The hon. Member for Cavan (Mr. Biggar) once said that no Protestant was an Irishman—that Protestants were only West Britons. ["Oh, oh!"] He had seen the report in several newspapers, and it had never been contradicted. [*Cries of* "He never said it."] He repeated, it had never been contradicted.

MR. T. HARRINGTON: He was a Protestant himself at the time.

COLONEL KING-HARMAN: Oh, no; he had changed his religion six months before. If, however, what the hon. Member said was correct, then no loyal Irishman was an Irishman. They were all to be turned out. Wellington, Gough, and Lord Dufferin were not Irishmen; the officers and men in the Army were not Irishmen. It was only those who advocated separation who were Irishmen, and it was only with them that "the Truce of God" was to be made. Were the descendants of the men who fought under Wellington and Gough to be kicked out? Then it would be tough work. He had never been one of those blusterers who talked of civil war. He had never advocated civil war, whatever he might have thought about it; and what he thought about it was this—he did not see how that Bill would pass into law, without the effect of it being civil war in a short time, and civil war of a dire and terrible nature. He said that, because he knew that whatever the faults of Irishmen might be, they certainly were brave and could fight. Civil war, then, in Ireland would not be child's play. It would be fighting between brave men; fighting for a very wrong cause on one side, and, on the other side, men fighting who loved England, and intended to maintain their allegiance to Queen Victoria. If that civil war came, did they think it would not affect the Irish population in the large towns in England? In that case, he did not think the democracy of England would be found shaking hands with the Irish democracy in those places. God forbid that they should ever see such a day! Let it not be supposed, because the hon. and learned Attorney General had quoted a certain amount of bluster delivered some years ago, that there were not now strong feelings in the breasts of thousands against this Bill who were not Orangemen. Do not think, because statements by a few crack-brained persons had been quoted —[*Loud laughter*]—well, he certainly should call any man crack-brained who talked about "kicking the Queen's Crown into the Boyne"—do not think, because fun had been made by the quotation of such statements, that there was not much strong feeling againt the Bill. Depend upon it, the passing of the Bill would mean something very serious. There was no serious intention of civil war, or of fighting on the part of the loyal population; but let them believe it equally true that there was no intention of the Loyalists submitting to oppression, or of being made subject to the Land League. They would never rebel against Queen Victoria, but they would never swear allegiance to King Parnell. It might be that fighting would not occur at all. He would, however, in that case tell them what would occur—there would be a wholesale emigration of 1,500,000 loyal men.

MR. JOHNSTON: They will fight first.

COLONEL KING-HARMAN said, that the hon. Gentleman knew more about that than he (Colonel King-Harman) did; but he repeated that if this measure were passed there would be a wholesale emigration of 1,500,000 of loyal Irishmen. Hon. Members opposite might talk of Lord Salisbury advocating the deportation of 1,000,000 souls—which he had never done—but he (Colonel King-Harman) would tell them that these men who would leave Ireland were her best sons, the men who had stood by them and had fought for them; and if they did so, he would ask, with what feelings towards England these men would leave Ireland? They would regard it as having betrayed them, and in different parts of the world there would be 1,500,000 men settled down hating and defying the name of England. He spoke of what he knew with knowledge and with experience. He wished to keep his country quiet and contented, if it could possibly be done, and he believed the way to make her contented consisted in giving to Ireland equal laws with England and an impartial administration of them, but not a separate Legislature until she had proved herself worthy of it. He would ask them, whether they thought that the acts of the National League and the Land League had shown that those who belonged to them were worthy of Home Rule? He thought that the arguments and the deeds of hon. Members below the Gangway proved that Home Rule would not be a remedy for Irish affairs.

MR. NEWNES (Cambridge, E., Newmarket) said, he rose to give his cordial and hearty support to the second reading of the Bill. The question was not one for lawyers and soldiers to decide; it was a question between the two peoples; and he did not believe that the British people would be prevented from doing justice to the poor little Irish nation, because of any foolish fears for the safety of their own Empire. He believed that the British Empire could afford to do right. As long as our Empire was governed according to the instincts and the aspirations of the people who composed it, so long it was safe and powerful; and it was only when it sought to rule in opposition to these instincts and aspirations, that any danger arose. It was said that they should not send that message of peace to Ireland, because the messages of peace already sent had proved of no avail; but he was under the impression that that was the first time that the Irish people had got from England not what England wished, but what Ireland required. Some people talked as if peoples were made for Parliaments and not Parliaments for peoples; but a Parliament was nothing if it did not reflect the heart and the conscience of a people. As a British citizen, he was heartily ashamed of the legislative disunion which they had exhibited in that House for the past 10 years. In that House they had a separate Irish Parliament sitting at present as separate as any that could be set up in Dublin. The only bond between the Irish Members and the rest of the House was that constituted by the fact that they were sitting under one roof together. What they wished was to have done with this parchment Union, and make it a real and true Union, a union of hearts. They heard a great deal of what he considered spurious loyalty from that Association which called itself the Loyal and Patriotic Union, and for weeks past the breakfast table had been flooded with pamphlets from that Body. These persons reminded him of the story of the man who, when asked whether he was a converted character, replied that he had been a converted character for 10 years off and on. In the same way these men were Loyalists when it suited them, and only then. They were loyal by threatening to rise in arms if a certain law were passed, and patriotic by trying to impart into this discussion religious and sectarian animosities. That, he thought, was spurious loyalty and counterfeit patriotism. In supporting this Bill warmly, he considered that he would be a true Loyalist, a true patriot, and a true Unionist. What they wanted was to make use of this opportunity to establish friendly relations between the two countries. He had often heard it said that it would be a good thing if Ireland could be submerged for 24 hours under the Atlantic. That was a policy which would carry out Lord Salisbury's idea of the depopulation of Ireland, but it was scarcely practical politics. They were told that there was no finality in the Bill; but there was no finality in any practical legislation as regarded human affairs. The Bill, however, had changed the feeling and sentiment of the Irish people towards the English people, and that was finality enough for him. The Prime Minister had given up the theory of submersion, and had at last done what he ought to have done many years ago; he had looked at the Irish Question from the point of view of Irishmen, as well as from an English point of view. The Prime Minister had held out the hand of friendship to the Irish people, and he believed that it had been cordially and sincerely grasped; the right hon. Gentleman had struck a cord which resounded in the hearts of the Irish race in all parts of the world; and he could tell the House that that change, on the part of the Irish people, was in turn responded to by the English Democracy. And the English Democracy would not be behind their Irish brothers in determining that this question should be settled in a peaceable and friendly manner. That was one of the few opportunities that occurred in the feuds of nations for the final settlement of that quarrel; and he for one did not envy those hon. Members who did anything to prevent that consummation. The two nations were now standing face to face, and well inclined towards each other; the flood-gates of passion were ready on both sides to be opened. Let the House take care not to cause them to be opened; let it take at the flood that tide in the affairs of the State which would lead to peace and contentment, and not neglect an opportunity which might never recur.

Mr. EVELYN (Deptford) said, he would not have interposed in the discussion but for the personal allusions made to him on the previous evening by the hon. Member for the Scotland Division of Liverpool (Mr. T. P. O'Connor), for he thought that the division might very well take place that night—a belief which was supported by the fact that he never listened to more dismal orations than those he had just been listening to from supporters of the Government—orations which, since the debate was resumed in the afternoon, had added little to their information or enlightenment. A lugubrious jeremiad from Bradford lamenting the disunion of the Liberal Party had been followed by a speech from the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies (Mr. Osborne Morgan) characterized by moroseness, ill-nature, and virulent abuse of Lord Salisbury. The right hon. and learned Gentleman said that he had declared in favour of Home Rule six months ago; but, at all events, eight months ago, when the right hon. and learned Gentleman stumped Deptford in favour of an Oriental Liberal candidate, he carefully avoided the subject. The Under Secretary of State was ill-informed as to the relations which existed between Sweden and Norway. There had been difficulties producing crises and almost separation. The hon. Member for the Newmarket Division of Cambridgeshire (Mr. Newnes), after declaring that he was a loyal and patriotic man, proceeded to denounce the Loyal and Patriotic Union. The debate, however, was worn out, and its prolongation was confusing the real issue, which was not an abstract Resolution, but the Bill; it was whether the Bill was workable and whether it would lead to the pacification and happiness of Ireland and to good feeling between the two countries. The Ministry had no right to spring the Bill upon Parliament before the country had been consulted, because there was no emergency to justify that course. That was shown by the account the Prime Minister had given of the present improved condition of Ireland on introducing the Bill into this House. He (Mr. Evelyn) accepted the statements of Home Rule Members that they were not in favour of separation; but those hon. Members must admit that they had uttered sentiments which were a little awkward when they were reproduced. The hon. Gentleman the Member for the Scotland Division of Liverpool, had alluded to him (Mr. Evelyn) personally last night; and in reference to that allusion he would say that he was sure that the hon. Gentleman, though he belonged to a different political Party, would not wish to misrepresent his conduct at the last Election. Hon. Members below the Gangway should be very slow to quote the speeches of others, for they certainly lived in glass houses in that respect. As the Prime Minister and his son gave letters of recommendation to his Oriental opponent at Deptford, and as the present Under Secretary of State for the Colonies stumped the constituency, it was not to be wondered at if he (Mr. Evelyn) used expressions that were a little incautious, and might, perhaps, be termed strong; but still he used no expression that he need recall, or that he was not prepared to abide by. He never at that time uttered any expression which he was not now prepared to acknowledge and maintain. Throughout the Election, the question of Home Rule did not come up at all; but he did not hesitate to say, in his Election address, that he would give to Ireland as much self-government as was consistent with the integrity and security of the Empire, and he blamed the former Liberal Government for the coercive policy they had adopted towards Ireland. [*Laughter.*] He repeated that he had nothing to retract from that declaration. An hon. Gentleman opposite smiled at it. Doubtless, he was thinking of the policy announced by the late Government, on the 26th of January, for the suppression of the National League. Well, he could only say that, remembering his sentiments expressed at his Election, he listened with regret to the proposition, and he wrote a letter, expressing his regret that the Government should have thought it necessary to enter on a course of coercion. But then the Government had information that he had not, and therefore it was not for him to blame them. He denied that coercion was, as the Chancellor of the Exchequer said, the traditional policy of the Tory Party. On the contrary, it was a policy derived as a legacy from the Whigs, and had been far more resorted to by Liberal than by Conservative Governments, down to that last and most severe Coercion Act, the Crimes Bill, of the late

Liberal Government. He did not think it was a mistake on the part of Lord Salisbury and his Government to allow that Act to expire. It was his hope that, by a conciliatory policy, the late Government might have had the glory of putting an end to Irish distress and the troubles that had existed so long between the two countries. The Conservatives were all united to one man. They would give Ireland all she wanted, all that was for her good; but, while they would redress all just grievances, they were not prepared to embark on a dangerous course, which would risk the supremacy of the Empire. The Under Secretary of State for the Colonies had argued that there was no more difficulty in granting self-government to Ireland than to the Colonies; but there was a very great distinction. In the case of the Colonies we knew the risk we ran, and that if one of the Colonies separated from England we should still remain a great country; but, with regard to Ireland, the risk we ran was that, if Ireland separated from us, there would be an end of England's greatness. A great deal had been said on the other side about there being no alternative policy to the Bill. What was the meaning of an alternative policy? A Bill was brought forward, greatly modifying the Act of Union and producing what they considered a dangerous state of things; their alternative policy under those circumstances was simply to vote against the Bill. The Prime Minister seemed to think the whole British Constitution a grove of Upas trees; and the alternative policy of the Conservatives, when institution after institution was attacked—whether the Act of Union, the Church, or the Monarchy—their alternative policy was to repel such attacks. Many hon. Members on those Benches were sincerely desirous of redressing all the just grievances of Ireland, and would take every opportunity in their power of doing so. At the same time, he thought it was only just and fair that he should inform the House, as he had been mentioned by the hon. Member (Mr. T. P. O'Connor), that he had nothing to withdraw or retract. His thanks and acknowledgments were due to the Irish voters who had supported him, and he had publicly expressed those thanks; but he could not on a question of this sort separate himself from his Party. Still, he would have done so, had the measure been in accordance with his convictions; but, as it was not, he could honestly do no less than go into the Lobby against it. At the same time, he should conscientiously abide by all the pledges he gave during the late contest at Deptford.

Mr. PICKERSGILL (Bethnal Green, S.W.) said, as representing a constituency at the East End quarter of London, he would vote in favour of the second reading, and he did that with all the more confidence from the fact that he was supported by the vast majority of his constituents. The hon. and gallant Gentleman opposite (Colonel King-Harman), who had spoken as an Irishman, but who sat for an English constituency, had referred to the late Mr. W. E. Forster, and expressed an opinion that the latter would not have voted for the second reading. Well, he (Mr. Pickersgill) was of opinion that it was much wiser to have regard to the opinions of the living than to consider the possibilities in connection with the opinions of those who had passed away. There was at present a living witness, a Nobleman of high distinction, and whose firmness, honesty, and determination no man could question—he referred to Lord Spencer. That noble Lord, whose experience gave him a pre-eminent right to express an opinion, gave his adhesion to the Bill before the House. The hon. and gallant Member had alluded to what he described as the inconsistency of the Liberals, or of some of them. Well, the hon. and gallant Gentleman ought to be one of the very last persons to make any such observations in this matter, for he lived in a veritable Crystal Palace. Some 10 or 15 years ago the hon. and gallant Member was himself a Home Ruler; and it was less surprising that Gentlemen who were then against Home Rule should now be in favour of it, than that he who was for it should now be opposed to it. In May, 1869, the late Lord Beaconsfield gave utterance to a significant sentiment—

> "Is it natural that the Protestants of Ireland should submit, without a struggle, to such a state of things? Is there to be another battle of the Boyne, another siege of Derry, another treaty of Limerick. These things are not only possible, but probable."—(3 *Hansard*, [196] 1058.)

Accordingly, it would be seen that the

speeches which were now described as foolish were delivered by the most eminent men of the Conservative Party. They all knew that the Protestant Church emerged successfully from the difficulty. Surely they ought to see that their present fears were also unfounded. It was said by some hon. Members that they would give the Irish people the same institutions as England. Well, England would shortly get a scheme of County Government. Those County Boards would have control of the police. Would they give the Irish County Boards charge of the police? The man who did so conceded the whole case in favour of the Bill. For his own part, he would rather trust himself to an Irish Parliament than to an Irish Board of Guardians, if the Irish were disposed to be tyrannical at all. Lord Salisbury said he had no confidence in the Irish people, but that he had confidence in the British people. But in the Reform discussions of 16 years ago Lord Salisbury reviled the democracy that he now flattered, and he now reviled a people who, no doubt, a few years hence he would flatter. He (Mr. Pickersgill) heard a good deal about the loyalty of Ulster; but it reminded him of the story of Warwick the Kingmaker, who was quite prepared to put up Kings and knock them down, as it suited his purpose. The hon. and gallant Member for North Armagh (Major Saunderson) was a man with regard to whom history was silent. He apparently, however, belonged to a race of demigods and heroes. The hon. Member for South Belfast (Mr. Johnston), for a Gentleman of a disposition so pacific, adopted remarkably sanguinary language. He (Mr. Pickersgill) thought he could only say of the hon. Member that he seemed to be "the mildest man that ever cut a throat or scuttled a ship." He appealed to hon. Members what were the prospects of a Dissolution? It was the Liberal Members who were forcing a Dissolution. He asked hon. Members on that side what were their prospects in the event of a Dissolution? It was they who were forcing a Dissolution; and what prospect had they that the result of that Dissolution would be the carrying out of the policy which they desired? By right the settlement of this question rested with the Prime Minister. The classes were now against Home Rule, mainly because it was at the present time identified with the Party led by the hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell). That was altogether an insufficient reason why Home Rule should be rejected, if, in itself, it was a good thing. Then it was said that the Bill would have no finality, and meant separation. But, apart from all other considerations, he, and many others, had no fear on that point, for they believed that the great mass of the people of Ireland were bound by the strongest considerations of self-interest not to agitate for separation from England. The hon. Member for the Partick Division of Lanarkshire (Mr. Craig Sellar) said that because there was no finality in the Bill, because it afforded material for fresh agitation, therefore he must oppose it. Did the hon. Member suppose that a scheme for establishing Local Boards and National Councils had the virtue of finality on which he insisted, or that it would not afford material for agitation? On one side they had a great variety of schemes, which the Irish people told them frankly they would not accept; and, according to the hon. Member, one of these schemes was to be a final settlement, and there was to be no more agitation. On the other side they had the scheme of the Prime Minister, which, in its main outlines, was enthusiastically embraced by the people of Ireland; and yet, forsooth, the hon. Member said the Bill was to be rejected because there was in it no finality! He listened with the greatest pleasure to the eloquent speeches of the right hon. and learned Gentlemen the Members for Bury (Sir Henry James) and the Isle of Wight (Sir Richard Webster); but he thought that those right hon. and learned Gentlemen regarded this question too much from the point of view of a mere lawyer, and too little from the point of view of a statesman. Eminent and conscientious lawyers as they were, no doubt they "could use scruples dark and nice"—he did not know whether he ought to complete the quotation—"and after solve them in a trice." It was urged that Parliament should give to Ireland a large measure of local self-government; but he submitted that if there was to be a persecuting spirit in Ireland everything tended to show that that spirit was more likely to flourish in the atmosphere of a Local Board than in the freer air of a National Parliament. It was in the alternative schemes, and not in this Bill, that there was no finality. If there was one lesson which the history of Ireland taught, it was the danger of delay. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham (Mr. Joseph Chamberlain) had said that every argument which could be adduced in favour of Home Rule for Ireland told also in favour of a separate Legislative Assembly for Ulster. He (Mr. Pickersgill) dissented altogether from that proposition. As a Radical, he believed that the strongest argument in favour of Home Rule in Ireland was to be found in the simple fact of the aspect of those Benches. Four-fifths of the Representatives from Ireland had been elected because they were pledged to Home Rule, and even Ulster had returned a majority of Home Rulers, so that the majority of the part coincided with the majority of the whole. Ulster had thus shown that she would throw in her lot with the rest of Ireland. Even in the extravagant protestations of the Orangemen he rather fancied they might perceive some element of hope, for he could not forget that Dean Swift had said—

> "The disaffection of Orangemen is the Irish rainbow; when I see it I shall know that the storm is over."

The Prime Minister's declaration had cleared the air, and made the issues more distinct. It seemed to him that the friends of Ireland would vote for the second reading of the Bill, and would not make common cause with a Party the policy of whose Leader was 20 years of coercion, tempered by the expatriation of 1,000,000 of Irishmen. They were told the other day that the proposal of the Prime Minister was a confession of his failure with regard to Ireland. But the test of failure lay in this—whether the Prime Minister had to retrace his steps. Did anyone propose now to re-establish the Protestant Church in Ireland, or to restore the old relations between landlord and tenant? What the right hon. Gentleman had done before made it easier for him to carry his great scheme, for the measures which the right hon. Gentleman had already passed were necessary stages on the road to perfect justice to the Irish people. That the Prime Minister should have conceived the notion of governing Ireland according to Irish ideas, and still more to have obtained for his policy the support and concurrence of England and Scotland, made it easier for him to propose now, and soon to carry, a scheme which would give to the Irish people the right to govern themselves.

Sir HENRY MEYSEY-THOMPSON (Lincolnshire, Brigg) said, he was one of those who had attended a meeting to which frequent allusion had been made in the course of the debate—namely, the meeting called by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham (Mr. Joseph Chamberlain) in No. 15 Committee Room, and he attended it for two reasons—first, because he was in favour of a certain amount of self-government for Ireland; and, secondly, because he was entirely opposed to the Bill. Those who had taken the same course had received a good deal of animadversion and lecturing during the debate. They were told they were not vigorous men; that they had no good reason for the course they had taken; and that they had no minds of their own. As far as he was concerned he denied those imputations. He hoped he was a vigorous man; he believed he had good reasons for the course he had taken; and he was sure he knew his own mind. Those who had brought in the Bill said that the vital point was that the laws of Ireland should be made and administered by Irishmen. Therefore, what those laws were and how they should be administered was of secondary importance. He said that as long as Ireland remained united to Great Britain, as long as Ireland was not allowed to become a foreign country, it was impossible that the Imperial Parliament should divest itself of the responsibility for the good government of Ireland, and therefore that the vital point was that the laws of Ireland should be good and well administered, and whether they were made by Irishmen, or by Englishmen and Irishmen combined, was a question of no importance. The Ministry hoped, but gave the House no assurance—and, under the circumstances, it was impossible that they could give any assurance—that if they passed this Bill the laws made in Ireland would be good and well administered. He could not vote for the second reading of the Bill;

because, by doing so, they would declare to the world that they considered the principle of the self-government of Ireland more important than the principle of the Imperial Parliament being responsible for the good government of Ireland. No one ought to vote for the Bill who did not believe in the Bill. Members had no right to vote for it, and then shelter themselves behind a number of flimsy excuses for something they might say in that House or to their constituents. The right hon. and learned Gentleman the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies had said, referring to Lord Salisbury's speech, that when he found a man had to explain away a speech, he paid more attention to the text than to the interpretation. So, when he (Sir Henry Meysey-Thompson) found a Gentleman explaining away his vote, he paid more attention to the vote than to the explanation. Still more, when he found that Gentleman had to explain away a Bill, he paid more attention to the Bill than to the explanation. ["Hear, hear!"] He was not quite sure what hon. Members below the Gangway were applauding. What would stand out to the world was not the explanation but the Bill, and the list of those who voted for it. ["Hear, hear!"] He supposed hon. Members below the Gangway were applauding that list prospectively. His name would not appear in it. Of the many arguments by which the Bill was supported there was one which had not been dealt with. It was said that we might try this Bill as an experiment, and that if it failed we should be in no worse position for trying something else. But when the financial dangers to the taxpayers of England and Scotland were considered of trying such an experiment and failing, it became evident that Parliament, as trustee for the taxpayers of the country, would not be justified in running such a risk. There were three distinct ways in which financial danger might be apprehended—first, from the Land Purchase Bill; secondly, on account of the money which would be borrowed by the Irish Government; and, thirdly, on account of the bank notes which the Irish Government would issue. With regard to the Land Purchase scheme, it was not necessary to say more than that, if the experiment were tried and failed, all the landlords would be obliged in self-defence to claim under the provisions of the Land Purchase Act; and the amount required, if they all claimed their rights under the Act, would amount to at least £130,000,000 sterling. Then there was the question of the Irish National Debt. It was distinctly contemplated that the Irish Government would want to borrow money if this Bill were carried. The Prime Minister said—

> "When Ireland gets the management of her own affairs I venture to prophesy that she will want for useful purposes to borrow money."

If this experiment were tried, and failed, there would be great danger that when Parliament began to consider the question *de novo* they would find themselves face to face with a large Irish National Debt, for which Englishmen and Scotchmen would have to make themselves responsible. They could not repudiate the debt, for they would have, in resuming the government of the country, to take into their own hands the taxes, which would be the only security for those who had lent the money. Then there was the question of the bank notes. No doubt, the Irish Parliament was debarred from dealing with the question of legal tender, coinage, or the value of foreign money, but they were not debarred from issuing bank notes; in fact, the Prime Minister had himself pointed out the advantages of such an issue. No doubt, the Irish Government, in dealing with the question of their note issue, would have the sympathy of many people, both in the House of Commons and in the country, who considered our present system of note issue utterly inadequate to the requirements of trade and commerce; but though he saw clearly the advantages of an issue of bank notes, he saw also clearly the dangers. No doubt, as long as bank notes were not legal tender, and were convertible on demand, there was no great danger. Bank notes, when issued in excess of the legitimate requirements of the community, had a habit well known to bankers of coming home to roost. But maintaining convertibility of bank notes meant maintaining a large stock of bullion, or credit sufficient to borrow gold at the shortest notice. If this experiment were failing, and we were coming within measurable distance of the time when England would have to resume the government of Ireland, the credit of Ireland would have gone, the bullion would soon go too, and the notes become inconvertible. Then, no doubt, theoretically, as soon as notes were in excess of the wants of the community gold would go to a premium and notes be refused; but there would be great difficulty in persuading the Irish peasant to exchange notes for gold at a loss to himself, in order to pay rent or other contracts, and there would be great difficulty in collecting the large sum of money in gold which Ireland would have to pay to England. And supposing that matters got worse financially in Ireland, what was there to prevent the Irish Government following the example of all other Governments, which had got into money troubles, and issuing more and more inconvertible paper, and making it legal tender? Nothing but a clause in this Act, declaring that it was beyond the powers of the Irish Parliament. But suppose the Irish Parliament decreed that its notes should be legal tender and inconvertible, what would you do? You could, no doubt, get a decision of the Privy Council that the Irish Government had exceeded its powers, but you could only enforce this decision by force; and could you induce Englishmen and Scotchmen to use force to prevent the Irish Government making their bank notes legal tender, would they be willing to bombard Dublin to prevent Irishmen dealing with their own bank notes? And yet, if you did not do so, it would produce most intolerable confusion. He thought, in trying these great experiments, they ought to take care that they did not fail. They ought to face boldly the question of the responsibility of the Imperial Parliament and the good government of Ireland. Let them give to Ireland, and give cheerfully, such a measure of self-government as was compatible with the real, living, effective supremacy of the Imperial Parliament, the supervision of the laws, and the administration of justice in Ireland. In that way, and that way only, would they safeguard the interests of the Empire, and of the taxpayers of England and Scotland, and, he believed, of the people of Ireland also. It was with very great pain and reluctance he had come to the conclusion that he must vote against the Bill. He tried very hard to like it—he tried to think that the Prime Minister must be right—but the more he looked at the Bill he was obliged to confess the less he liked it.

Dr. O'DOHERTY (Meath, N.): I am not, in the least degree, ambitious to acquire a reputation of being one of those individuals who are anxious to intrude themselves upon the attention of the House when they have no business to do so; but I believe that hon. Members will admit that, although I am a new Member, I have an exceptional claim to speak in this debate from the fact that I have travelled all the way from the other end of the world—from the Colony of Queensland—with the special object—commissioned, in fact, to deliver myself on the particular question that is now before the House. I promise that I will be, as becomes a young Member—the youngest Member of the House, in point of fact, in the sense of having been the latest sworn, although, I am sorry to say, not so young in other respects—I promise that I will detain the House for as short a time as possible. Hon. Members will naturally ask what brought me all the way from Queensland to take my place in this House, and I will endeavour to explain the reason. I have been for the last 26 years a resident of Queensland, and during the last 18 years I have had the honour of a seat in the Parliament of that Colony. About the time of the last General Election I have reason to believe that the electors of the ancient and historic county of Meath, having heard of me, thought that I could be of some service by coming over here and telling hon. Members, many of whom have not been so closely acquainted with proceedings under Home Rule in Australia as I have, of the wonderfully beneficent effects which have followed from that rule in the six Colonies of which that magnificent Confederacy is now made up. With that notion I was elected to this House without opposition, and it was in Queensland that I first received the announcement of the honour which had been conferred upon me. I may remind some hon. Members who may not remember the fact that the action of the electors of Meath had a precedent, and that precedent was set by the Colony of Queensland. Some years ago one of the Northern constituencies in that Colony was discontented with the treatment they received from their Southern neighbour, South

Australia; and as they could not find a suitable candidate in the coming Election they cast their eyes over here, and fixed upon the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Central Birmingham (Mr. John Bright), whom they elected as one of their Members. The right hon. Gentleman did not follow my example, or, rather, I did not follow his. He did not go over to Australia to fight their battle in the Colonial Parliament; but they derived great advantage from their action, and a letter which he wrote produced such an effect, and had such an influence, that the grievances of Northern Queensland were remedied. I cannot suppose that my name can have a similar effect in connection with the election for Meath. But I may state with tolerable certainty that the record which I will lay before the House of the effect of the struggle for Home Rule in Australia and of the results which have accrued from it ought to act as the guide to the statesmen of this country in endeavouring to solve the great problem of Irish autonomy. History, it is often said, is constantly repeating itself, and I do not believe that a more remarkable example of that fact is to be found anywhere than by drawing a parallel between the state of Australia 35 years ago and the state of Ireland to-day. The Australian Colonies, like Ireland, had to face a very bitter and tedious struggle before they could gain autonomy. That struggle lasted from the year 1824 until 1856, and it is a very remarkable fact that the agitation was started by Mr. Wentworth, the son of a United Irishman, and it was continued by him with distinguished ability until he was able, by his advice, to have a Bill brought into this House in 1843. That Bill passed through the Imperial Parliament, and it has given peace, prosperity, and perfect liberty to the whole of the Australian Colonies. In 1853 the first Representative Government was granted to the Colonies. In Sydney, the capital of New South Wales, the first Parliament sat; it consisted of 54 Members, 36 of whom were elected Representatives. So jealous was the Crown at that time of its Prerogative that serious restrictions were imposed upon these Representatives. In the first place, all the receipts appertaining to the Customs were obliged to be handed over to the Colonial Office; all the proceeds of the land sales as well were similarly handed over, and a sum of £81,000—a very large sum for so small a Colony—was levied as a contribution towards the expenditure. When the new Constitution began to work it was found to be a complete government from the Colonial Office—like the government of Ireland during the last 86 years; it was purely the government of this country. All this time protests were continually being made against this species of Colonial rule until 1850, when a slight change was introduced. From 1850 to 1856, it is no exaggeration to say that the Colonies were in a state almost similar to that in which Ireland has been for the last 20 years. Hon. Members may be aware that during those years an important League was formed in the Australian Colonies, which was called the Anti-Transportation League. The Colonial Office, despite the remonstrances of the Colonists, insisted on sending over sea the refuse of the prisons of England to the destruction of the social condition of the Colonies. In addition to demanding that a stop should be put to this transportation system, the Colonists demanded also that they should have complete control over their own affairs. To make the parallel between the position of the Colonies at that time and the position of Ireland now more certain, I may say that the Colonies had recourse, like Ireland, to a system of "Boycotting" on a large scale. They were not content with "Boycotting" individuals, but they "Boycotted" the Government. I was myself a witness, on one occasion, when a ship-load of convicts were sent out there in the *Jordan;* but the Colony would have nothing to do with them, and prevented them from landing. The people even refused to supply them with rations, and ultimately the steps they took broke down the opposition of the Colonial Office. The "Boycotting" was carried to a pitch of such intensity that at last the Government gave way, and in 1856 they ratified a great measure which conferred thorough independence upon the Colonies of New South Wales, Tasmania, South Australia, New Zealand, Victoria, and Queensland. I need not tell hon. Members what the result of that has been—what the result of this gift of Representative Government has been. No doubt it was a very remarkable gift to bestow at once. There was no opportunity of trying it in connection with any one Colony before it was given to the rest. The whole of the Australian Colonies received this benefit of Home Rule in its fullest extent; and it is a remarkable circumstance, well worthy the attention of all who are really anxious to study the question of Home Rule for Ireland, to bear in mind that in no single case of these six Colonies has there been the slightest difficulty since the privilege of self-government was conferred upon them. Their subsequent record has been one of unbroken prosperity, and I do not think there can possibly be any more weighty argument to the mind of every fair and impartial man as to the expediency of extending to Ireland the benefits which have not been withheld from these Australian Colonies. There is one phase of the subject in connection with these Colonies, and the doctrine of Home Rule as the principle of government, which I think hon. Members ought to bear in mind. It is this—It took a long time, as I have said, before the Imperial Government was induced to come to a decision in favour of Home Rule; but, when it did, it gave Home Rule with full confidence in the Colonies, and with every manifestation of goodwill. It did not allow even its goodwill to evaporate in words; but it employed all the power of this great Empire to assist the Colonies. The basis of the strength of the Colonies and of their close connection with the Mother Country has been the readiness with which the power of the Empire has been put forward to assist them. The Imperial shield has been held over them; the Imperial Navy has been employed to protect their interests, and to assist them to make their way; and, above all, the Imperial Government put their hands in their pockets to assist the Colonies and to make their way easy for them. I maintain that the confidence displayed by the Imperial Government in the future of these Colonies is the great secret of the wonderful success which has attended the experiment. During the 30 years which have elapsed since the boon of autonomy was granted to the six Australian Colonies their public Debt has increased from £200,000 or £300,000 to £120,000,000. £120,000,000 have been borrowed in the London Market by these six Colonies and utilized in their development. It is scarcely necessary that I should add that the credit of Australia to-day stands higher in the Market than that of many European countries. In fact, we have evidence afforded every year that Australian Stock is not only at par, but considerably above it. We have, also, evidence that no matter what demands may be made by Australia for money for public purposes they will be readily granted in the Money Market of London. Why has this been so in regard to these six Colonies since they obtained autonomy? I demand the attention of hon. Members to this fact—it has been the cardinal point in the success of Home Rule in Australia, and it will be the cardinal point in Home Rule in Ireland. In addition to this £120,000,000 raised in the London Money Market, a sum of £400,000,000 more have been invested in carrying out important public works in those Colonies. Great pastoral industries and every kind of agricultural pursuits have been developed in Australia, and I hold that it is this which constitutes the golden link which binds inseparably these Colonies to the Mother Country. I appeal, then, to hon. Members whether it would not be wise on the part of the great and magnanimous Government of England to try and forge a golden chain of this kind to bind Ireland, instead of the iron and murderous chain that has bound her in the past? I can see no reason why, if the measure of the Prime Minister, or almost any measure that would give autonomy to Ireland, were passed—passed with guarantees that the power and strength of the Empire would be employed to defend it—that the autonomy conferred upon Ireland should not be as absolutely and undoubtedly a success as the same experiment has proved in Australia. I have heard arguments brought forward from both sides of the House which I consider puerile and unworthy of the hon. Members who have used them. I am told that the success of this scheme of autonomy in Ireland has to depend upon the will of these young fellows around me. Let me assure the House that when I talk of these young fellows I speak of them like a father, and like a father who is extremely proud of his progeny. Thirty-seven years ago I was one of them myself, but yet not of them. I was one of the Party which preceded them. They were quite young fellows, equally distinguished men and equally earnest patriots; but they are all gone. Some of them have left their bones on the shores of distant lands; after years and years of struggle their weary hearts are now at rest. There is not one of them I can recognize in the Party to which I now belong—not one of those with whom I familiarly associated in those early days. But let me assure hon. Members that those by whom I am now surrounded are men like those who went before them—men of whom the British Empire should be proud, and whom the people of this country should hold in the highest esteem. I am ashamed that any man should express the sentiments which have fallen from the noble Marquess the Member for Rossendale (the Marquess of Hartington). They are sentiments utterly unworthy of him. He has declared a terrible vengeance against them, and has vowed to bring the power of the Mother Country to bear against them, because he is so blind that he cannot distinguish between these young and gallant defenders of their country and the advocates of rapine and assassination. I pity the state of mind of any honourable man—and I daresay the noble Marquess is an honourable man—who is not able to distinguish between these champions of Irish nationality and the paltry assassin. I must apologize for having detained the House. I have only to repeat that I believe the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian (Mr. Gladstone) has derived, and will derive, his best inspiration and his best guidance in working out this great problem of Irish autonomy in the study of Australian Home Rule. I will not enter into statistics at the present moment; but I should like to say a few words—to show what Home Rule has brought to Australia in the shape of material benefit and prosperity. Australia can boast to-day of a commerce of over £100,000,000; she can boast of having living upon her soil more than 120,000,000 of live stock; and she can boast, further, as Great Britain can, of having one of the largest Debts in the world. At the present moment she has a Debt of £120,000,000. I need not tell hon. Members that this tremendous Debt of Australia is one of the greatest securities she can have for her future prosperity. I myself believe that if Ireland only has her own Parliament and Government, and has Home Rule accorded to her—I do not care who works it, because whoever works it with the power and confidence of Great Britain at their back will work it well—I myself believe that when once such autonomy is conferred upon Ireland, peace will be secured, and a large Debt accumulated. The day that her credit is considered such as to enable her to incur Debt, she will begin to enjoy that prosperity which has been hitherto wanting. I regret that I should have detained the House so long. I come here from one of the younger progeny of this great model Parliament—a not undistinguished progeny, the Parliament of Queensland, and I assure the House that I consider it to be a high privilege to be allowed to be included in the list of Members of the House of Commons. I venerate its grand traditions, and I admire its great roll of statesmen and orators, among whom many distinguished countrymen of my own have filled no mean place. I esteem it a privilege to sit here in the presence of the greatest of living statesmen, at a time when that statesman is endeavouring to complete the record of his great achievements by the grandest achievement of all—namely, the wiping away of the one black stain on the escutcheon of the Imperial Parliament—namely, its tyranny and injustice to Ireland. I hope that the right hon. Gentleman will have health and strength to enable him to proceed with his great work, and carry it to final success. I am quite sure that in that work he will have with him the prayers of every Irishman, and of every Irishwoman too; and by-and-bye, when all passion shall have abated, and all Party feeling shall have passed away, he will have no less the goodwill of every Englishman and Scotchman in the Empire.

SIR JOSEPH PEASE (Durham, Barnard Castle): I have been one of those who have endeavoured to give as careful attention to these Bills as I possibly could. I took them home during the Easter Recess, and I studied them to the best of my ability. I have come to the conclusion that the provisions of these Bills have been very hastily drawn up, and that they are not likely, as far as I can understand them, to carry out the wishes either of hon. Gentlemen below the Gangway on the other side, of

Her Majesty's Ministers, or of this House. The view I take of them is that of a practical man, who has endeavoured to look to every provision contained in them, and to see how those provisions would work out in every day life. It seems to me that one of the leading provisions which the right hon. Gentleman has laid down—protection of the minority—is only laid down in two clauses of the Bill—the one relating to the constitution of the Irish Parliament, and the other which is developed in the Land Bill subsequently introduced. As to the protection of the minority in the Irish Parliament, I have felt that it is a mode of proceeding which I, as a Liberal, cannot understand or give a hearty assent to. To have the property qualification brought into the upper part of the Legislature seems to me to be going back to old times, and to an antiquated system which has long ago been exploded in this House. To raise a standard of £25 occupancy seems to me to do very little to secure the representation of what may be called the upper grade of tenant farmers of Ireland. But why I object most of all to the constitution of the Parliament in Ireland, as the Bill is drawn, is that it would leave Ireland entirely unrepresented within the walls of this House; and if the Representative Peers of Ireland are to be left out of the other House of Parliament, we should not have a single Irish Representative on any Imperial question, and we should finally be driven towards separation rather than towards that healthy International union which is above all law. Then, I think, with regard to the Land Bill—although I presume that I am hardly at liberty to discuss its provisions now—if that Bill were passed it would have the effect of increasing the present evil of absentee landlords, for during the 49 years over which the repayments of the tenants would extend in the shape of redemption and interest the greater part of the repayments would leave Ireland, and go into the pockets of Englishmen who would hold Irish securities. The evil of the non-resident landlord system in Ireland would, consequently, be perpetuated for that length of time rather than improved. There are some other minor points; but it is hardly necessary that I should trouble the House with them, because they have been threshed out in the debate which has already taken place. My object in rising was rather to look at the present position of this House in regard to the measure than to go into the difficulties which I see in the Bill. The question before us is that this Bill should be now read a second time, and then the right hon. Gentleman at the head of the Government proposes that he should take no further steps with regard to it. My belief has been for a long time that time would be saved in dealing with this measure if the Bill were withdrawn. I believe that time would have been saved, because it is quite plain that the House is not prepared to pass the Bill in its present shape, and I am most anxious that my right hon. Friend at the head of the Government should deal with the question rather than that it should be handed over to the Party opposite. We have always felt, in connection with the Irish Question, whether in regard to the Land Act of previous days or the present Bill, that we have never had from the landowners of Ireland and from the Conservative Party any principle or policy which could be called a principle or policy. There never was any policy placed before us as an alternative scheme to that brought forward by the Government in the case of the Land Act, although there were many points in that Act which might have been improved. What is the condition of the House at this moment? We are asked to pass the second reading of this Bill as it has been brought in, in order, as my right hon. Friend at the head of the Government has told us, to affirm the principle of a Legislative Government in Ireland. Now, I am quite prepared to affirm the principle of a Legislative Government in Ireland; but the question is one of degree, and in affirming that principle I am governed entirely by the five conditions precedent laid down by the Prime Minister, which were well brought into the speech of the hon. Member for the Scotland Division of Liverpool (Mr. T. P. O'Connor) yesterday afternoon, and which, therefore, I need not recapitulate. All that I will say is, that I am prepared now, and have been prepared all along, to grant legislative power in Ireland. But the question of Ulster has also to be considered. As to legislative power in Ireland, we are told we can discuss the details afterwards; but that legislative power in Ireland, it seems to me, will have to be limited by the five conditions precedent in order to maintain that Union of the United Kingdom which we all desire to see protected and perpetuated. On Friday, the 28th, the right hon. Gentleman, in speaking of his proposal not to take further steps this Session with regard to the Bill, said that the scope and purport of the Bill were not in any degree to be altered in the Autumn Session. Now, it seems to me that if the scope and purport of the Bill are not to be altered, if by scope and purport he means that those things to which I have objected, in the few remarks I have made, are to be perpetuated and continued, I, for one, can be no party to the second reading of the Bill. But the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland appeared to desire to resuscitate this Bill, which is no longer for second reading, except as an abstract Resolution, before the House. He used even stronger language than my right hon. Friend at the head of the Government; and, although he parted with some minor provisions, he seemed, on the whole, disposed to adhere to the Bill. If I am to understand that in voting for the second reading we are merely voting on the question of granting to Ireland a real legislative power, and that that is to be limited by the five conditions precedent of the Prime Minister, and that we are to be at liberty to vote as we please on the Bill which is to be brought in in the autumn, and if those phrases about the Bill being turned inside out are to be dropped, then I am prepared to look at the question in the autumn with a free and open mind. I desire, however, to point out how hastily this Bill has been brought forward; and the same is the case with regard to the changes which have been made in it already. That, I think, is one reason why the Government should look again at the whole measure, in order that they may be able to bring in a Bill which the House generally will desire to pass. On the 15th of March, when my right hon. Friend the Member for West Birmingham (Mr. J. Chamberlain) left Her Majesty's Government, the duties of the Excise and Customs had not yet been withheld from the Irish people. No doubt there are great and grave reasons for withholding them from Ireland; but, on the other hand, I may point out to hon. Gentlemen opposite the effect of withholding them. If Ireland is to be governed well it must be necessary to spend money upon Education and Public Works. Whom are you to tax? Are you going to tax the small farmers, whom you wish to make the owners of their farms? Are you going to tax the Ulster manufacturers? The great want of Ireland is some other occupation than that of agriculture. Are you going to put it on the Income Tax? Because that would mean falling back upon the small tenants, who are to be the landed proprietors, and upon the Ulster manufacturers. Therefore, it seems to me that there are grave reasons for reconsidering the question of the Excise and Customs. Then, again, on the 16th of April, we find that the whole Land Scheme was based on the scheme of the Government which was under consideration after the 16th of March. When the Bill was introduced it was understood that no Irish Member was to take part in the proceedings of the Imperial Parliament save under exceptional circumstances. On the 10th of May one Member of the Government—I think the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland—thought they might, on certain conditions, be admitted, such as when taxes were under consideration. On the 27th of May the clauses for the admission of the Irish Members of this House were the only ones that were to be actually remodelled. I only mention these matters to show the great haste with which the measure has been prepared, and what excellent reasons there are for delay in dealing with so difficult a question. The Bill has been so much changed that there is really considerable difficulty in understanding exactly where we are. If I am to understand that after the second reading of the Bill now before the House the Government will take no further step in regard to it and the kindred Bill relating to Land Purchase, which was connected with it in the first speech made on the subject by the Prime Minister, then we should know as a positive fact that in the present Session of Parliament we shall not see those Bills again, and that they will lapse as many other attempts at legislation lapse at the end of the Session, and that positively new Bills will be brought in at the beginning of next Session which may meet the objections entertained by many of the earnest supporters of the Government who regard the present scheme as having been too hastily framed. Upon that ground some may have given them a warmer support than on reflection they would have done. I want clearly to understand that when we are voting for the second reading we are not voting for these Bills except as an abstract Resolution. To give an effective Irish Legislature to Ireland, leaving the Ulster Question as a question for future discussion, and leaving the whole question subject to the five conditions I have referred to, beyond that point it must be understood that we are in no way committed to the two Bills before the House. I especially desire to reserve to myself that freedom of action which I believe every Member of the House wishes to retain. The question of the relative position of the Imperial Parliament and the Irish Parliament, and especially in regard to the attendance of Irish Members in this House, I look upon as one of the most important points which we would have to consider if we come back in the autumn, because upon that point depends the separation or the unity of the Empire. I hope that all these matters and other matters also will be fairly and carefully considered by the Government. I am anxious that this great question should be brought to a close. I am desirous that it should be brought to a close by the right hon. Gentleman at the head of the Government; but I want to hear from the Treasury Bench, clear of all those words of which the right hon. Gentleman is so complete a master, that the vote we are about to give is an abstract Resolution in the sense of giving local legislative power in Ireland guarded by the five conditions which the Prime Minister originally laid down. When we meet again in the autumn we shall be able to approach the subject with the advantage of the great amount of light thrown upon it by our previous discussions; and if we are "off with the old love before we are on with the new" then hon. Members may find themselves in a very different position in regard to the second reading.

MR. F. W. MACLEAN (Oxford, Woodstock): So many hon. Gentlemen have already addressed the House, and so many arguments have been adduced for and against the measure as it stands, that the matter is now pretty well threshed out. The Bill itself stands in a position somewhat unique. I think I am justified in using the word "unique" in reference to a Bill of such great importance, seeing that the Government propose to rest satisfied with the second reading, and then to withdraw the measure. Under these circumstances, I should scarcely have ventured to trespass upon the House were it not for the fact that, although I sit on this—the Ministerialist — side of the House, I have the misfortune to differ from the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister with regard to his Irish policy. In respect of this matter, I think I may fairly say that the House is divided into four sections. There are those hon. Members who follow the Prime Minister; those who follow the right hon. Gentleman opposite the Leader of the Conservative Party; those who follow the hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell); and those with whom I have the honour to be associated in this matter. The first three sections to which I have referred are allowed to express independent judgment on this matter, and to take an independent action with respect to it; but we who represent—I will not say the Fourth Party, but the section which takes an adverse view of the policy of the Prime Minister, are called mutineers and traitors to the Liberal Party. [*Cries of* "Hear, hear!" *from the Home Rule Members.*] That sentiment is loudly cheered from the Benches in that quarter of the House. If it be treason to be consistent in one's political utterances—if it be treason to adhere to one's electoral pledges, then I am not ashamed to be classed as a political traitor. I am not ashamed to stand side by side in the political dock with the right hon. Gentleman the senior Member for Central Birmingham (Mr. John Bright). But when hon. Members speak of the last-named section of the Liberal Party as being mutineers, I think they forget that it is almost one-third of the ship's crew that are mutineering on this occasion, and that they are only adopting that course because they are of opinion that the right hon. Gentleman at the helm is steering the ship on to a reef which must end in ultimate shipwreck. But when we are charged with being Secessionists, the only basis of that charge brought against us being that we are adhering to the opinions which we have previously expressed, I should have thought that the real Secessionists are not those who adhere to their opinions, but those who, there being no new fact in the case, have changed theirs. I have no desire to weary the House with quotations from the speeches of hon. and right hon. Members who dealt with this question before the meeting of Parliament; but there are one or two quotations I should like to make as shortly as I possibly can. Now the speech which the Prime Minister made at Aberdeen, in 1871, when he was dealing with the question of Home Rule which was then before the country——

THE FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY (Mr. W. E. GLADSTONE) (Edinburgh, Mid Lothian): It was not before the country at that time.

MR. F. W. MACLEAN: The right hon. Gentleman says it was not before the country, and in one sense he is perfectly accurate; but it was before the country in this sense—that the scheme of Mr. Butt had been discussed a good deal in this House. The right hon. Gentleman in that speech, and I will refer to another portion of it in a moment, said—"Can any sensible man——"

MR. W. E. GLADSTONE: That has been read already.

MR. F. W. MACLEAN: Then I will not read it again. I do not know whether any other portions of the speeches which the right hon. Gentleman made in 1871 have also been read.

An hon. MEMBER: Yes; they are ancient history.

MR. F. W. MACLEAN: Well, Mr. Speaker, I have no desire to weary the House with extracts which have been already read. I quite agree that a great many passages from the right hon. Gentleman's utterances have been read; and unless one had been in the House, and had heard every speech which has been delivered, it is difficult to know what has been read and what not. I think, however, I may fairly say that a very great many of the utterances of right hon. Gentlemen who are now sitting on the Treasury Bench, made before the present Bill was brought in, are altogether inconsistent with their utterances now. That is quite sufficient for my purpose, and I am obliged to the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister for preventing me from wasting the time of the House in reading passages which have been already quoted. All I desire to say is, that it is hardly fair to call us Secessionists because, before forming our opinion on this question, many of us have been guided by the opinions expressed by right hon. Gentlemen who were the Leaders of the Liberal Party. I wish to ask what new factor there is in the case now that was not in it when we went to the country last year? It is suggested that the new factor is this—the return of the 85 followers of the hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell); but I think that is a fact that was clearly foreseen at the time. There was scarcely anybody at the last General Election, or during the time we were before the country, who was not satisfied that the hon. Member for the City of Cork would return to this House with a very largely increased following. Therefore, to suggest that this is a new factor in the case is, to my mind, not a satisfactory way of putting the matter. Really, when one thinks of the change of view and the difference between the utterances of right hon. Gentlemen now as compared with their utterances at the last Election, one is reminded of a scene in the very old comedy called *The Man of the World.* Hon. Members will remember that in that play the principal character is Sir Pertinax Macsycophant, a wily old Scotchman, who had risen from nothing to a position of great wealth and of considerable influence, in addition to which he held a seat in this House for a good many years. His son is also portrayed as a Member of this House; and in one of the scenes between the father and son, in a great national crisis, the son, having scruples about voting against the dictates of his conscience, is thus advised by the father—

> "You are very young in these matters, and experience will convince you that every man in public business has two consciences—a religious and a political conscience."

I do not use this quotation in any offensive way, neither from a desire to say unpleasant things, or in any sense of hostility towards the Leaders of the Liberal Party. I should now like to say a word or two upon the Bill which is before the House. Now, Sir, this Bill constitutes an entire change of system. It uproots the old system, and it substitutes in its place an entirely new system, and upon that point I should like to cite a short passage from a speech of Mr. Pitt, which deals with this very question. Mr. Pitt said—

> "To call that a system—to call that a glorious fabric of human wisdom, which is no more than a demolition of another system, is a perversion of terms which, however prevalent of late, can only be the effect of gross misconception or of great hypocrisy."

I believe that everybody in this House is desirous of giving credit to the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister for the motives by which he is actuated. [The FIRST LORD of the TREASURY made a remark which was inaudible.] I am afraid the right hon. Gentleman has misapprehended my observation. I had no intention of placing upon the quotation which I have read the interpretation which the right hon. Gentleman seems to have applied to it himself. What I desire to point out to the House is this—whether or not the onus lies on those who desire to change the system to show that the new proposed alternative system is better than the old one. In that sense the onus is surely on those who support this measure to show that the Union has been a failure. Well, have they shown that? I do not desire to weary the House with statistics; but, as far as I have been able to study them, statistics show that since the Union the state of Ireland has been better than it was before the Union. [Mr. DILLON: No, no!] At the time of the Union there was a large amount of mercantile jealousy; but that has been to a great extent, if not entirely, swept away. I do not like, especially after the rebuke of the hon. Member for Mayo (Mr. Dillon), to deal with Irish history; but I hope I may be permitted to call attention to one incident. I think that hon. Members who sit in that part of the House will agree with me that about 1790 the question of the payment of tithes in Ireland was a very burning question. About that time Mr. Fitzgibbon brought in a very strong Coercion Bill to deal with the then state of Ireland, and Grattan moved for a Committee to inquire into the system of collecting tithes. Upon that occasion he said—and I entirely agree with him—

> "The laws of coercion, perhaps necessary, certainly severe, you have already put forth; but your great engine of power you have hitherto kept back—the engine which, armed with physical and moral blessing, comes forth and overlays mankind by services—the engine of redress."

Now, since the time when Grattan thus addressed the Irish House of Parliament, has not that engine of redress been put in force? The question I desire to ask hon. Members opposite is this—apart from the Land Question, what grievance is there now which this Imperial Parliament cannot redress? I have a quotation here which I do not think has been read to the House during the present debate. What the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister, speaking at Aberdeen in 1871, said, was this—

> "We are told it is necessary for Ireland to close her relations with the Parliament of this country, and to have a Parliament of her own."

Well, the right hon. Gentleman stated at Aberdeen at the latter end of 1871—

> "Well, now, we shall say to this learned Gentleman, Mr. Butt, why is Parliament to be broken up? Has Ireland not great grievances? What is it that Ireland has taken from the Imperial Parliament, and that the Imperial Parliament has refused?"

Now, I ask, in the face of that, what Irish grievances there are, adopting the words of the Prime Minister in 1871, which this Parliament is unable to cope with, and this House is unable to redress? At the time Grattan spoke there were, I admit, great grievances under which Irishmen were suffering. There was the question of Catholic Emancipation. That grievance has since been swept away. There was also the question of the Disestablishment of the Irish Church; but the right hon. Gentleman has done away with that grievance. He has endeavoured again and again by his Land Acts to ameliorate the position of the tenants of Ireland. I have read what the Prime Minister stated in 1871 upon the grievances of Ireland. I should like to call attention to a passage in the Manifesto of the right hon. Gentleman to the electors of Mid Lothian last year. What he stated was this—

> "Those grievances of Ireland with which we had been historically too familiar before and since the Union have at length been, happily, removed. The poison of religious ascendancy, in its various forms, has been expelled from the country; and the condition of the cultivators of the soil, constituting the majority of the

> people, which had been a scandal and a danger to the Empire, has been fundamentally improved, at the cost of no small effort, by the action of Parliament."

I gather from that—and I think I am justified in gathering from it—that the Prime Minister did not consider in November, when he issued that Manifesto, that there were any grievances from which Ireland was practically suffering. It seems scarcely necessary, as this Bill is to be withdrawn, to criticize any of the details of the measure; but there are one or two points to which I should like to call the attention of the House. Section 9 constitutes the two Orders. It is generally agreed that this is a retrogressive step, and that it is inconsistent to some extent with the Franchise Act so recently passed. It is also inconsistent with Section 23 of the Bill, which deals with the sitting of the two Orders. I think that complications are likely to arise in consequence. It seems to me that the power taken in this section is likely to lead to difficulties and to friction. But the point to which I particularly desire to call attention is the power of veto given under the Bill for the protection of minorities, but which appears to be of very little avail as against the power of the dissolution of Parliament. When the two Bodies meet again, it will be in the power of the minority to throw out any Bill which has been previously vetoed. The effect will be that the power of veto given under the section is to proceed as against the power of dissolution. The true test of whether a Bill ought to be supported is based on this ground—the Bill itself can only be supported on the principle of absolute confidence in the new Executive. Now, do the Government themselves feel that? I maintain that, having regard to the introduction of the Land Bill, which is practically for the protection of the landlords, the Judges, and some of the Civil servants, the Government clearly have not had that confidence in the new Executive which appears to me to be essential in relation to this Bill. If the Judges, landlords, and Civil servants are protected, what is to become of the bailiffs, process servers, and care-takers, whose only offence has been one against the National League in their having taken part in carrying out the law? Are they to be left to the tender mercies of the League? So much has been said about the Land Purchase Bill being inseparable from this measure that I will not trouble the House with any remarks about that point. The question of finality has also been threshed out. It is said that there is no alternative scheme. Now, the first speaker I ever heard in this House was the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister, and in the first speech I heard from him he gave us the advice that we ought not to propound alternative schemes, but ought rather to hold our tongues and keep our peace. In my opinion, an alternative scheme lies not in the direction of coercion, but of local self-government. Last night, when the hon. Baronet the Member for South St. Pancras (Sir Julian Goldsmid) spoke about self-government, the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland threw a taunt at him in relation to it. But it must be recollected that that was a speech which was dwelt upon by the Prime Minister in his Mid Lothian address. There is one passage which I should like to read, and which I believe has not been read before, although I know that a very great deal has already been read. Speaking of the wants of Ireland, the right hon. Gentleman said—

> "But the wants of Ireland have to be considered as well as her grievances. Down to this hour Ireland has continued greatly in arrear both of England and Scotland with respect to those powers of local self-government which associate the people, in act and feeling, with the law, and which lie at the root, as I believe, of political stability, of the harmony of classes, and of national strength. This is a serious evil; and it is the more to be regretted, because both the circumstances and the geographical position of Ireland may appear to invest her, as a portion of the Empire, with special claims to a liberal interpretation and application of the principles which the people of Great Britain have traditionally held so dear."

What I desire to ask the right hon. Gentleman is whether, when he used that expression of "local self-government," he intended the creation of a separate Legislative Body in Dublin, and the creation of a separate Executive for Ireland?

Mr. W. E. GLADSTONE: Read further.

Mr. F. W. MACLEAN: If the right hon. Gentleman means that I should read the whole of the address, I am afraid that I should only weary the House. I believe that most hon. Members are pretty well acquainted with it. My point is whether, in using the term "local self-government," the right hon. Gentleman intended the introduction of such a Bill as that which is now before the House. If he did, I cannot help thinking that a great many candidates who are now Members of this House sorely misunderstood the language of the right hon. Gentleman. I cannot help thinking that if he intended that, it is unfortunate that he did not use language a little plainer and more explicit. It is quite clear that hon. Members opposite did not take that view of that language, for about that time, and shortly after that celebrated Manifesto, another Manifesto was issued by the hon. Member for the City of Cork, in which he advised Irishmen not to vote for the "perfidious, treacherous, and incompetent Party led by Mr. Gladstone." Then it is suggested that the Irish Party would not accept the measure of local government. But are 85 Members who represent the Irish Nationalist Party in this House to dictate terms to the 585 Members who represent the other parts of the United Kingdom? Is the majority to yield to the minority in this matter? The right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary stated, after the speech of the hon. Baronet the Member for South St. Pancras, that he had not explained his objections to the Bill. Now, I will make my objections to the Bill quite clear, and I will show why I do not propose to vote for it. It creates a separate Parliament in Dublin, and a separate Executive for Ireland, and it is upon that ground that I object to the Bill. I object to hand over the control of the country to a Party who, a few years ago, were denounced in strong language by the Prime Minister himself. I have another quotation, and only one. It is from a Gentleman whose name will be received, I am sure, with great respect by both sides of the House, and one whose Radicalism cannot be in any way questioned. I allude to the late Mr. Fawcett. I do not know whether the two or three observations he made about Home Rule have been read to the House; but there is a short passage in a speech which he delivered in Hackney in 1874 which seems to me not irrelevant to the subject now under discussion. He said—

> "In Ireland a movement was on foot which might bring dangers, not only upon Ireland, but upon the whole Kingdom. An attempt had been made to fasten upon the Liberal Party a responsibility which they did not deserve in respect to Ireland. It was said they intended to favour Home Rule, and would come into power on the Home Rule vote. He had said in the House of Commons, and he repeated there, and he believed he expressed the opinion of the vast majority of Liberals throughout the country, that it would be better for the Liberal Party to remain out of Office till its youngest Member was grey with age, rather than come into power by any compromise with Home Rule."

I will conclude my observations by putting this question to the House. Is there any reason for so great a change? Have the supporters of the measure made out a case for so great a change? In my humble judgment, having given the best consideration to the whole matter, I venture to say that they have not made out a case for so great and startling a change, and I feel constrained to vote against the second reading of the Bill. I intend to vote against it because they have not made out such a case; because if I were to vote for it I should be acting inconsistently with my own electoral pledges and my electoral utterances; because it destroys the Legislative Union now, and probably Imperial unity in the future; because it destroys the old system, and sets up in its place another system of doubtful expediency, and one which, as far as precedent goes, is not likely to be successful. It is upon these grounds that, with the greatest regret, I feel myself compelled to vote against the second reading of the Bill.

Mr. CLANCY (Dublin Co., N.): I do not propose to criticize at any length the speech which has just been delivered by the hon. Member for the Woodstock Division of Oxfordshire (Mr. F. W. Maclean). In the first place, it consisted, for the most part, of stale extracts and staler arguments—extracts which have been read again and again, and arguments which have been answered as often as they have been brought forward. In the second place, a good deal of the speech of the hon. Member was devoted to matters which would be much better discussed in Committee, and which are totally out of place in the discussion of a Bill upon the stage of second reading. In the third place, I think the speech of the hon. Member was one rather for an English Member to answer than for an

Irishman. I have no doubt that the hon. Member's constituents, as well as the constituents of some other hon. Members who have taken part in this debate, will probably put to him this question. How is it, when two-thirds of the Liberal Party are united in supporting the Bill of the Government, the other third feel it incumbent upon them to throw in their lot with the Conservative Party? That is probably a line of conduct which the hon. Member, and those who propose to take the same course, will feel it necessary to explain to the constituents they represent. With these remarks I will pass from the hon. Member to a speech which was addressed to the House earlier in the evening. Nobody could have expected this debate to close without a speech from the hon. and gallant Member for the Isle of Thanet Division of the County of Kent (Colonel King-Harman), and we also looked forward confidently, from the known opinion of the hon. and gallant Member, to a speech such as that which he has delivered to-night. We calculated on hearing such words as murder, treason, "Boycotting," intimidation, separation, civil war, and emigration, mixed up in one way or another with the hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell), the National League, and the Loyal minority. I must confess, however, that there seemed to be a leavened—I might almost say a pathetic—tone about the hon. and gallant Member's deliverance to-night which I did not detect in any of his Predecessors. He ridiculed, for instance, the idea of civil war, and said he had himself never indulged in threats of armed insurrection. I am not quite sure that his recollection on this point is quite of the best. Perhaps some hon. Members of this House may recollect, as I distinctly recollect, a very warlike speech of the hon. and gallant Member at Rathmines, in the county of Dublin, a short time ago, in which he significantly advised his hearers to keep their hands upon the trigger. The speeches, in fact, smelt uncomfortably of gunpowder. If, however, the hon. and gallant Member has decided not to give this advice again, and has abandoned all idea of warlike operations, I welcome this most desirable reformation in his political manners; but in backing down himself it was rather cruel on his part to have been so hard as he was on the hon. Member for South Belfast (Mr. Johnston), who has fixed the Army of Ulster at 120,000 men, with a suitable number of cart horses, and with nothing wanting but the Commissariat and the Artillery, and, perhaps, the money. There was a pathetic tone, too, about the hon. and gallant Member's remarks concerning the landlords. From his description of an Irish landlord, I can only compare that personage to a kind of watering cart, scattering blessings out of his coat tails; but even then the description was imperfect. To make it complete he should have told us something about evictions; how this beneficent genius—the Irish landlord—first plundered his tenants by preposterous rack rents, and then flung thousands of them with their wives and children to die on the roadside. Similarly, when he told us of his own efforts in the relief of distress, I thought to myself that there was scarcely a man in Ireland who had a better right, or was more imperatively bound, to make such efforts. If this House has not heard of the bog rents and evictions on the Roscommon estate of the hon. and gallant Gentleman the story is well known in Ireland.

Colonel KING-HARMAN (Kent, Isle of Thanet): I contradict it.

Mr. CLANCY: It is a story of landlord oppression and tenant decay scarcely with a parallel in Ireland. The loyal minority, he says, will not fight; they will emigrate. He himself, at all events, has been obliged to emigrate politically. He was first ejected from the county of Sligo at the General Election of 1880; I had some little share myself in ejecting him from the county of Dublin at the last Election; indeed, he did not await the fight—he fled before the fight came on, and was obliged to come here to England for a seat, not being able to find one in any part of Ireland, not even in Ulster; and I only wonder why his constituents should take such a pure and simple champion of Irish landlordism, who has been tramping about the country as a defender of English interests. The hon. and gallant Gentleman dared to speak for the people of Ireland—he whom even the Orangemen of Ulster would not send to Parliament. I deny his right to do so; and with that remark I will leave the hon. and gallant Member. My hon. Friend the Member for the Scotland Division of Liverpool (Mr. T. P. O'Connor) hoped last night that we had heard the last of the bogey of separation. I am afraid that his hope will be disappointed in this House and out of this House. Despite arguments to the contrary, repeated again and again, and never yet answered, the Bill of the Prime Minister is still spoken of as a Bill for separation. It is certainly not with any expectation of being able to influence the minds of those who so persistently reiterate this description of the measure that I venture to add anything of my own on this subject. I address myself to those whose minds it is sought to affect by this stale argument. It is said that you must not even modify the Act of Union if you desire to prevent separation. Why, Sir, the Act of Union is itself, and always has been, the grand source of every Separatist movement that ever took place in Ireland. The notion of separation was begotten only in the crisis in 1798, when it was seen that it was determined to pass the Act of Union, and it never became the settled policy of any Party in Ireland till after the Union had been accomplished. That is a remarkable, as well as an undeniable, fact. But more—almost all the men who opposed the Union in 1800 based their opposition to it on this very ground, amongst other grounds—that it would inevitably lead to separation in the long run. Let me trouble the House with a few of the remarkable predictions of these days. I do not think they have been read before. In the debate on the Union measure Mr. Waller declared, "It"—the Union—"will weaken, if not dissolve, the connection." Colonel Barry said, "It will impair the connection." Mr. Saunderson—an ancestor, I presume, of the hon. and gallant Member for North Armagh (Major Saunderson)—delivered himself of the notable opinion that it would "endanger, perhaps dissolve, the connection." Lord Cole, who ought to be held in high esteem amongst the Members of the Orange Party, emphatically declared—

> "The strongest abhorrence of the Union is compatible with the most unshaken attachment to the connection."

The Right Hon. W. B. Ponsonby said that he "opposed the Union from an anxious desire to maintain the connection." And Mr. Bushe, afterwards Chief Justice of the King's Bench, expressed his belief "that Union was an alienation from the British connection." The words of Mr. Peter Burrowes were remarkably prophetic. He said—

> "When I take into account the hostile feelings generated by this foul attempt by bribery, by treason, and by force to plunder a nation of its liberties in the hour of its distress, I do not hesitate to pronounce that every sentiment of affection for Great Britain will perish if this measure pass, and that instead of uniting the nations it will be the commencement of an era of inextinguishable animosity."

The Right Hon. George Ogle, Mr. French, Mr. Georges, Colonel Vereker, and others, all spoke to the same effect, and all of those men were themselves not more opposed to the Union than they were determined to maintain the connection with England. Nor was it in the nature of things to be otherwise. It is ridiculous to suppose that any measure which could have a tendency to create, and has created, discontent in the minds of the whole people could be an effective means of keeping the two countries united. So far, in truth, from the Union being calculated to render the two countries of Ireland and Great Britain more united to one another, its necessary tendency is to aggravate all causes of dissension and difference, to give to every inequality and every injustice an envenomed malignity which could not exist if Ireland had its own Parliament. And I, for my part, do not hesitate to say that if the Union is ever to cease having the effect of creating from time to time a Separatist Party in Ireland, and enlisting for that Party the sympathy of hundreds of thousands outside its own ranks, it will have to be modified in some such direction as that now suggested by the Prime Minister. Now, Sir, I pass to an appeal to British prejudice which I regret to say I have heard made in the course of this discussion by those who, one would think, ought to have known better than to indulge in such mischievous misrepresentations. You have been asked why you should hand over to the tender mercies of the Catholic majority in Ireland those who have been loyal to you in that country in the past? Sir, the loyalty of the Orange minority in Ireland has ever been of a very peculiar character. They are never tired of saying that they have been loyal to you, and have held Ireland for you, the real truth is, that it is you who have been loyal to them and have held Ireland for them by your soldiers, your armed Constabulary, your penal laws, your packed juries, your infamous Land Code—which was described last night by the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant as the worst in the world—by your exclusive magistracy, and by that most notable monument of bureaucratic iniquity on the face of the earth, called Dublin Castle. You have enabled the Loyal minority to live for ages on the fat of the land, and to plunder and trample upon the mass of their fellow-countrymen. By your help, they have maintained an odious ascendancy in Ireland, and, Sir, it is to that ascendancy, and to nothing else, that these Gentleman are and have been loyal. If this be denied—I do not hear any denial from the Benches opposite, or from the Representatives of the Loyal minority—if this be denied, the proof is that whenever you have attempted to mitigate the ascendancy in any degree, what has been your answer? They have invariably threatened you with rebellion. As often as this Parliament has passed Acts, such as the Act of Emancipation, the Municipal Reform Act, the Act for the Disestablishment of the Irish Church, the measure for reducing the Tithes — measures of the simplest justice to Ireland, but which touched on the privileged domain of the so-called Loyal minority—this Party has invariably threatened you with civil war, and the Repeal of the Union, which they now denounce as "Anathema Maranatha" and they have even threatened absolute separation. I shall not read to the House any of the threats of civil war with which it has already been made familiar, tempting though it be to enter this field of humour; but I should wish hon. Members, especially hon. Members on the Liberal side of the House who intend to follow the lead on this occasion of the right hon. Member for West Birmingham (Mr. Chamberlain) — I should wish them to hear how this Loyal minority in Ireland spoke of the Union as lately as 1869. Why, Sir, they declared again and again—these so-called Loyalists of Ireland, the loyalists *par excellence*, the unalterable advocates of the Union, the great champions of the connection between the two countries—they declared that the passing of the Church Bill would virtually dissolve the Union. One of the men who seconded a Resolution to this effect was the hero of Ballykilbeg himself—the hon. Member for South Belfast (Mr. Johnston). He seconded a Resolution in 1869, declaring that the Union would be virtually dissolved, if ever the Church Bill became law. Because England dared to lay hands on the Church Establishment, one of their shining lights, Grand Chaplain Wallace, declared in Dublin on the 13th of July, 1869, with a Grand Master, a Grand Juror, and a magistrate, sitting approvingly in the chair—

> "When the Protestant chain that unites Protestant England and Protestant Ireland is severed, the two countries are separated for ever."

The same rev. Loyalist—one of those who say they have always been loyal to England, and have held Ireland for England—declared on a second occasion in Dublin in the same year—

> "He wished them to mark well what he said. He was not speaking hastily or rashly; but if they were to be charged with disloyalty they would tell England, as he believed that meeting did, that if such a time should ever come as 1848, and if England looked to the Protestants for hearty sympathy with the Union, they would fold their arms—they would say—'The Union was dissolved when that Bill was signed by the Sovereign.'"

Folding your arms and stacking your guns in the face of an advancing enemy seems to me the act of a traitor. Hon. Members have heard of the Rev. John Flanagan, the rev. gentleman who threatened to kick the Queen's Crown into the Boyne.

Mr. JOHNS[illegible] (Belfast, S.): He contradicted it.

Mr. CLANCY: [illegible] on the report in *The Daily E*[illegible]s never contradicted by the rev. gentleman. Only last winter, a Presbyterian paper in the North declared that the rev. gentleman was proud of it. Well, this gentleman, amidst the uproarious plaudits of an Orange assembly at Ballybay, on the 2nd of June, 1869, having first described the First Minister of the Crown as "Judas Iscariot Gladstone," displayed his extreme loyalty in the following words—

> "They must have the Act (of Union) in its entirety or not at all, and he would contend that the minute the obnoxious Bill received the sign manual of the Queen the solemn compact was repealed—it was broken—and therefore in all

> equity void. They would reject the iron hoof of England and get rid of the Papacy at the same time, driving two serpents out of the island at once."

The iron hoof of England is an appropriate phrase, assuredly, from an ultra-loyal man—from a member of a Party that is always proclaiming their loyalty to England, and that has spent itself in Ireland in the service of England. I might proceed to give scores of quotations of this sort to a similar effect; but I will trouble the House with only one more. Here is an extract from a letter in the Dublin organ of the Orange Party—*The Daily Express*—in March, 1869—

> "My counsel, then, is that the Protestants of Ireland should at once and with no uncertain sound declare that in the event of their being treated with such base ingratitude and gross injustice for the purpose of gratifying a band of Ultramontane ecclesiastics who have conspired against the civil and religious liberty of Irishmen, they will henceforth regard Great Britain with feelings very different from those which they have hitherto entertained. I myself know Protestants who, in the event of Mr. Gladstone's policy becoming law, will not only cherish in their own breasts, but will also instil into the hearts of their children, the deepest hatred towards those who will have treated them with such perfidy. Indeed, it requires no prophet to foresee the terrible retribution that is in store for Great Britain if she be insane enough to sanction the abominable policy of Mr. Gladstone."

This is a letter addressed to *The Daily Express* by a gentleman who signs himself a Past Grand Master of an Orange Lodge in Ireland. Sir, if, after declarations such as these, any hon. Member can have any doubt that it is not to England, but to their unjust and unholy privileges, the minority in Ireland have been loyal, the doubt would be removed by the most explicit declarations on this very point of the Orange Leaders. I call attention to these extracts in view of the fact that it is continually asserted by the Orange Representatives in this House, that their principles are those of civil and religious liberty. At the same period, the Rev. Henry Henderson, of Holywood, County Down, a gentleman well known to, and no doubt admired by, the hon. Member for South Belfast (Mr. W. Johnston), spoke as follows at Southfield, on the 12th of July, 1869:—

> "It was not the Fenians they were afraid of, but the policy to which he had just referred, and which was driving the people of Ulster into civil war. It was right they should tell their English brethren the truth; it was right that they should tell them that as long as there was Protestantism in the land and a Protestant Sovereign occupying the Throne so long must there be Protestant ascendancy, and they were determined never to surrender that Protestantism or be false to it."

If that is not plain language, I do not know what plain language is; but quite as plain was that of another rev. Orangeman, the Rev. Henry Burdett, at Newbliss, County Monaghan, in March, 1869. He said—

> "We see people telling us that we should not be aspiring to ascendancy. Now I, as long as ever the Lord shall leave me breath, will never be content with anything but Protestant ascendancy."

And, Sir, this is the Loyal minority in the interests of whom this Bill is opposed; this is the enlightened minority whom the Birmingham apostle of light, and leading champions in this struggle against the Prime Minister, the bulk of his own Party, and the overwhelming majority of the people of Ireland, are proud. It seems to me, and I fancy it will seem to most Englishmen, that it would be better for Great Britain to have a majority in Ireland loyal, in the proper sense of the word, than a minority like this, whose loyalty is quite conditional and qualified, and requires to be maintained year after year, and generation after generation, by constant stimulants in the shape of opportunities for plunder and oppression. Sir, it has been said again and again in this debate, that because the Church Act, two Land Acts, the Reform Act of last year, and the other measures of Reform passed for Ireland in recent times did not settle the Irish Question, so this Bill fails in a similar manner. I put it to hon. Members whether anything can be more absurd than an argument of that sort? What Leader or Leaders of the Irish people ever held forth the promises that those minor reforms would ever settle the Irish Question? Why, Sir, so far from any Irish politician of authority having ever made such a promise, or held out such a prospect, every such politician and all the agents of the Irish National Party in the Press constantly asserted the very contrary. Whatever English statesmen may have said on the subject, it is absolutely true that every man in Ireland who spoke the mind of the National Party constantly told you that in all your Land and Church legislation you never touched the kernel of the Irish Question? What is the essence of that question? Not that you have mismanaged Irish affairs, though that is an aggravating element, but that you have insisted on managing them at all. O'Connell never gave truer expression to the Irish sentiment than when he said that rather than the Union with Emancipation he would have the Irish Parliament with the Penal Laws; and I now say, in all seriousness, and I hope I shall not be considered offensive to the Liberal Friends of this measure in saying, that I would prefer to be governed in Dublin even by the hon. and gallant Member for North Armagh (Major Sanderson) than by an English Minister deriving his authority from another people than my own. I am inclined to do the hon. and gallant Member more justice than he does us. Remember what Grattan once said—

> "How came the Irish Parliament with all its borough Members in 1779 to demand a free trade? In 1782 to demand a free Constitution? Because it sat in Ireland; because they sat in their own country, and because at that time they had a country—because however uninfluenced—as many of its Members were by place, however uninfluenced, as many of its Members were, by popular representation, yet were they influenced by Irish sympathy. They did not like to meet every hour faces that looked shame upon them—they did not like to stand in the sphere of their own infamy. Thus they acted as the Irish absentee at the very same time did not act. They saved the country because they lived in it, as the others abandoned the country because they lived out of it."

I apply the same reasoning to the Orangemen of Ireland at the present day; and even if they disappointed the most natural expectations and proved oppressors as of old—

> ". . . our tyrants then,
> Would be, at least, our countrymen."

It is the failure to recognize the fact that we desire to govern ourselves, and not to be governed by others so far as our domestic affairs are concerned, that has been at the bottom of all your failures in the field of Irish legislation. Now, however, an English statesman has at last arisen in the person of the present Prime Minister, who recognizes this cardinal defect, and proposes to remedy it by establishing an Irish Parliament for Irish affairs, and heavy will be the responsibility, in the face not only of Great Britain and Ireland, but of the civilized world, of any man who stands between him and the accomplishment of his beneficent design.

MR. MOULTON (Clapham): Sir, we have very nearly arrived at the close of a debate on a question, the magnitude and importance of which, if it were necessary to do so, could be shown by the immensity of the field over which that debate has travelled. Many of the points that were discussed most fiercely at an earlier period have now lost much of their interest, and therefore I do not intend to revert to matters debated weeks ago; but I wish to call the attention of the House for a minute or two to what is now the real point at issue. It is not the question whether the Members of this House, individually, are for or against Home Rule. They have each and all made up their minds on this point long ago. It is not a question as to whether the Members of the Conservative Party are going to be induced by any of the modifications of the Prime Minister to support the Bill, for they have a simple and definite creed ably summed up in the observation of the noble Lord the Member for the Ealing Division of Middlesex (Lord George Hamilton), when he said that England and Ireland were one country "by Heaven's Act of Parliament and by the everlasting laws of fact"—an admirable but dangerous simile, for it carries with it in the mind of a Conservative that, like other Acts of Parliament and laws in Ireland, these must be enforced by coercion. Nor is there any doubt as to the attitude of the supporters of the noble Lord the Member for Rossendale (the Marquess of Hartington)—they too have made up their minds. I believe that they indistinctly hear the cry of the Irish people, but it only slightly disturbs their slumbers; they fancy that they have been awakened too soon and that in a year or two it will be time to attend to these things. They have made up their minds how to vote, and will not change. The real interest of the situation lies in the action of those of the Liberal Party who declare their acceptance of the principle of the Bill. In short, the only question is whether, in a House of Commons elected by Democratic England, with a majority clearly in favour of sound and real Home Rule, this attempt to remedy the wrongs of Ireland, these proposals of the Prime Minister are to be defeated, because the Liberal Party have not enough statesmanship to know how to act in the circumstances? We are here debating the Motion for the second reading of a Bill under remarkable circumstances. Owing to pressure of time and many other reasons the Government have announced that the Bill will not be proceeded with during this Session. We are, therefore, in a position in which we are called upon to pronounce in favour of, or against, the principle of the Bill, without the responsibility of our decision being followed up by immediate action. We are here at the commencement of the consideration of this great subject by the English Parliament; we are, therefore, in a position in which time and opportunity for consideration are of the very greatest importance, and, by reason of the action of the Government, whether our votes be given for or against the Bill, we have solely to consider its principle without reference to the practical consequences, except so far as they follow immediately the assertion of that principle. I do not think it would be possible for the House of Commons to be placed in any other position so favourable for avowing its adhesion to that principle unhampered by considerations as to how it should be carried out. [*Laughter.*] Hon. Gentlemen opposite laugh at that; I am not at all surprised at it, because they think and they trust that by ridiculing such considerations as this, they will impede the passage of this great measure, and put difficulties in the way of carrying out the principle of Home Rule. This is a question which can only be dealt with by stages. The first stage is clear and distinct; and I think I can show that our duty in regard to the measure is as clear and distinct now at this first stage, as it will be when we come to fight out the question as to how the principle of the Bill is to be carried out. Sir, we have now only to deal with the principle itself, and I wish to ask the attention of the House to what, in my opinion, are the proper motives and proper reasons by which we ought to be guided in deciding the course we should take. First of all, I would say that, as we are about to vote for the second reading of the Bill, and as the only Party whose votes are undecided is one which openly declares that it feels the necessity of Home Rule in Ireland, that it is ashamed of the injustice done to Ireland in the past, and determined to give to it justice in the future, I say that that Party is not at liberty to urge at this stage any difficulties of detail, however great, until they primarily establish, as the property of the Liberal Party, the great principle of Home Rule. Let me give an example of what I call details in this case—they are of enormous importance I, admit, but still I say that they are details, and that we ought not now to allow them to perplex our minds. There is the great detail of finance; and however much division of opinion it may call up hereafter, yet it is not one of those things which we ought to allow to distract our attention from the main question as to whether or not we ought to vote for Home Rule. But there is another principle to be kept in mind—that even in matters which are not of the nature of details, but which are vital to the Bill, we ought not to consider anything that merely depends upon the drafting of the Bill. For how many hours have we been discussing whether or not the supremacy of Parliament is sufficiently secured by the Bill? The hon. Member for the Southern Division of Aberdeen (Mr. Bryce) argued most skilfully that the Bill, in its present shape, expressly or implicitly reserved the supremacy of the Imperial Parliament. Others have argued to the contrary. But that is not a practical matter to be considered now. We are all determined that the supremacy of Parliament shall be maintained; and at this time, when we are considering a great Constitutional change, it is not necessary to discuss whether or not an express clause should be included in the Bill to provide for it. I am not forgetting the admirable argument of the hon. Member for Sligo (Mr. Sexton), who pointed out the dangers of such a clause; but I say that, whether or not it is necessary, it has nothing to do with the question before us. This has been the subject of the speeches of some hon. Members, which would have been very useful in Committee, but which, in the present case, have only been used to draw attention from the real question. But, in addition to the principle that we must not now concern ourselves with matters of detail or of drafting, there are two practical considerations of higher importance, and the first is that we must allow ourselves to be influenced in this vital step by no motive, however justifiable or defensible, which is not a great one; we must not allow ourselves to be influenced by smaller matters—things which in their place are well taken into consideration, but which must absolutely vanish in comparison with the enormous importance of the issue to be decided. Let me state one consideration which I am perfectly sure has influenced the minds of many in this House who have thought over the matter as honestly, sincerely, and patiently as it is possible for any men to consider it. We are here in a position to give a vote which can have no practical result except to give an expression of opinion in favour of Home Rule. We have, therefore, heard many speeches made in which blame has been attached to the Government for not having proceeded in this matter by way of Resolution, and it has been said that it would have been much better had they proceeded in that way. Well, Sir, it may be so; but what is that in comparison with the step we are about to take, with its tremendous importance and its everlasting consequences? Are you going to allow the consideration as to whether or not it would have been more symmetrical to have your discussion upon an abstract Resolution; whether or not you would have had less difficulty, in that case, of explaining to your minds the step you are taking, to stand in the way of the assertion of this great principle? Supposing you are justified in complaining of this, and that Her Majesty's Government are wrong in proceeding in the way they have, are you going to visit that upon the Irish nation? There is one other consideration which is as important as the others. We all know what rests upon the division at the end of this debate; we know, or we are practically certain, that the consequence of the failure of the Bill will be a Dissolution. That has been stated by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham (Mr. Chamberlain) to be one of those things which he contemplates, and is perfectly willing to face. Sir, the House of Commons is in existence to meet the legislative needs of a great nation; like everything on earth it is imperfect in its working, but the practical effect of it we all understand. Now, if we are going, on any trivial grounds, to reject the Bill, we have to face this—that we go to the country upon some issue or other; and I put it to the Members of the House, as one important practical consideration to be kept in mind, one that may and ought to influence our actions, whether they will go to the country at this stage on an issue which the country can understand? We shall be responsible if, with a grave issue before us, by any action of ours we should place it before the people in such a form that they cannot pronounce upon it. I say that these are the principles which ought to guide us. Again, it is a question as to whether the Radical Members of the House who are in favour of Home Rule, who feel it their duty to bring Home Rule to Ireland as soon and as well as they can, are going to support or oppose this measure by their vote on Monday. Now, what are the reasons why the Liberal Party is in danger of being defeated by the votes of some of its heartiest Members? I cannot explain this without briefly dwelling on the history of the case. It arises from the fact that a Bill was brought in with provisions which we, as Radicals, could not for one moment accept. That it was so was no wonder to those of us who had thought of Home Rule, to those who had tried to work out a scheme which would be satisfactory. Such persons knew well its difficulties. Suppose a Bill could have been framed that would have avoided all difficulties, does anyone suppose that with all the earnest and able statesmen of the last 50 years we should have been only now daring to attack the subject? And I think that when the history of this proceeding comes to be written, it will be said that, full of difficulties as it was, certain as it was that the plan would be attacked, and attacked successfully, it was wise of the Prime Minister to come before Parliament with a Bill which, at all events, was a scheme, though containing defects—that it was better for him to do that than to come down and talk vaguely about the advantages of Home Rule. The course the right hon. Gentleman has taken has advanced the subject many years. It has made us feel that the granting of Home Rule is a choice between the difficulties of different schemes; it has made us feel that we may accept this scheme if we are prepared to do so; and, at any rate, it has enabled the practical part of the Liberal Party to take in the whole question, and has made the principle of Home Rule an inalienable possession of the Liberal Party, which they will never give up. When the Bill was first brought in, we expected that it was the intention of the Prime Minister, if he could, to pass it through the House this year. We believed that the vote on the second reading would be a vote for the effective second reading. The vote, if successful, we believed would advance the Bill a stage—would pass it over one of the Constitutional safeguards through which these Bills have to pass before they become law—and, therefore, we were obliged far more closely to scrutinize what was the principle of the Bill, and to take care that the whole of the principle was understood and approved of by us before we voted on it. And I confess honestly—I confessed it honestly as soon as I felt it—that the Bill, as originally introduced, while it did commit, and in my opinion rightly, a large portion of the public life in Ireland into the hands of the Irish Legislature, yet it had the fault that it attempted to regulate the rest by means of the arbitrary decision of a Parliament in which Ireland would have no Representatives. That, I thought, was a departure from the main principle of civil liberty which could not lead to a permanent settlement; and I felt that, in voting for the principle of the Bill, then I should be voting for that. I felt that, in being asked to give an effective second reading to the Bill, it would not be in the power of anyone to lessen the responsibility or meaning of my vote, and that vote could not be in favour of the measure, because, as I say, one portion of the scheme committed part of the Government of Ireland to a Parliament in England, in which Ireland would not be represented. But now the whole of that has been clearly and distinctly removed by the statement of the Prime Minister and other Members of the Government. The whole of my difficulty with regard to that has passed away. But there are a knot of hon. Members in this House who are not yet ready to support this Bill—though they approve of Home Rule, they have not yet seen their way clear in this respect. It is the difficulties of their position that I wish to examine, and I could not act more fairly to them than take as the *apologia* of their views the speech of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham (Mr. Joseph Chamberlain). We all know the brilliant clearness of his speeches; we all know the undaunted way in which he speaks out his opinion; and I am perfectly sure that no better exponent of the views of those who still cannot see their way to support the Bill can be found. His speech was the speech of one who has not only done wonderfully good service for Liberalism, but has been willing to do great service for Ireland in the past; who, when Home Rule was not so popular as now, wished to give a large measure of it to Ireland; and who, before very long, I am sure, will be found fighting hard for Ireland with the rest of us. I know what are the principles on which he justified his opposition to the Bill. I listened to his speech with intense pleasure, so far as intellectual pleasure went, for it seemed to me a magnificent attack, in many respects, upon the Bill; but I was listening to it with another object—to find the motive that could justify the responsible step of voting against this Bill on the part of a man who said that he was in favour of autonomy. I listened to the right hon. Gentleman's speech, keeping in my mind the principles that I think ought to guide our opinions in these matters—the principles of which I have just spoken—and I must say I found terrible inadequacy of motive in it. The right hon. Gentleman, in regard to many subjects to which he referred, clearly pointed out that they were matters which he would not allow to influence him at this stage—such as the question of Ulster. But, so far as I could understand, the main grounds on which he justified his action—they were two, although they really become one—were, that he doubted whether the real supremacy of this Parliament—not the paper supremacy, for he used no abstract legal argument—was maintained; and, further, whether the right method of solving the problem was not by federation, rather than by a Bill like the present. Now, these two reduce themselves to one, and as he spoke I tried to picture to myself what it was that would have satisfied the right hon. Gentleman. I remembered the letter that was written by him immediately prior to the commencement of this debate, in which he pointed out that the supremacy of Parliament was all important, and that there was one thing which could preserve it, and one thing only, and that was the dropping of the 24th clause and the keeping of the Irish Members at Westminster. But this has been conceded. ["No, no!"] Clearly this has been conceded. ["No, no!"] Well, we have it in language as clear as any who wish to understand can desire. The Government have stated that in the autumn they will bring forward a proposal which will give Ireland representation in all Imperial and reserved affairs. That is to say, they have undertaken to introduce provisions declaring that the Imperial Parliament properly constituted as an Imperial Parliament shall be the sole authority for Imperial matters and for all that Business affecting Ireland which is still in the hands of this Parliament. And when you think that that has been conceded, what becomes of the argument, that federation is the right method of solving this problem? What is the proposal of the Government but federation? What is federation? It is the organization of a nation in which parts of it have their Local Parliaments, possessed of power to regulate their local business, but in which the common interests are in the hands of a Central Parliament to which they all contribute Representatives. That and that alone is federation. Wherever that exists there is federation, and without it there cannot be such a thing. That federation may exist with every kind of Constitution. Look at it in Germany, where you have Kingdoms and Duchies forming the component parts; look at it in America, where the States have more or less the same kind of Constitution. The Central Parliaments may vary infinitely. Look at them in Germany, America, Canada, Austria; there is no similarity between them. The one idea is, that there are interests in the hands of the Central Parliament and interests in the hands of the Local Parliaments. It is Home Rule and Home Rule only that is federation; and in this case, where the Government have given a pledge that there shall be an Imperial Parliament for Imperial affairs and a Local Parliament for local affairs, we have the germs of a full and complete federation between England and Ireland. And when I heard the right hon. Gentleman's speech, what puzzled me was why one who felt such an attachment to federation and such an attachment to the supremacy of the Imperial Parliament should take exception to the scheme of the Government. He said it would give to the Imperial Parliament only a discontinuous existence. But why a discontinuous existence? Simply because we choose to make the Parliament at Westminster do double duty as a British Home Rule Parliament and as an Imperial Parliament. The only reason is that it is to be the Parliament of and to manage the affairs of two nations—the one more limited for Great Britain, and the other less limited for the United Kingdom. If we only choose to carry out the federation more completely, and let the British Parliament be a distinct one, apart from the Imperial Parliament, we shall have symmetrical federation. But, symmetrical or not, this project as now put forward is the federation which is made the central condition of the support of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham. That seemed to me, as far as I can understand it, the real reason why he withheld his support. But this discontinuous action is essential and necessary only if you are going to make this Parliament do double duty; therefore this objection solely rests on the fact that we are not yet ripe for symmetrical federation, and the consequence is that the scheme, although a true scheme of federation, has all the uncouthness of that which is unsymmetrical. But what is the real question before us—are we deciding how this federation should be worked out, or are we deciding whether or not we shall give these rights of self-government which, if federation is right in itself, justly belong to the Irish people? If the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham is willing to grant federation, it is because he believes that the Irish people have a right to self-government, and yet, with his views, he would strive to persuade himself, as I hope he will not be able to do, that though he believes they have these rights, they are to be withheld for an indefinite time because he has not yet got a sufficiently symmetrical scheme. For it is for an indefinite time. He said—"We will go to the country not on convenience of the Committee if I state, in the very briefest manner possible, the nature of the Amendment I desire to move, which concerns entirely the area of the operation of the Bill in the matter of Sunday closing. I shall not utter a single word of what may be considered second reading matter, but confine myself to the simple question of the area over which Sunday closing is intended to operate. My hon. Friend (Sir Joseph Pease), who has charge of the Bill, said that, as far as the question of area was concerned, he would be willing, when the Bill got into Committee, to amend it in the direction I propose, provided he was sure that was the wish of the House and of the people of the country. I desire to give him, to-night, an opportunity of ascertaining what is the sense of the House, and, so far as it is reflected by the votes of hon. Members, what is the opinion of the Constituencies as to the extent to which this Bill should be carried. This Bill, as far as regards area, may be said to be divided into three parts—namely, the Metropolis and the Metropolitan Suburbs, towns and populous places, and the rest of the country, which I may call rural parishes. As it now stands, the Bill proposes total Sunday closing—such as exists in Wales —in such part of England as is represented by the rural parishes. With regard to the Metropolis, I have no Amendment to propose to the Bill of my hon. Friend. What I desire to do by the Amendment of which I have given Notice is to secure that there shall be entire Sunday closing throughout the whole of England, except the Metropolis and the Metropolitan Suburbs. It is with that view that I propose to insert, after "retail," in line 6—

"Elsewhere than in the Metropolitan District or in the Metropolitan Police District."

If the Committee accepts my Amendment, it will sanction the principle that in some part of England, at least, there shall be a day of total rest for those engaged in the liquor traffic, and public opinion will never be content with less. I know it is said that in the Southern counties public opinion is not ripe for total Sunday closing, neither is it so far advanced as in the North. Well, we shall ascertain that by the votes of the Representatives of those counties. From a canvass taken, however, it would appear that of the householders in these counties, as many as seven to one are in favour of Sunday closing. The householders who thus express their opinion mean total closing, and not partial closing. I trust the Committee will see its way to adopt my Amendment, which I will now move.

Amendment proposed,

In page 1, line 6, after the word "retail," to insert "elsewhere than in the Metropolitan District or in the Metropolitan Police District." —(*Mr. J. C. Stevenson.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

Sir JOSEPH PEASE (Durham, Barnard Castle): Hon. Members who were present when the second reading of this Bill was agreed to by the House will recollect very well that I undertook to amend the scope of the Bill rather than to contract it. The simple issue now before the Committee is this—My hon. Friend desires to promote entire Sunday closing in the whole of the country, except the Metropolis and the Metropolitan Suburbs. My Bill, on the contrary, has two hours for the sale of dinner beer and two hours for the sale of supper beer, and that principle is, I understand, generally accepted by the House —I understand so, because in the last Parliament the unanimous vote of the House was given in that direction. I am afraid I must oppose the Amendment of my hon. Friend, whatever may be my own views on the general question of Sunday closing.

Mr. T. FRY (Darlington): Mr. Courtney, I think it is a proof of the great interest which is taken in this measure by the people of the North of England, that three of the Representatives of the county of Durham are willing to speak upon the proposal to apply Sunday closing to the whole of the country. I hope that if the hon. Gentleman the Member for South Shields (Mr. Stevenson) goes to a division, a great many Members who supported us in reference to entire Sunday closing in the county of Durham will support him in reference to entire Sunday closing for the whole of England. I may say, in reference to the agitation that has been carried on in the county of Durham for the last three years, and which would have culminated in the success of the Durham Closing Bill but for the action of the House of Lords, that the people are practically unanimous in the desire that the public-houses in their midst should be closed on the Sunday. I shall support my hon. Friend the Member for South Shields if he goes to a division.

VISCOUNT CRANBORNE (Lancashire, N.E., Darwen): I should like to point out that, on the second reading, the hon. Baronet opposite (Sir Joseph Pease) in charge of the Bill distinctly led us to suppose that he would restrict, as he says, the scope of the Bill—that he would not have total Sunday closing in any part of England. On that understanding a large number of Members voted for the second reading. It would hardly be fair, therefore, that the Amendment before the Committee should be accepted, because it would really run in the teeth of the engagement entered into by the hon. Baronet, and upon the faith of which the second reading was agreed to.

Question put.

The Committee *divided:*—Ayes 115; Noes 100: Majority 15.—(Div. List, No. 122.)

MR. J. C. STEVENSON: I beg to move to leave out "except," in line 7, and insert "and," an Amendment which is consequential upon that just adopted by the Committee.

Amendment proposed, in page 1, line 7, leave out "except," and insert "and." —(*Mr. J. C. Stevenson.*)

Question, "That the word 'except' stand part of the Clause," put, and *negatived.*

Question, "That the word 'and' be there inserted," put, and *agreed to.*

SIR JOSEPH PEASE: I beg to move, Sir, that you do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again.

MR. J. C. STEVENSON: Perhaps the hon. Baronet will allow us to make another consequential Amendment. It is to leave out——

SIR ROBERT FOWLER (London): I believe the hon. Baronet in charge of the Bill moved to report Progress. On that Motion it is not competent for the hon. Gentlemen (Mr. Stevenson) to go on with his Amendment.

THE CHAIRMAN (Mr. COURTNEY) (Cornwall, Bodmin): I understood the hon. Baronet (Sir Joseph Pease) to be willing that the consequential Amendment should be made.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again."—(*Sir Joseph Pease.*)

MR. J. C. STEVENSON: I trust the hon. Baronet will allow us to pass another consequential Amendment.

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL (Paddington, S.): I think the Committee will gladly allow the hon. Member (Mr. Stevenson) to pass the consequential Amendment; but there was an understanding between the hon. Baronet (Sir Joseph Pease) and those who sit on this side of the House, that after the question raised by the hon. Member for South Shields had been disposed of, the hon. Baronet would be agreeable to make a Motion to report Progress. It is for the Committee to consider whether, in view of the extremely late Sitting which took place last night—the House sat until a quarter to 4, and although many hon. Members were not present at that hour, the officials were, and I believe felt the strain very considerably—it is for the Committee to consider whether they will have another late Sitting to-night, as would be the case if we were to go on with the Bill. I should not myself have proposed the Motion to report Progress, unless the hon. Baronet had been agreeable to it; but I do think that, under the circumstances, we shall be acting wisely if we allow the further consideration of the Bill to stand over until another Sitting.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT) (Derby): There is a good deal in what the noble Lord has said; but what I understand is proposed is, that we should dispose of the Amendments of my hon. Friend the Member for South Shields (Mr. Stevenson), and that as we have taken a division on what is called the principle, we should take the Amendments which are merely consequential and then report Progress. I understand my hon. Friend desires to move a consequential Amendment, and not to go into the Bill further.

SIR JOSEPH PEASE: The noble Lord opposite (Lord Randolph Churchill) has correctly stated the pledge I gave to several hon. Members opposite, which was that at this late hour, as soon as the principle of my hon. Friend's Amendment was decided, I would move to report Progress. I am, of course, entirely in the hands of the Committee. If it is the wish of the Committee that we should pass the consequential Amendment and then report Progress, I will ask leave to withdraw my Motion.

Motion, by leave, *withdrawn.*

THE CHAIRMAN: The next Amendment stands in the name of the hon. Baronet.

SIR JOSEPH PEASE: I cannot move it, and that is why I moved to report Progress.

MR. J. C. STEVENSON: I beg to move the omission of the words "or in a town or populous place." The Amendment is merely consequential.

Amendment proposed, in page 1, line 8, to leave out "or in a town or populous place."—(*Mr. J. C. Stevenson.*)

Question, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Clause," put, and *negatived.*

SIR JOSEPH PEASE: I now move that you do now report Progress, and ask leave to sit again.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again."—(*Sir Joseph Pease.*)

MR. JAMES STUART (Shoreditch, Hoxton): I must oppose the Motion. We are asked here to go through the Bill, and I see no adequate reason why we should not proceed.

SIR ROBERT FOWLER: At a quarter to 4 to-morrow I was in the House—[*Laughter*]—and the hon. Gentleman the Member for Shoreditch was not. I appeal to hon. Members who were comfortably in bed this morning, while I and others were in attendance at the House, if they have no consideration for us, to have consideration for you, Mr. Courtney, and the Speaker, and the officers of the House. Having sat up until a quarter to 4 this morning, it is rather hard they should be kept up until a late hour at this Sitting.

MR. CONYBEARE (Cornwall, Camborne): I am sure no one will prevent the hon. Baronet (Sir Robert Fowler) going to bed, if he wishes to do so. I was here until a quarter to 4 this morning, and I am prepared to stay up as long again, if by so doing we can get through this Bill.

MR. STOREY (Sunderland): I have consideration for the hon. Baronet; but I have more consideration for the women and children in every part of the country. I would rather consider their interests than those of the hon. Baronet. I was not here until a quarter to 4 this morning. I was not here until a quarter to 4 to-morrow, or yesterday; but what I have to say is this—this is Friday; to-morrow is Saturday. I reckon the hours like a man of the world. This is Friday—["Question!"] I am speaking to the Question. We have plenty of time before us. We have all to-morrow for leisure; and if matters go as the noble Lord the Member for South Paddington (Lord Randolph Churchill) wishes, we shall have very considerable time for leisure, so far as the Business of the House is concerned. The question which has just been raised by the hon. Gentleman the Member for South Shields is a very serious one. Whatever hon. Gentleman representing other parts of the country may think, we, in the county of Durham, are extremely anxious about this Bill, By the action of another House we have been deprived of the very advantages which the hon. Member for South Shields seeks to secure by this Bill, and you need not complain if now we renew our efforts, with, we hope, a better fate. Even at 25 minutes to 2 o'clock on Saturday morning, if Saturday you will call it, I propose that we should proceed with this important Bill, in the interest of the large numbers of the population who very much desire it to pass.

The Committee *divided:*—Ayes 113; Noes 110: Majority 3.—(Div. List, No. 123.)

Committee report Progress; to sit again upon *Monday* next.

## EAST INDIA RAILWAYS [LOANS].

*Considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

*Resolved,* That it is expedient to authorise the Secretary of State in Council of India to raise any sum or sums of money, not exceeding in the whole £10,000,000, for the construction, extension, and equipment of Railways in India, on the security of the Revenues of India.

Resolution to be reported upon *Monday* next.

## *MOTIONS.*

## RAILWAY REGULATION BILL.

*Ordered,* That the Select Committee on Railway Regulation Bill do consist of Eighteen Members.

*Ordered*, That Mr. SEELY be discharged from the Committee.

*Ordered*, That Mr. W. LAWRENCE, Mr. HUGH REID, and Mr. PICKARD be added to the Committee.—(*Mr. Acland.*)

### ASSIZES RELIEF BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Addison, Bill to relieve the Courts of Assize from the trial of offenders committed to the Quarter Sessions, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. Addison, Mr. Francis Powell, Mr. Tomlinson, and Mr. Forwood.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 257.]

### OWNERS OF DOGS LIABILITY BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Addison, Bill to render the Owners of Dogs liable for injuries done to any person by such Dogs, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. Addison, Mr. Francis Powell, Mr. Tomlinson, and Mr. Forwood.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 258.]

### PUBLIC WORKS LOANS (TRAMWAYS IRELAND) BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Henry H. Fowler, Bill to amend the Act of the sixth and seventh years of William the Fourth, chapter one hundred and eight, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. Henry H. Fowler and Mr. John Morley.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 259.]

### TURNPIKE ROADS (SOUTH WALES) BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Maitland, Bill to further amend the Law relating to Turnpike Roads in South Wales, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. Maitland, Mr. Thomas Price, and Mr. Warmington.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 260.]

House adjourned at Two o'clock till Monday next.

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## HOUSE OF LORDS,

*Monday*, *7th June*, 1886.

MINUTES.]—PUBLIC BILLS—*First Reading*—County Courts Consolidation * (151); Copyhold Enfranchisement * (152).

*Second Reading*—Post Office Sites * (130).

*Report*—Contagious Diseases (Animals) (149-153).

PROVISIONAL ORDER BILLS — *First Reading* — Police and Improvement (Scotland) (Leith) * (150).

*Report* — Elementary Education Confirmation (Birmingham) * (96); Elementary Education Confirmation (London) * (97).

### CROFTERS (SCOTLAND) (No. 2) BILL—APPOINTMENT OF COMMISSIONERS.

#### OBSERVATIONS.

THE DUKE OF ARGYLL: My Lords, I observe in this morning's journals a statement with regard to representations which have been made to Her Majesty's Government on the subject of the appointment of the members of the Crofters Commission. Those who are interested in the management of landed property in Scotland have, I think, behaved towards the Government in this matter with very great forbearance, because undoubtedly very arbitary powers—powers which might involve the complete forfeiture of all arrears due at the present moment—are dependent upon the personal character and responsibility of the gentlemen who are appointed Commissioners. I am bound to say that I have the greatest confidence in the perfect frankness and good faith of my noble Friend who occupies the Office of Secretary for Scotland. I have also the same confidence in the present Lord Advocate for Scotland; but, having that confidence, I think we have a right to ask, when a report so public as this appears in the morning papers in respect to remonstrances said to have been made by a certain class of Members of the House of Commons in regard to these appointments, whether there is any foundation for it? I therefore beg to put that Question to my noble Friend.

THE SECRETARY FOR SCOTLAND (The Earl of DALHOUSIE): I have no difficulty whatever in answering the Question put to me by the noble Duke, because, as it happens, I was at the House of Commons on Thursday night shortly after the interview between Dr. Macdonald and the Lord Advocate took place, and I heard from the Lord Advocate at the time an account of what passed. The substance of the statement attributed to Dr. Macdonald, in the letter to which the noble Duke refers as having been made by him to the Lord Advocate on that occasion, although not quite accurate, is fairly correct, I believe, so far as regards his objection to the gentlemen whose appointment has been apparently rumoured in Ross-shire. The alleged reply of the Lord Advocate to Dr. Macdonald is not quite accurate either. The Lord Advocate simply answered that he would communicate to me what Dr. Macdonald had stated, and shortly afterwards, on my arrival at the House of Commons the same evening, he did so. I may perhaps be allowed to add that no understanding exists between the Government and the Crofter Members as to who will or will not be appointed to Commissionerships under the Crofters Bill. No promise has been given, directly or indirectly, on the subject, and no announcement will be made to-day in regard to it. I must decline most distinctly to make any reply to the insinuation contained in the last paragraph of this letter in *The Times*, because my doing so, either negatively or affirmatively, would imply that certain appointments have been proposed, or at least contemplated, a matter in regard to which, as I have stated, it is not intended to make any announcement today.

## CRIME AND OUTRAGE (IRELAND)—MURDER OF PATRICK TANGNEY NEAR KILLARNEY.

### QUESTION. OBSERVATIONS.

THE EARL OF LIMERICK asked the Lord President of the Council, Whether he could give the House any information as to the recent murder of Patrick Tangney near Killarney, and whether the Government considered that they had sufficient powers to protect life and property and to bring to justice the instigators and perpetrators of this and similar crimes in Ireland?

THE LORD PRESIDENT (Earl SPENCER), in reply, said, he was afraid that the general purport of the noble Lord's Question was true. From the report he had received he found that the house of Patrick Tangney, about five miles from Killarney, was entered by armed and disguised men about 12 o'clock on the night of June 3. Tangney was shot in the leg, from the effects of which he had since died. The motive of the outrage was supposed to be owing to the fact that the man was connected with the estate of Mr. Going, and that he was supposed to have taken some steps to allow men outside the estate to get bog. This was supposed to be the motive of the outrage, but of course it was impossible to be certain in regard to it. Her Majesty's Government regretted to say that the state of Kerry in certain parts was not at all satisfactory. Ever since last August the condition of that county had been much in the same condition as it was now, and there had indeed been little or no change since June or July of last year. A large number of additional police had been drafted into the county in order to cope with this particular method of outrage, which was "moonlighting." The only mode in which the Irish Government could deal with disturbance of this kind was to increase the strength of the patrol. Last year the Inspector General of Constabulary visited the district to consult with the Local Authorities, and a considerable number of police were sent. He visited the county again in February, and in certain parts of the county there was then a distinct improvement. A number of extra police were in the county now, and the Government were doing their utmost to keep down these outrages by increasing the patrols. The Inspector General had again been ordered to the county and left for the district last night in order to hold another consultation with the Authorities with the object of putting down these outrages. With regard to some of these outrages there was reason to believe that they had been got up for the purpose of showing that the tenants were under intimidation, and in one case there was reason to believe that the sons of the farmer whose house was attacked took part in the outrage for the purpose of using it as a pretext for not paying his rent to his landlord.

LORD ASHBOURNE asked if the noble Earl had any reason to doubt the information which the Government received that this was an agrarian murder, and that the sole offence was an honest attempt on the part of the deceased to perform his ordinary civil duties?

THE EARL OF MILLTOWN asked whether, considering the present state of the County Kerry, the Law Officers of the Crown considered, in the very unlikely event of the capture of these murderers, there was any reasonable hope of their being prosecuted and convicted before a common jury? The statement that some of these outrages were pre-arranged was uncalled for and monstrous, and it was a strange assertion for a responsible Minister of the Crown to make. It was also a strange statement for the noble Earl to say that the condition of Kerry had been unsatisfactory since he left Office last year.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA (The Earl of KIMBERLEY) said, he did not understand his noble Friend (the Lord President of the Council) to say anything so absurd as that this murder had been pre-arranged. What his noble Friend said was that there was reason to believe that some of these moonlight outrages had been pre-arranged.

LORD FITZGERALD said, that, in all probability, the Judge before whom the murderers would be taken—if any of them were apprehended—would change the venue from Kerry to Cork, in which county, in such a case as this, there would be no fear of a miscarriage of justice.

## SOUTH-EASTERN STATES OF EUROPE—GREECE AND TURKEY—RAISING OF THE BLOCKADE OF THE GRECIAN PORTS.—OBSERVATIONS.

The SECRETARY of STATE for FOREIGN AFFAIRS (The Earl of Rosebery): I have no doubt your Lordships will hear with pleasure the announcement I am enabled to make. It is that we have received a telegram from the Duke of Edinburgh stating that the blockade of the Greek ports has been raised. The Fleets are now returning to Suda Bay.

## CONTAGIOUS DISEASES (ANIMALS) BILL.—(No. 149.)

(*The Lord President.*)

### REPORT.

Amendments *reported* (according to order).

The LORD PRESIDENT of the COUNCIL (Earl Spencer) said, he had two Amendments to propose which he regretted were not in print, and which he had undertaken to bring up when the Bill was in Committee. The first was intended to prevent the confusion which had arisen in certain counties with regard to Orders for the removal of cattle in different Petty Sessional districts; but it would not curtail the powers of the Local Committee, which were so important for dealing with outbreaks of cattle disease. The second Amendment gave to Local Authorities the power of charging upon owners of ships wrecked on the coast the cost of burying cattle that were cast up on the shore. Several cases had occurred in which expense was thrown upon a locality, and in which there was no doubt as to the ship of whose cargo the animals had formed a part.

Further Amendments made; Bill to be read 3ª *To-morrow;* and to be *printed,* as amended. (No. 153.)

## NAVY—EFFECT OF SHOTS ON IRON-CLADS—EXPERIMENTS.

### QUESTION. OBSERVATIONS.

Lord ELPHINSTONE, in rising to ask the First Lord of the Admiralty, Whether, in the forthcoming trials of the effect of shots against the armour-clad *Resistance,* he would test the effect of concussion caused by a shot striking a pilot or conning tower? said, that several years ago he made a similar request, and he was afterwards told—"We have tried your experiment; we put a dog, a cat, and a goat into a turret while we were firing, and we found that the concussion did not have the slightest effect upon them." Now, it so happened that no animals could have been selected that were less susceptible to the effects of concussion, and he, therefore, did not consider the test applied to these animals was any experiment at all. He could have told the Admiralty beforehand that the effect of concussion upon these animals in a turret open to the air would be simply *nil.* Again, he made the request that one of these towers might be fired at. To show the importance of applying such a test he described these turrets. In some cases access was gained by a staircase from below, and in others from the upper deck. Inside there were a large number of speaking tubes communicating with every department of the ship, and these were secured by bolts and nuts. The inside of the turret was practically the eyes and brains of the ship, and in time of emergency the heads of the departments would be in the turret. In one he had counted 80 screw bolts, and the effect of a shot striking a tower would be that 40 of these would be started. He believed the effect of concussion upon the officers inside would be to kill them at once. Thus a ship would be paralyzed at once. A year or two ago certain tests were applied on board the *Inflexible.* A shot was fired so that the explosion passed along the upper deck and by the conning tower. Inside there had been placed lighted candles, glasses of water, and paper diaphragms. The lights were blown out, the water was upset, and the diaphragms were cracked. The experiment which he suggested had never been tried in this or in any other country; but the general opinion in the Navy was that if a shot struck the conning tower of a vessel the whole thing would be knocked overboard.

The FIRST LORD of the ADMIRALTY (The Marquess of Ripon), in reply, said, he did not think it would be possible to make the experiment suggested by the noble Lord on board the *Resistance*. There was no conning tower on board that vessel, and a very considerable time would necessarily elapse before one could be erected. The only experiment that would be effective would be to fire a shot at a real conning tower constructed like other towers. The experiments on board the *Resistance*, which would be of very great importance, were now arranged, and under these circumstances he did not think it would be desirable to delay them for several months in order to erect a conning tower. He would, however, take the matter into consideration, and would consult with his Colleagues and the professional advisers at the Admiralty with a view to see whether such experiments as the noble Lord had suggested could be made.

## COLONIZATION AND EMIGRATION.

### OBSERVATIONS.

THE EARL OF LONGFORD said, that, in consequence of the absence of the noble Earl the Secretary of State for the Colonies, he would postpone the Question which stood in his name on the Paper as to whether any satisfactory scheme of emigration or of colonization, State-directed or otherwise, had been proposed to the Colonial Office, or whether the Colonial Office, with the concurrence of Colonial Authorities, had formulated any such scheme for the mutual advantage of Home and Colonial interests. He hoped, however, that the Government would be brought to see the urgent necessity of some action on the part of the State in the direction of colonization and emigration. The Blue Book which had just been issued was extremely disappointing.

## ARMY (AUXILIARY FORCES)—VOLUNTEER INSPECTIONS IN HYDE PARK.

### OBSERVATIONS.

THE EARL OF WEMYSS said, he wished to draw the attention of the Under Secretary of State for War to the inadequate space granted for the inspection of Volunteers in Hyde Park. He went to the Park on Saturday to see his old regiment, the London Scottish, inspected, and he must say that he was somewhat scandalized at the way in which the inspection had to be carried on. Three regiments were being inspected and three others were drilling, and the ground set aside for their accommodation was that narrow slip between Knightsbridge Barracks and Rotten Row, which at the most was only 120 yards wide—no wider than Ascot racecourse. Seeing that when certain gentlemen wanted to get up a demonstration against their Lordships' House they had the use of the best portion of the Park, he desired to know whether better arrangements could be made for such a large and useful body of men as the Volunteers? Surely, when they had a body of men 200,000 strong who gave their time to the Public Service, thorough provision ought to be made for their efficient and satisfactory inspection. He hoped that the War Office would give attention to the matter.

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE (Lord SANDHURST), in reply, said, that in consequence of the short Notice which he had received of the noble Earl's Question, he had hardly been able to inquire into this matter as he would like to have done. He understood that the arrangements for the inspection of Volunteer corps were entirely in the hands of the General Officers commanding the districts, and these arrangements were made, as far as possible, to suit the convenience of the corps. It was a lamentable thing that some confusion should have occurred such as that to which the noble Earl had alluded, and, seeing the great interest that their Lordships' House and the country generally took in the Volunteer Force, it was a great pity that these inspections could not be carried on with greater convenience. He would make further inquiries into the matter.

## COUNTY COURTS CONSOLIDATION BILL [H.L.]

A Bill to consolidate the County Courts Acts—Was *presented* by The Lord Chancellor; read 1ª. (No. 151.)

## COPYHOLD ENFRANCHISEMENT BILL [H.L.]

A Bill to amend the Copyhold Acts, and for the enfranchisement of copyhold and customary lands—Was *presented* by The Lord Hobhouse; read 1ª. (No. 152.)

House adjourned at a quarter past
Five o'clock, till To-morrow, a
quarter past Four o'clock.

# HOUSE OF COMMONS,

*Monday, 7th June*, 1886.

MINUTES.]—PUBLIC BILLS—*First Reading*—Justices Jurisdiction * [265].

*Second Reading*—Government of Ireland [181] [*Twelfth Night*], *put off.*

*Report of Select Committee*—Tithe Rent-Charge (Extraordinary) Redemption [No. 181].

*Report* — Tithe Rent-Charge (Extraordinary) Redemption * [63-264]; Tithe Rent-Charge Amendment * [65]; Tithe Rent-Charge (Extraordinary) Amendment * [61]; Peterhead Harbour of Refuge * [232-266].

*Withdrawn*—Crofters (Scotland) * [17].

PROVISIONAL ORDER BILLS — *Ordered* — *First Reading*—Local Government (Ireland) (Public Health Act) (No. 2) * [261]; Local Government (No. 8) * [262]; Local Government (No. 9) * [263].

*Second Reading*—Drainage and Improvement of Lands (Ireland) (No. 2) * [246].

*Considered as amended*—Gas (No. 1) * [196].

*Third Reading*—Police and Improvement (Scotland) (Leith) * [197], and *passed.*

## *QUESTIONS.*

### DISORDERLY PERSONS, &c. ACT (AMENDMENT) ACT, 1838—SUNDAY BAKING IN IRELAND.

MR. NOLAN (Louth, N.) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If there is any reason why the 13th and 14th of 1st and 2nd Vic. cap. 38, should not be put into operation in Dundalk, in the county Louth, Ireland; and, if his attention has been called to the composition of the Bench of Magistrates to which the Operative Bakers of Dundalk applied on the 2nd day of April last to have the 13th section of said Act put into force in that town?

THE CHIEF SECRETARY (Mr. JOHN MORLEY) (Newcastle-on-Tyne): This, it appears, is a question whether a practice in the baking trade of doing certain work on Sunday is, or is not, according to law. The matter was mentioned before the Local Bench at Dundalk; but no definite issue was raised for their decision. If a proper proceeding be instituted, there is no reason why the statute should not be put in force. As regards the last paragraph, I am advised that a person who is engaged in the trade of a miller or baker would be incapable of adjudicating in such a case.

### EDUCATION DEPARTMENT—UPTON-CUM-KEXBY NATIONAL SCHOOL.

MR. BENNETT (Lincolnshire, Gainsborough) asked the Vice President of the Committee of Council, If his attention has been drawn to the action of the Rev. T. B. Vaughan, secretary and treasurer of the Upton-cum-Kexby National School, in giving written notice and threatening to enforce payment of more than double the usual school fees for children of parishioners who had not continued the payment of voluntary contributions which they had formerly made; and, whether the Government propose to take any action in the matter?

THE VICE PRESIDENT (Sir LYON PLAYFAIR) (Leeds, S.): The Rev. T. B. Vaughan has acknowledged, in a letter addressed to the Department, that in the case of two persons he has acted as described in the Question of the hon. Member. This action is quite unjustifiable, and Mr. Vaughan will be so informed by the Department.

### POST OFFICE—MAIL BETWEEN SKIBBEREEN AND BALTIMORE.

MR. GILHOOLY (Cork, W.) asked the Secretary to the Treasury, Whether, in view of the fact that sixty local boat-owners residing at Baltimore purpose continuing the herring fishery up to the 1st of November, the mail car, which at present carries the mails between Skibbereen and Baltimore for a limited time, will be employed permanently for that purpose?

THE SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY (Mr. HENRY H. FOWLER) (Wolverhampton, E.): The mail car referred to by the hon. Member is now running, and the Postmaster General will give instructions for it to be maintained so long as the herring fishery may be continued.

### POOR LAW (IRELAND)—INCHIGEELAGH DISPENSARY DISTRICT.

DR. TANNER (Cork Co., Mid) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether numbers of poor people in the Inchigeelagh Dispensary District of the Macroom Union have to perform journeys of forty miles to obtain medical relief; and, if true, whether the Local Government Board for Ireland will compel Dr. Barrett (the medical officer of health) to attend one day in each week at Ballingeary, and thereby obviate the necessity of such long distances being performed by the poor of the district?

THE CHIEF SECRETARY (Mr. JOHN MORLEY) (Newcastle-on-Tyne), in reply, said, that the committee who considered this case thought the existing arrangements fairly adequate. The Local Government Board had instructed one of their Medical Inspectors to visit the district and report on the question raised.

## EDUCATION DEPARTMENT — SCIENCE AND ART DEPARTMENT AND MEDICAL SCHOOLS (HOSPITALS).

MR. COZENS-HARDY (Norfolk, N.) asked the Vice President of the Committee of Council, Whether a special arrangement has been recently made, between the Secretary of the Science and Art Department and the Medical Schools of certain Hospitals in London, by which the medical students from those schools are to be transferred to the Science School at South Kensington for certain scientific classes at special fees?

DR. FARQUHARSON (Aberdeenshire, W.) inquired whether it was not the fact that medical students enjoyed the right of attending science classes in Government schools?

THE VICE PRESIDENT (Sir LYON PLAYFAIR) (Leeds, S.): I have to reply to the hon. Member for North Norfolk that in acceding to a request made and initiated by a Joint Committee of the four unendowed hospitals — namely, Charing Cross, Middlesex, St. George's, and Westminster—an arrangement has been made by the Secretary of the Science and Art Department, with the sanction of the Lord President and myself, for the admission of certain students from their Medical Schools to that part of the courses which is limited to elementary instruction in Biology, Physics, and Chemistry at the Normal School of Science at South Kensington. The only thing special in regard to the fees was that they were slightly raised; for whereas for the elementary instruction in Biology, Physics, and Chemistry the annual fee is £50, the medical students will have to pay for two terms of instruction in these subjects not £33 but £35, with about £3 in addition for apparatus. In answer to the Question of my hon. Friend the Member for West Aberdeenshire, medical students have attended science classes in the Government School for the last 20 years, and care has always been taken that the fees charged should not be so low as to compete with private schools.

## LAW AND JUSTICE—CONVICTION OF JOHN COX, SIGNALMAN.

MR. CHANNING (Northampton, E.) asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether his attention has been called to the sentence of six months' imprisonment for manslaughter passed at Taunton on Saturday last upon John Cox, a signalman in the employ of the Somerset and Dorset Railway Company, who, in a moment of forgetfulness, had given an "all right" signal for a goods train to proceed on to a portion of single line upon which another train was approaching in an opposite direction; whether the said Railway Company had omitted to adopt the train staff system of working single lines, recommended by the Board of Trade on the ground that it renders impossible such mistakes as that made by Cox; whether the accident in respect of which Cox was sentenced comes within the same category as that which occurred at Burscough Junction on 15th January 1880, which was spoken of by Lord Chief Justice Coleridge as—

> "The result of an innocent mistake, not through a criminal act which merited punishment;"

and, whether, under the circumstances, he will take into consideration the justice of advising a remission of the sentence?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. CHILDERS) (Edinburgh, S.), in reply, said, that his attention had been called to this case, and he had received a Report. He required further information on the matter, and was unable to express any opinion until he had obtained it.

## MINES REGULATION ACT—HOURS OF WORK OF WOMEN.

MR. JOHN WILSON (Durham, Houghton-le-Spring) asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether, seeing that it is a fact that the managers of certain collieries near Whitehaven have been compelling the women to work twelve hours on the "pit banks" in violation of the Mines Act; and, if so, whether he will institute a prosecution?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. CHILDERS) (Edinburgh, S.): As my hon. Friend was informed on Friday, the Inspector has reported to me that it is a fact that women have been working 12 hours a-day at certain collieries near Whitehaven; but as there seemed to be some misunderstanding as to the interpretation of the Act, and as steps have now been taken to comply with its requirements, I do not consider that any proceedings should be now taken.

### ARMY—THE EGYPTIAN MEDAL (MILITARY EXPEDITION).

SIR JAMES CORRY (Armagh, Mid) asked the Secretary of State for War, If those officers and men who served on the Upper Nile Valley, south of Wady Halfa, during the summer of 1884, will receive the Egyptian medal?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN) (Stirling, &c.): Yes, Sir; in accordance with the General Order of September, 1885, the medal will be given for any service on the Nile in 1884 South of Assouan.

### STATE OF IRELAND—ORANGE DISTURBANCE, BROOKEBOROUGH, CO. FERMANAGH.

MR. H. CAMPBELL (Fermanagh, S.) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If it is true that a number of Orangemen assembled in the village of Brookeborough, county Fermanagh, on 7th December last, and, firing shots from guns and revolvers, indulged in offensive party expressions; whether a number of these men were summoned by the police, and tried at the Petty Sessions, Brookeborough, on the 5th January last; whether, although the resident magistrate held that a primâ facie case had been made out, the other magistrates dismissed the summonses; and, is it true that the resident magistrate reported the matter to Dublin Castle; and, if so, what action has been taken in regard to his report?

THE CHIEF SECRETARY (Mr. JOHN MORLEY) (Newcastle-on-Tyne): The facts of this disturbance, and of the proceedings at Petty Sessions, are substantially as stated. The decision in the case was "informations refused," the offence alleged being an indictable one. Magistrates cannot dismiss in cases of indictable offences. The Resident Magistrate differed from the rest of the Bench in considering that there was a *primâ facie* case; but he informs me that he did not report the matter to Dublin Castle.

### MAGISTRACY (IRELAND)—APPOINTMENT OF MR. FRANCIS BOGUE, CO. FERMANAGH.

MR. H. CAMPBELL (Fermanagh, S.) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether the Lisnaskea Board of Guardians, on 6th June 1885, passed a Resolution recommending the appointment of Francis Bogue, of Grogey, as a magistrate for the county Fermanagh; if copies of this Resolution have been forwarded to the Lord Lieutenant of the County and the Lord Chancellor; and, whether it is the intention of the Lord Chancellor to appoint Mr. Bogue?

THE CHIEF SECRETARY (Mr. JOHN MORLEY) (Newcastle-on-Tyne), in reply, said, the resolution referred to was forwarded to the Lord Chancellor in June last, and in consequence of the change of Government then pending the matter was not disposed of. The attention of the late Lord Chancellor was called to the matter, and on consultation with the Lord Lieutenant of the county the latter refused to recommend Mr. Bogue to the Commission, and he was not appointed. The present Lord Chancellor saw no reason to differ from that conclusion.

### NATIONAL SCHOOLS (IRELAND)—IRWINE, OF CARRICKAPOLIN NATIONAL SCHOOL.

MR. H. CAMPBELL (Fermanagh, S.) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If the District Inspector of National Schools held an investigation into the charge against a National teacher, of the name of Irwine, of Carrickapolin National School, that he acted as a political agent for the Conservative candidate on the day of the South Fermanagh Election; has the report of the District Inspector been received; and, what is the result of the investigation?

THE CHIEF SECRETARY (Mr. JOHN MORLEY) (Newcastle-on-Tyne), in reply, said, the teacher in question was reprimanded for violating the Rules of the National Board by taking part in political meetings, and he was warned that a repetition of the offence would lead to his dismissal.

### MERCHANT SHIPPING ACT—THE S.S. "CREOLE."

**Colonel HUGHES-HALLETT** (Rochester) asked the President of the Board of Trade, Whether he is aware that the S.S. *Creole* has now arrived in London, and, whether, in conformity with his previous statement, any action is now being taken against the master, owners, or others in respect of their alleged irregularity in obtaining the clearance of the vessel?

**The SECRETARY** (Mr. C. T. D. Acland) (Cornwall, Launceston) (who replied) said: The Board of Trade are aware that the *Creole* has just returned to the United Kingdom, and they have called on the master for his explanation as a preliminary step to any further action that may be taken.

### TRADE AND COMMERCE OF THE EMPIRE.

**Mr. HOWARD VINCENT** (Sheffield, Central) asked the President of the Board of Trade, If Her Majesty's Government are in possession of recent and accurate information concerning the vast and increasing interchange of commerce between the sixty-five dominions of the British People; and, if, to illustrate the commercial importance of each integral portion of the Empire to the whole, details can be furnished to Parliament without unreasonable delay, in a concise and tabular form, of the value and general character of the imports into the Mother Country and each Colony and Dependency from other British Possessions, and of the value and general character of the exports from the Mother Country and each Colony and Dependency to other parts of the Empire?

**The SECRETARY** (Mr. C. T. D. Acland) (Cornwall, Launceston) (who replied) said: The imports from, and the exports to, each of our Colonies are shown in great detail in the Annual Statement of Trade; and similar information, though not in quite so much detail, is given for each of our Colonies in the Statistical Abstract for the Colonies. Both of these Returns are published with as little delay as possible, and the first is issued about the middle of the year following that to which it refers, and the second towards the close of that year.

**Mr. HOWARD VINCENT** remarked that the hon. Gentleman had not given the information asked for in the Question.

### ORDNANCE SURVEY—THE "BENCH MARK."

**Mr. BRUNNER** (Cheshire, Northwich) asked the honourable Member for North West Staffordshire, Whether he will consider the advisability of instructing the officials conducting the Ordnance Survey of Great Britain and Ireland to engrave, near the broad arrow denoting what is called a bench mark, the height above the sea of such bench mark in feet and decimals of a foot?

**Mr. LEVESON GOWER** (A Lord of the Treasury) (Stafford, N.W.): The information asked for by the hon. Member is shown on all the published maps on the larger scales. To engrave it on the structural objects on which the bench marks are cut would be inadvisable for many reasons, especially as without some technical knowledge the information would not be understood by the general public. Moreover, the expense of engraving additions to the immense number of bench marks would be very considerable.

### EXCISE—CONDUCT OF AN EXCISE OFFICER.

**Colonel SANDYS** (Lancashire, S.W., Bootle) asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Whether the Inland Revenue Authorities are aware that an Excise officer recently superannuated has since been found to have been in partnership with a brewer during his term of office, and that the brewery in which he was a partner was under his own supervision as Excise officer; whether the said officer has now started another brewery in the district with which he was originally officially connected, and in competition with the brewers to whom he had been Exciseman; and, whether, under the circumstances, the Authorities have the power to rescind his superannuation; and, if not, whether they will take steps to prevent the possible renewal of such conduct?

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER (Sir William Harcourt) (Derby), in reply, said, he was informed by the Inland Revenue Authorities that they found there was no evidence at all of the charge made in this case in reference to this officer having been in partnership in the brewery under his own supervision. They had also found that as the officer in question had no wish to continue in the service, and having served long enough to earn the superannuation, under these circumstances they had no option except to give him a superannuation.

## PALACE OF WESTMINSTER—VENTILATION OF THIS HOUSE—RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE SELECT COMMITTEE.

Mr. ISAACS (Newington, Walworth) asked the honourable Member for North West Staffordshire, Whether Her Majesty's Office of Works and Buildings will cause the works recommended by the Select Committee on the Ventilation of the House for remedying the foul smells arising from the kitchen and laundry, referred to in paragraph 2, page 7, of their Second Report, to be carried into effect during the Whitsuntide Recess?

Mr. LEVESON GOWER (A Lord of the Treasury) (Stafford, N.W.): Orders were given last week for carrying out the works proposed by the Committee for the Improvement of the Ventilation of the Kitchen. It will be impossible to complete them during the period of an ordinary Recess; but they will be so completed in a short time after the House re-assembles. With regard to the laundry, the Committee recommend its immediate removal from the premises. In that case fresh arrangements will have to be made with the contractor, and this is a matter that is not under the control of the Board of Works, but under that of the Kitchen Committee.

## POST OFFICE (IRELAND)—LISCARROLL, CO. CORK.

Mr. FLYNN (Cork, N.) asked the Secretary to the Treasury, Whether any person has been appointed yet to take charge of the Post Office, Liscarroll, county Cork, which position has been vacant for some time past; whether Mrs. Anne Sharpe, widow of the late postmaster, was appointed, but not confirmed in the appointment, owing to her being named by mistake in said appointment as Ellen Sharpe; and, whether, having given satisfaction in the performance of the duties for the short time she held the post, the Post Office authorities will take her claim into consideration, with a view to restoring the cancelled appointment?

The SECRETARY (Mr. Arnold Morley) (Nottingham, E.), in reply, said, that the person mentioned in the Question would be appointed.

## POST OFFICE—POSTAL CHARGES FROM WEST AFRICAN COLONIES.

Mr. HUTTON (Manchester, N.) asked the Secretary to the Treasury, Whether he has received information that the Colonial authorities of the Crown possessions in West Africa have reduced the charge for postage of letters addressed to Great Britain and Europe from four pence to two pence halfpenny per half-ounce; and, whether he will consider the expediency of giving further effect to this advantageous policy of the Colonial authorities, and of making the postage from Great Britain to these Crown possessions in West Africa the same as is charged by the Colonial officials there and by every Country in Europe except Great Britain?

The SECRETARY to the TREASURY (Mr. Henry H. Fowler) (Wolverhampton, E.): No information, such as the hon. Member refers to, has been received.

Mr. HUTTON (Manchester, N.) asked the Secretary to the Treasury, Whether Her Majesty's Government will consider the justice of discontinuing the charge of 6*d.* per half-ounce for postage on letters to the possessions in the Gulf of Guinea, which for over a year have formed part of the dominions of Great Britain, whereas for several years past the postage from this Country to the adjacent possessions of Great Britain in West Africa has been 4*d.* per half-ounce?

The SECRETARY to the TREASURY (Mr. Henry H. Fowler) (Wolverhampton, E.): The postage of a letter to any of the Possessions of Great Britain in the Gulf of Guinea is already 4*d.*, not 6*d.*, as the hon. Member supposes. The Postmaster General is at a loss to understand to what part of the Dominions of Great Britain the hon. Member refers as being in a less advantageous position in respect to postage rates.

## EGYPT—RE-ORGANIZATION, &c.

Sir GEORGE CAMPBELL (Kirkcaldy, &c.) asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether Her Majesty's Government are yet prepared to lay upon the Table any Papers to show what has been going on in Egypt, as distinguished from the Soudan, during the past 18 months, and especially—The fate of the self-governing institutions recommended by Lord Dufferin and decreed by the Khedive, and the reasons why they have not been fully carried out; the administration of justice and police, and the adverse criticisms of Mr. Justice West; the Revenue Administration, and the fate of the measures promised for the relief of the cultivators of Upper Egypt; the Domain Administration; the promised irrigation works; the claims of Natives to pensions, mokabileh, and other allowances; the formation of a Native army; the action of Sir H. D. Wolff since his arrival in Egypt?

The UNDER SECRETARY of STATE (Mr. Bryce) (Aberdeen, S.): The Correspondence to and from Egypt during the past 18 months will be examined with a view to the presentation of Papers on such of the subjects mentioned in the Question as have been sufficiently discussed to make the publication of Papers regarding them unobjectionable. This is the case with regard to several of the subjects mentioned, and Papers which deal with them may, it is hoped, be very shortly given to the House.

## WAR DEPARTMENT — COAL DEPOT AT ST. LUCIA (WEST INDIES).

General Sir WILLIAM CROSSMAN (Portsmouth) asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether, as Her Majesty's ships will now call at the port of Castries, in the island of St. Lucia, for their supplies of coal, it is intended to place that port in a proper state of defence?

The SECRETARY of STATE (Mr. Campbell-Bannerman) (Stirling, &c.): It was decided, on the recommendation of the Royal Commission, over which the Earl of Carnarvon presided, to defend the port of Castries, in St. Lucia. The preliminary surveys and designs are now in hand, though further inquiries have been instituted on the point whether there exists any other anchorage in the Windward Islands equally suitable for a coaling station, representations having been lately received from the Military Authorities suggesting doubts as to the effects of the climate of St. Lucia on European soldiers quartered there.

## LAW AND JUSTICE—ARREST OF SIR THOMAS HESKETH.

Sir R. ASSHETON CROSS (Lancashire, S.W., Newton) asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether he will, in further explanation of the case of Sir Thomas Hesketh, state if he is aware that the Chief Constable, before ordering the arrest of Sir Thomas Hesketh, had been informed that Sir Thomas Hesketh had agreed to repair the bridge in question; whether he will state by virtue of what Statute or Law it was the Chief Constable's duty to arrest Sir Thomas Hesketh; and, whether it is the fact that no warrant had been issued at the time of the arrest?

The SECRETARY of STATE (Mr. Childers) (Edinburgh, S.): The right hon. Gentleman is, of course, well aware that the actions of a Chief Constable of a county are in no way under the control or cognizance of the Home Office; but I have obtained the following particulars from the Chief Constable of Northamptonshire to enable me to answer these Questions. As to the first Question, before ordering the arrest of Sir Thomas Hesketh he had not been informed that Sir Thomas had agreed to repair the bridge. As to the second Question, the Act under which he acted is the Administration of Justice Act, 11 & 12 *Vict.* c. 42, s. 3. As to the third Question, acting under the section named, an indictment having been found against Sir Thomas Hesketh, and a certificate of such indictment having been supplied to him, he despatched an officer to have the necessary warrant signed by a magistrate of the county, such warrant being "of course," and not "discretionary," and that this warrant was signed on the same day that the arrest was made, but probably a few hours aferwards. If the right hon. Gentleman will move for the letters addressed to me by the Chief Constable on the 1st and 7th instant I will lay them on the Table.

### METROPOLIS—THE RIVER THAMES—COMMUNICATION BELOW BRIDGE.

MR. NORRIS (Tower Hamlets, Limehouse) asked the Chairman of the Metropolitan Board of Works, If any measures are being, or will shortly be, taken to facilitate communication between the banks of the river below London Bridge, which is so much needed by the people of East and South London; and, whether he can hold out hopes that a new bridge below the proposed Tower Bridge will be constructed at an early period; and, if not, will he explain the reasons?

THE CHAIRMAN (Sir JAMES M'GAREL-HOGG) (Middlesex, Hornsey): I beg to inform the hon. Member that the Metropolitan Board is now engaged in the establishment of a free ferry between North and South Woolwich, powers for which were obtained last Session. In addition, the Board has given instructions for the preparation of plans for an opening bridge below the proposed Tower Bridge, and the whole question of communications below London Bridge has been referred to a Sub-Committee. Whether the Sub-Committee will feel in a position to recommend a bridge or sub-way I cannot say; but I must remind the hon. Member that the financial difficulty is a serious one. The Coal Dues, to which the Board has naturally looked for many years for funds for such purposes as this, will expire in 1888; and unless they are renewed, or some other source of revenue presented, not only Thames communications, but other equally desirable improvements may have to be indefinitely postponed.

MR. RITCHIE desired to know whether it was a fact that the Metropolitan Board presented a scheme to Parliament which would have involved an expenditure of between £1,000,000 and £2,000,000 for making a sub-way between the two sides of the river? If that were so, why was it that they were unable, from want of funds, to make one or other of the means of communication referred to?

SIR JAMES M'GAREL-HOGG: I may say that that partakes of the character of ancient history. If my hon. Friend will give Notice, at the proper time I will give him a proper answer.

### NORTH AMERICA—CANADIAN FISHERIES.

SIR FREDERICK STANLEY (Lancashire, N., Blackpool) asked the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, Whether Her Majesty's Government have received the despatch from Washington, on the subject of the recent fishery disputes, to which he referred in his answer on the 24th May; and, whether he is able, without detriment to the public service, to give to the House any information as to the general tenour of the communication from the United States Government, and of the reply of the Government of Her Majesty?

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. OSBORNE MORGAN) (Denbighshire, E.): The despatch to which the right hon. Gentleman refers has been received; but I am unable, for reasons which I am sure he will appreciate, to give the House the information he asks for. I can only say that friendly communications are now passing between Her Majesty's Government and the Government of the United States on the subject of his Question, and that we are also in constant communication with the Dominion Government on the same subject.

### SPAIN—THE COMMERCIAL CONVENTION.

MR. ARMITAGE (Salford, W.) asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether he has received any communications from commercial or other public bodies expressing opinions upon the recent Commercial Convention with Spain?

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. BRYCE) (Aberdeen, S.): Numerous communications have been received from Chambers of Commerce and other Commercial Bodies representing the mercantile and shipping interests, warmly approving the terms of the Convention recently concluded with Spain, and expressing the hope that the necessary steps will be taken for its execution. I must, however, admit that one representation to a contrary effect has been received—namely, from an Association entitled the National Fair

Trade League, who protest energetically against the terms of the Convention. The communications will be included in the Correspondence on the subject which it is intended to present to Parliament.

### ADMIRALTY—TORPEDO BOATS.

Colonel HUGHES-HALLETT (Rochester) asked the Secretary to the Admiralty, Whether it is a fact that, in May 1885, the Admiralty advertised for tenders for first-class sea-going torpedo boats, 125 feet in length, and with a guaranteed speed of nineteen knots in smooth water, the price to be reduced proportionately down to seventeen knots, and below that the boats to be absolutely rejected; whether, after end of January 1886, the Admiralty wrote to any persons who thus tendered, stating that their designs were considered satisfactory, but that none of these boats were to be ordered at present; whether it is true, as stated in the Press, that in March 1886 the Admiralty ordered the construction of a large number of torpedo boats, 125 feet long, of Messrs. Maudslay and Field, and of Messrs. Rennie, of London; and, whether the price at which these orders were given was higher or lower than the price quoted in the previous tenders, which were stated by the Admiralty in January last to be considered satisfactory?

The SECRETARY to the ADMIRALTY (Mr. Hibbert) (Oldham): I have to answer in the affirmative the two first paragraphs of the Question addressed to me by the hon. and gallant Member. With respect to the latter part of the Question, I have to say that it is not a fact that the Admiralty have ordered the construction of a large number of torpedo boats from the firms alluded to. The statement probably refers to torpedo tubes and gear which have been ordered from these firms for boats now under construction, their tenders being the lowest.

### POST OFFICE—SEA CONVEYANCE TO AUSTRALIA.

Mr. HENNIKER HEATON (Canterbury) asked the Secretary to the Treasury, Whether the Postmaster General will favourably consider a scheme submitted to him for conveying letters from England to Australia by sea the whole way, at a charge not exceeding one penny per letter?

The SECRETARY to the TREASURY (Mr. Henry H. Fowler) (Wolverhampton, E.): The Postmaster General would feel some difficulty in considering any such scheme at this moment, as public tenders for the conveyance of mails to Australia have lately been called for by the Post Office and sent in under entirely different conditions.

### COLONIAL DEFENCE — CONFERENCE OF AUSTRALIAN PRIME MINISTERS.

Mr. HENNIKER HEATON (Canterbury) asked the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, Can he give the House any information as to the result of a conference of Australian Prime Ministers held in Sydney for the defence of the Australasian Colonies?

The UNDER SECRETARY of STATE (Mr. Osborne Morgan) (Denbighshire, E.): We know from the Sydney papers of April 28 that the Premiers of New South Wales, Victoria, and Queensland had met Admiral Tryon at Sydney to discuss his scheme for the defence of the Australasian Colonies; but we have not yet received any despatch giving the result of the conference, and it is probable that some time must elapse before such a despatch can be received. If the hon. Member will kindly communicate with me, I will let him know when the information he desires can be given to the House—assuming, that is to say, that by that time he is in a position to ask it and I am in a position to give it.

### POST OFFICE—NEWSPAPERS.

Mr. HENNIKER HEATON (Canterbury) asked the Secretary to the Treasury, Whether he can inform the House what is done with all the newspapers posted in England and, through various causes, not sent to the persons to whom they are addressed at Home or Abroad?

The SECRETARY to the TREASURY (Mr. Henry H. Fowler) (Wolverhampton, E.): I informed the hon. Member on Thursday last that all newspapers stopped for non-payment of postage or other cause which bear the sender's address are at once returned to the senders. Such as do not bear the sender's address are kept for one week, and if unclaimed are then destroyed.

### POST OFFICE ANNUAL REPORT.

MR. HENNIKER HEATON (Canterbury) asked the Secretary to the Treasury, When the Post Office Annual Report will be issued?

THE SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY (Mr. HENRY H. FOWLER) (Wolverhampton, E.): The Annual Report on the Post Office is usually laid on the Table of the House about the middle or end of July. The Report deals with accounts made up to the 31st of March, and a considerable time necessarily elapses before the accounts from Foreign and Colonial Post Offices made up to that date can be received and examined in this country.

### COMMISSIONERS OF IRISH LIGHTS—LIGHTKEEPERS.

MR. W. O'BRIEN (Tyrone, S.) asked the President of the Board of Trade, Whether the Commissioners of Irish Lights have yet furnished the information required of them in connection with the Memorial of the Irish lightkeepers for increased remuneration, presented twelve months ago; and, how soon a decision may be expected on the matter?

THE SECRETARY (Mr. C. T. D. ACLAND) (Cornwall, Launceston) (who replied) said: The hon. Member will recollect having asked the same Question only 10 days ago. The information referred to has not yet been received; but there will be no unnecessary delay on the part of the Board of Trade in coming to a decision as soon as they are in possession of the requisite materials.

### PUBLIC PARKS AND WORKS (METROPOLIS) BILL.

MR. HOWARD SPENSLEY (Finsbury, Central) asked the Secretary to the Treasury, If he will, before further proceeding with the Public Parks and Works (Metropolis) Bill, lay upon the Table of the House an estimate of the debts and liabilities referred to in the Schedule to such Bill, and in Clauses 2 and 4 of the same, and Schedule of the property and assets to be transferred to the Metropolitan Board?

THE SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY (Mr. HENRY H. FOWLER) (Wolverhampton, E.): If the Public Parks and Works Bill be read a second time, I propose to agree to the Motion of which the right hon. Baronet the Member for Chelsea (Sir Charles W. Dilke) has given Notice—that it be referred to a Select Committee, by whom all questions of debts and liabilities and property and assets will be fully considered.

### LIGHTHOUSE ILLUMINANTS COMMITTEE — EXPERIMENTS AT THE SOUTH FORELAND—REPORTS FROM FOREIGN GOVERNMENTS.

DR. CAMERON (Glasgow, College) asked the President of the Board of Trade, Whether the Reports from Foreign Governments respecting the experiments at South Foreland, referred to by him in his reply to the Member for the West Derby Division of Liverpool on the 11th March last, have yet been received; and, if not, whether he will give instructions for the publication of such Reports on the subject as have come to hand, and reserve for subsequent consideration the question of supplementing them with other Reports that may be received?

THE SECRETARY (Mr. C. T. D. ACLAND) (Cornwall, Launceston) (who replied) said: The Board of Trade are anxious to avoid, if possible, presenting to Parliament an incomplete Return on this interesting subject; and they have again asked the Foreign Office to endeavour to obtain, as soon as possible, the Reports of the Representatives of the French and Belgian Governments.

### INLAND NAVIGATION AND DRAINAGE (IRELAND)—THE RIVER BANN.

MR. T. M. HEALY (Londonderry, S.) asked the Secretary to the Treasury, If he has yet been able to decide on initiating any legislation respecting the Bann Drainage and Navigation question?

THE SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY (Mr. HENRY H. FOWLER) (Wolverhampton, E.): The question of the River Bann Drainage and Navigation is one that has been before many Secretaries to the Treasury, and I think that a final decision should be taken as soon as possible. I may repeat that, as I said in my answer to the hon. Member some days ago, the Treasury will look with favour upon a proposal to consolidate the Drainage and Navigation Boards.

### COLONIAL DEPARTMENT—EMIGRANTS' INFORMATION OFFICE.

LORD WILLIAM COMPTON (Warwick, Stratford-upon-Avon) asked the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, Whether accommodation has been secured for the proposed Emigrants' Information Office; and, whether the unpaid Committee charged with the management of this Office has been formed; and, if not, whether it is possible to hasten the necessary arrangements, so that the Office may be thoroughly organized and at work before the winter sets in, when it is most necessary that some of the unemployed should be able to obtain reliable information as to emigration?

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. OSBORNE MORGAN) (Denbighshire, E.): I can assure my noble Friend that nobody can have more at heart the subject to which his Question relates than Earl Granville and myself; but the sum at our disposal is, as he knows, not a very munificent one, and, to use a familiar phrase, "we must cut our coat according to our cloth." I am sorry to say we have not yet secured suitable premises for the proposed Emigrants' Information Office; but we hope shortly to do so. The Committee to be charged with its management is in course of formation, and I trust that the office itself will very soon be open, and that long before the winter it will be thoroughly organized and at work.

### TREATY OF BERLIN—ARTICLE LXI.—ARMENIA.

MR. OTTER (Lincolnshire, Louth) asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether he will inform the House what reforms, if any, have, since the conclusion of the Treaty of Berlin, been effected in Armenia by the Ottoman Porte conformably to its obligations under that Treaty; and, how soon the further correspondence on the subject which has been promised will be laid upon the Table of the House?

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. BRYCE) (Aberdeen, S.): Her Majesty's Government have not received, either from the Porte or from their own Agents, information of any comprehensive or adequate measures of reform having been introduced into Armenia by the Porte. The condition of the Armenians continues to have their earnest attention, and they propose to take any favourable opportunity that may present itself of renewing their representations to the Porte on the subject. In the meanwhile, they do not think that the publication at this moment of the Correspondence, which will be eventually published, would be desirable, or could promote the object in view.

### HIGH COURT OF JUSTICE (CHANCERY DIVISION)—DISTRIBUTION OF BUSINESS.

MR. WHITLEY (Liverpool, Everton) asked Mr. Attorney General, Whether the Government intend to bring in any Bill to carry out the recommendations in the Report of Lord Esher's Committee as to the distribution of business in the Chancery Division?

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir CHARLES RUSSELL) (Hackney, S.): The greater part of the recommendations can be carried out by Rules and arrangements among the Judges themselves. Steps have already been taken in that direction. The Lord Chancellor will consider whether any further legislation is necessary.

### BURMAH—CONDUCT OF BRITISH TROOPS.

MR. HUNTER (Aberdeen, N.) asked the Under Secretary of State for India, Whether the attention of Her Majesty's Government has been called to the complaints of the Buddhist Archbishop in Upper Burmah, that many villages, after having been plundered by dacoits, were destroyed by the British Troops; and, whether these complaints are well founded; and, if so, what measures the Indian Government have taken to protect the lives and property of the inoffensive inhabitants of the Country?

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. STAFFORD HOWARD) (Gloucester, Thornbury): I have had the advantage of consulting Colonel Sladen and Sir Henry Prendergast on the subject of the hon. Member's Question, and I am satisfied that there has been no unnecessary destruction of villages by our troops. It is perfectly true that villages have been burnt; but in the great majority of cases this has been done by dacoits, or by villagers making common cause with dacoits. At times, however, when it has been found that villagers have harboured dacoits and actively opposed our troops, the houses of any leading men which may have escaped fire or pillage have been destroyed by order of the officer commanding the troops. Incendiarism is commonly practised in all parts of Burmah by thieves, with the object of pillaging during the confusion caused by the fires. Many fires are caused in this way.

### COLONIAL DEFENCES—THE COLONIAL NAVY—THE WHITE ENSIGN.

SIR THOMAS BRASSEY (Hastings) asked the Secretary to the Admiralty, Whether any communications have been received from the Commanders in Chief on the Australian Station, or from the Colonial Governments, with reference to extending the privilege of flying the White Ensign of the British Navy to the public vessels belonging to the Colonial Governments; and, whether the Admiralty are disposed favourably to entertain such a proposal?

THE SECRETARY TO THE ADMIRALTY (Mr. HIBBERT) (Oldham): Communications have been received on the subject referred to by my hon. Friend, and are now undergoing a very careful investigation. I cannot, at the present stage, state what view will be taken by the Admiralty; but I feel quite sure that the wishes of the Colonial Governments will meet with a full consideration.

### CRIME AND OUTRAGE (IRELAND)—RIOTS AT BELFAST.

MR. SEXTON (Sligo, S.) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If he can communicate to the House official information respecting the origin and results of the organised attack made on Friday last on a body of workmen in Belfast?

MR. JOHNSTON (Belfast, S.): Before the right hon. Gentleman answers this Question, might I ask him if he could give the House any information regarding the deplorable disturbances in Belfast; whether the announcement made is true, that the disturbance occurred in consequence of a Catholic named Murphy making a statement to the effect that in future no Protestant could live in Belfast.

THE CHIEF SECRETARY (Mr. JOHN MORLEY) (Newcastle-on-Tyne): My information does not enable me to do more than confirm in substance the newspaper reports of this regrettable incident, which, so far as I have seen, represent pretty accurately what actually occurred. The riots originated in a political quarrel between two navvies of different religions, in the course of which one of them was struck by the other with a spade and cut, his assailant making a remark to the effect that he "would not be allowed to earn a crust there again." The injured man reported the treatment he had received to some friends of his who work at the shipbuilding yard, and the result was that an attack was made on the navvies, ending in the infliction of several serious injuries and one death by drowning. A Coroner's inquest in this latter case and a magisterial investigation of the whole matter are at present pending. Some arrests have been made, and more will probably follow. In these circumstances, I do not think it would be right that I should express any opinion on the merits of the case.

MR. SEXTON: I should ask the right Gentleman, whether the party who made the attack were in larger numbers than the party attacked; and, also, whether the Police Authorities apprehended any continued disturbances?

MR. JOHN MORLEY: I am not able to state accurately the number of those attacked. I understand, however, that the assailants were in very far superior numbers to those attacked. With reference to the apprehensions of further disturbances, I have just received a telegram saying that it is not improbable that there may be further disturbances; but there is an abundant force of police and a large number of military on the spot.

### SELF-GOVERNMENT OF ENGLAND, WALES, AND SCOTLAND—LEGISLATION.

MR. BANISTER FLETCHER (Wilts, Chippenham) asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether he will incorporate provisions for the self-government of England, Wales, and Scotland in the Bill he proposes to revise, relating to the Government of Ireland, instead of introducing separate Bills for those objects; and, whether he will call such revised Bill the Government of Great Britain and Ireland Bill?

THE FIRST LORD (Mr. W. E. GLADSTONE) (Edinburgh, Mid Lothian): I am afraid I cannot give the pledge for which this Question appears to ask, as it seems to me at present that there are two grave objections to the course submitted by the hon. Member. One is that any attempt to deal with England, Wales, Scotland, and Ireland in respect of self-government in one and the same Bill would entail an amount of complication in the provisions which it would be scarcely possible to include in one single measure. The other is that the question seems to imply that the wants and wishes of England, Scotland, Wales, and Ireland are the same. I have no evidence before me which would lead me to assume that this is the case.

## CROFTERS (SCOTLAND) (No. 2) BILL—APPOINTMENT OF COMMISSIONERS.

SIR JULIAN GOLDSMID (St. Pancras, S.) said, he wished to ask the Lord Advocate a Question of which he had given him private Notice — namely, Whether his attention had been called to the following statement:—

> "Last night Dr. Macdonald, Crofter Member for Ross-shire, waited on the Lord Advocate, and stated that he had heard that the Government intended to nominate Mr. Macintyre, farmer, of Findzee, and Mr. Hosack, farmer, of Oban, as Members of the Crofter Commission, and that if other and more friendly Commissioners to the crofters were not appointed, he and the other five Crofter Members would, however unwilling, be compelled to go into the Division Lobby on Monday against the Government on the Irish Home Rule Bill. The Lord Advocate said he would consult his Colleagues in the Ministry, and communicate the result later on."

THE LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. B. BALFOUR) (Clackmannan, &c.): It is the case that on Thursday evening an hon. Member for a Northern constituency called my attention to the fact that he was receiving strong remonstrances by telegram from his constituents against the acceptance of two gentlemen who, it was reported, had been, or were being, nominated as Commissioners under the Crofters Bill. He also said that the Members for crofter constituencies were being urged by their constituencies to vote against the Government Bill if these gentlemen were appointed. He then stated more particularly the objection entertained to one of the gentlemen. I replied that I would mention what he had said to the Earl of Dalhousie, and I did so the same evening. The hon. Member has since handed to me some telegrams on the same subject, and he also mentioned the names of gentlemen who would be agreeable to his constituents. These I also mentioned to the Earl of Dalhousie. Having regard to the terms of a letter appearing in to-day's papers, I may say that no understanding exists, and that no promise has been made, directly or indirectly, to any hon. Member of this House as to the persons who may, and who may not, be appointed Commissioners, and that no announcement will be made upon the subject to them.

DR. CLARK (Caithness) would ask the Lord Advocate, Whether it is the fact that the hon. Member for Ross-shire, before his election, announced himself in favour of Home Rule, and was strongly opposed because he was a Parnellite? Also, whether it is not the fact that three-fourths of the Crofter Members expressed themselves in favour of Home Rule before they were elected?

THE LORD ADVOCATE: I cannot say that I am aware of that specifically.

## CRIME AND OUTRAGE (IRELAND)—MURDER OF PATRICK TANGNEY, NEAR KILLARNEY.

MAJOR SAUNDERSON (Armagh, N.): I have to ask the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary a Question of which I have given him private Notice. It is as to whether he can give any further information to the House with regard to the brutal murder which has taken place recently in Kerry? An old man named Tangney, having been brutally assassinated near Killarney, I wish to ask also whether any arrests have been made in consequence?

THE CHIEF SECRETARY (Mr. JOHN MORLEY) (Newcastle-on-Tyne): I do not think I can add anything of particular interest to the reports of this barbarous crime which have appeared in the public prints. I regret to say that up to the present moment no arrests have been made.

## ORDERS OF THE DAY.

—o—

### GOVERNMENT OF IRELAND BILL.—[BILL 181.]

(*Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Secretary Childers, Mr. John Morley, Mr. Attorney General.*)

SECOND READING. [ADJOURNED DEBATE.]

[TWELFTH NIGHT.]

Order read, for resuming Adjourned Debate on Amendment proposed to Question [10th May], "That the Bill be now read a second time."

And which Amendment was, to leave out the word "now," and at the end of the Question to add the words "upon this day six months."—(*The Marquess of Hartington.*)

Question again proposed, "That the word 'now' stand part of the Question."

Debate *resumed.*

MR. GOSCHEN (Edinburgh, E.): Mr. Speaker, I think it has become almost a commonplace in the opening of speeches in this debate to say that one of the most momentous issues presented to the notice of Parliament during the present century is now before us. I regret that this great issue has to so great an extent been obscured by many occurrences which have taken place during the last fortnight. Even now, many Members of this House scarcely know on what they are invited to vote—[*Cries of* "Oh!"]—or, if any hon. Members prefer it, I will not say on what they are invited to vote, but on what they are going to vote. Some few Members in this House, besides the Members from Ireland—some few Members on the Front Ministerial Bench, are prepared, we may believe, to vote for the Bills as they are. A large number of Members on this side of the House are prepared to vote for the Bills, because they are going to be withdrawn. The Prime Minister has stated what he considers to be the point upon which the House is to divide tonight—the establishment of a Legislative Body in Ireland to deal with exclusively Irish affairs. But has any Member in this House the right to say what is the precise point in the Bill submitted to us which will constitute the issue before us? It strikes me that the issue upon which we are called to vote is the Bill before the House; and however much the issue may be limited to one point by the Prime Minister, there are many hon. Members who will be perfectly entitled to say that they have registered their votes upon totally different grounds. They will say that they have voted in favour of the Bill, and the only record that will be found upon the Journals of this House will be that they have voted either for or against the Bill which has been presented to us. And supposing we were to vote for it as an abstract Resolution, I doubt whether the Prime Minister himself will be able to make a high argument as regards the virtues of an abstract Resolution in a case such as this; and it is possible that he himself might hold that there was no Parliamentary device more likely to lead to bitter disappointment and discredit, and to falsify hopes. An abstract Resolution submitted to this House might commit you to a wish; but it commits you to no pledge that you either can or will be able to put that wish into practical shape. It is said that the passage of this Bill is to be a message of love to Ireland; but the paper on which this message of love is written is to be torn up immediately, before the ink is dry. The Bills are to be withdrawn which contain the promise.

But now let me ask hon. Members who are prepared to vote for this Bill on the ground of the negotiations and correspondence and explanations and answers to questions which have been given in this House, do they even yet know precisely where they are? ["Yes!"] I hear a bold man behind me say "Yes." They do not know to what extent the Government are or are not pledged to reconstruct their Bill. The Prime Minister was indignant, the other day, when he was told he was going to reconstruct his Bill. [Mr. GLADSTONE dissented.] I thought it looked like indignation——

THE FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY (Mr. W. E. GLADSTONE) (Edinburgh, Mid Lothian): That is rather a gross error. What the right hon. Gentleman thinks looked like indignation was an eager repudiation by me of the cool statement that I had promised to reconstruct the Bill.

MR. GOSCHEN: I see the distinction. My right hon. Friend was indignant at the cool assumption that he had promised to reconstruct the Bill. Hon. Members must see, therefore, that he has not promised to reconstruct the Bill. Some hon. Members thought that he had; but we have now a distinct statement that he has not. I fear my right hon. Friend has lost a vote by that answer; but that, of course, will be indifferent to him. But there is my hon. Friend the Member for the Barnard Castle Division of Durham (Sir Joseph Pease), who made an interesting speech the other evening —interesting from a psychological point of view—and who stated that, contrary to the declarations of the Chief Secretary for Ireland, the Bill would be reconstructed, and that for that reason only he looked with favour upon supporting the second reading. That was the attitude taken by the hon. Baronet. He distinctly warned the Government, in a phrase that easily impresses itself upon the memory, that they were bound "to be off with the old love before they were on with the new." That was his statement, and he said he would vote for the second reading, because he believed the Bill would be reconstructed. But we hear now it will not be reconstructed.

Mr. W. E. Gladstone, turning to Mr. Goschen, here interjected a remark which was inaudible in the Gallery.

Mr. GOSCHEN: Well, are the Government going to stand by their Bill, or are they not? This confusion comes from voting, not upon the Bill, but upon explanations, upon explanations first given at the Foreign Office, amplified or re-explained on the Friday following, further explained by an answer given to a Question on Monday, and again elucidated in various letters which have passed between the right hon. Gentleman and his Friends. That is the basis upon which many hon. Members are invited to vote upon this Bill, which, it is admitted, is one of the most important ever submitted to Parliament.

Mr. Speaker, the opponents of this Bill are not dissatisfied with the situation which events have assumed. Whether the division should result this evening in their favour or not they have achieved this, at least—that these Bills will be withdrawn; that these Bills will not be passed. And they have achieved the further result—and I am glad to call attention to it—that my right hon. Friend at the head of the Government is now more anxious to ascertain from his supporters what they will authorize him to give, than to insist upon knowing what the followers of the hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell) would accept. The tone is different, and it has been shown that the Parliament of Great Britain is not inclined to consider the hon. Member for the City of Cork as our Dictator. During the Recess I heard one who is now a Minister of the Crown say that it was certain the hon. Member for the City of Cork would be Dictator; but I think the hon. Member himself and his followers will acknowledge that we have now discovered points at which even men who are prepared to give some legislative autonomy to Ireland would draw the line.

Well, Sir, I said there was a change in this respect, and there is a change, and a welcome change, in another. The House will remember that my right hon. Friend the Chief Secretary for Ireland, in speaking on the first reading of the Bill, alluded repeatedly to "dark subterranean forces," though the House itself never much relished the allusion to those "dark subterranean forces." We do not hear so much of them now. Their presence and their pressure had some influence at first, perhaps, upon public opinion; but now they are withdrawn, not entirely, but to a great extent from our sight, and the curtain is dropped on those terrible times, the tragedies of which have scarcely faded from our memories. The alarmed Home Secretary of the Prime Minister's last Administration is now able to re-appear as the jocular and light-hearted Chancellor of the Exchequer of the present Government, and to make merry at what he calls melodramatic valour. I should think my right hon. Friend is the last man in this House who ought to take such a tone. At what date did my right hon. Friend begin to scoff at the reminder of possible dangers? I wonder whether it was at the date when first he bound on his arm, over his Ministerial uniform, the badge of Home Rule worn by the followers of the hon. Member for the City of Cork.

My right hon. Friend knows now, and we know now, that a "truce of God" has been proclaimed. How far does that "truce of God" extend? It extends to us here in this House; it extends now to Great Britain, and that part of the "dark subterranean forces" who were told off to terrify British opinion are holding their hands. But the devil is still at his work in some parts of Ireland. I scarcely thought hon. Members opposite from Ireland would disguise the deep regret they themselves must feel at the injury done to their cause by such murders as those to which I am referring. I presume they disguise the regret which I know they feel under the jeers with which they receive my statement. The democracy of England is to be appealed to to do justice to all; they will also require to see justice done on all; and I should have thought that hon. Members opposite would lend their great influence, and use their vast organizations, to help to drag to the light the perpetrators of those vile outrages. I do not say that they can do it; this matter may have passed beyond their powers and out of their hands; and I do assure hon. Members opposite—they may believe me or not—that it is not for the purpose of inflicting pain that I have thought it right to remind the House of a state of things for which we are still responsible, for we are still responsible for the protection of life and property in Ireland. I say it is not for any light purpose that I have brought this subject up, but in order that it may be shown that, whether we are right or wrong, we have some reason to hesitate when we are asked to place the protection of life and property in Ireland in the hands of an untried and new Executive, to part with the police, to disorganize the whole service in Ireland—I say we have a right to pause before we do so when we see the state of Ireland which is revealed by those outrages of which we have heard.

Mr. Speaker, I have spoken of some changes which have taken place in the present Irish situation, and I now wish to refer to the words which fell from the Chief Secretary for Ireland, and which made a great impression upon me, because, to a great extent, they represent my own views. He spoke of a vaster change, and one of a more permanent character, a change which had come over the whole of the Irish Question, particularly of late years —of the greater power exercised by the Irish people in consequence of the extension of the franchise, and their stronger representation in this House, and the loss of power which this country had consequently incurred, and he wound up by alluding to the millions of Irish-Americans, saying that that was the most important of all changes—

> "Because the growth of Ireland across the seas had given to the Irish people at home a self-confidence, a moral power, and a command of material resources, of which O'Connell had never dreamt."

Yes, the Chief Secretary continually recalls the Irish-Americans; and I trust the House will bear his warning constantly in mind, and then apply it to all the analogies he used in favour of this Bill. When the analogy of the Colonies is put to us, we may ask whether, in that case, we have the same danger, or the same influences of the Irish-Americans? When the Parliaments of previous centuries are appealed to it is forgotten that this change has come over the whole situation, and it ought to be present to the minds of all of us, when we speak of separation, when we speak of possible friction, and the finality of this Bill—when we speak of any struggle in which we may have to engage with Ireland—we ought, I say, to bear the words of the Chief Secretary in mind, that the Irish people now possess—

> "A self-confidence, a moral power, and a command of material resources, of which O'Connell had never dreamt."

Bearing that warning in mind, let me now address myself, following the example of the Chief Secretary, to the Bill, or, if not to the Bill, to the scheme embodied in the Bill, but always remembering the changes which have occurred. Now, the charge has been brought against Her Majesty's Government that this Bill was introduced in such haste that it is full of defects and difficulties. I am inclined to believe that most of these defects and difficulties, to which attention has been drawn, are not the result of hasty drafting, but that they are the result of difficulties inherent in the very essence of the case, and, in fact, that this Bill is a bundle of impossibilities. Take, for instance, the case of the presence of the Irish Members at Westminster. Two impossible things are attempted to be done—the continuous presence of the Irish Members at Westminster, and a separate Legislative Body in Ireland. Many means have been tried to solve that difficulty. It seems to me an inherent impossibility, as the Prime Minister practically stated when moving the first reading. Then there is the question of Ulster. It seems to me equally impossible to include Ulster in the Legislative Body at Dublin, or, on the other hand, to give it a separate Legislature. But there are many Members who would, or would not, record their votes for this Bill, according as Ulster is, or is not, excluded. Then there are the questions of finance and of taxes. There, again, you have an impossible task. It is equally impossible to fix a permanent sum as Ireland's contribution, and to give the Irish Parliament an effective voice as to the taxes to be imposed. These are not hasty defects which the Government have committed, but they are inherent defects, and this Bill has been drawn in this way because these defects were inherent. And if the Bill is withdrawn, it may be found that subsequent Bills will have equally to be withdrawn, because the same impossibilities will re-appear. And now I think I ought to remind hon. Members that there are several points on which, with regard to this Bill, we are entirely without information. Is this Bill still inseparably tied up with the Land Scheme? I wonder whether my right hon. Friend the Prime Minister will think it right to vouchsafe an answer to that question when he replies? I have seen the correspondence which has taken place on the subject between him and an hon. Member of this House; and he refers to the declaration which he made on the first reading of the Bill. The words, I think, were these—"The subjects were inseparable in our minds"—the minds of the Government—"at the present moment." But "inseparable in our minds at the present moment" is not a phrase which conveys absolute information to us; and I think that the House is entitled—the friends and opponents of the Bill alike—to know whether this Bill, in its unreconstructed form, when it comes back in the autumn, will, or will not, be accompanied by the measure which now the Government consider to be inseparable from it. I do not think that that is an unreasonable demand.

I also should like to know whether, in the course of these long discussions, any ray of light has penetrated the open mind of the Government on the question of Ulster? Has any suggestion penetrated there, or are we, after all these debates, in this position—that Ulster will have no idea as to whether Her Majesty's Government intend, or do not intend, to give any consideration to that earnest pleading which Ulster has sent here? [An hon. MEMBER: Which Ulster?] Oh! if hon. Members ask what I mean by "Ulster," I mean precisely the same Ulster with regard to which the Prime Minister spoke on the first reading. I thought he must know.

Well, then, there is a third question on which we expect some light, and on which there still seems to hang a tremendous fog, and that is a question which has been more debated than any other—the question of the presence of Irish Members in this House. What has been granted, and what has not been granted? I think I see a clear distinction. No hope has been held out by the Prime Minister that the 24th clause will be dropped from the Bill. The 24th clause means the disappearance of any Representatives from Ireland as permanent and integral Members of this House. That clause has not been dropped. Two heads of objection have been felt with regard to the exclusion of Irish Members—one that they would not be able to deal with Imperial affairs or taxation, and what I may fairly call the argument that Ireland would be in a degraded position; the other a totally different argument, and one mainly insisted on by my right hon. Friend the Member for West Birmingham—that the exclusion of the Irish Members from this House meant the sacrifice by this House of the necessary *locus standi* and authority to deal with any Irish subjects that might be referred back from Ireland, or that this country might wish to see referred back to the Imperial Parliament. Hon. Members will see that that is a point on which, as I understand it, no concession whatever has been made by Her Majesty's Government. The Irish Members will be excluded from Parliament as permanent Members, and all that we know is this—that they are to be called back, under some plan which we have not yet seen, on important occasions interesting to themselves. Now, the Prime Minister, at the Foreign Office, I understand, said that he saw his way to a plan.

When shall we know the nature of that plan? Shall we hear of it to-night? If we hear of it to-night, we may have to give our vote on the strength of the plan. Yes; some of us—certainly the waverers—some of those who are to be persuaded by correspondence. They know that the Prime Minister sees his way to a plan; but even if we see it before we come to vote, we shall only see it in the glowing light of the eloquence of my right hon. Friend, and without the power of being able to examine it or reply to it. The plan itself, I expect, we shall never see until October, when the next Bill is introduced. The question of Irish representation in this House leads directly and naturally to that question which lies at the bottom of the whole debate—the question of the sovereignty of Parliament. Hon. Members need not be alarmed, for I shall not follow the example of those Gentlemen of the long robe who have discussed this question upon purely Constitutional grounds. I think the case, in some respects, was extremely clearly put by the hon. Member for Sligo (Mr. Sexton) and the hon. and learned Member for South Derry (Mr. T. M. Healy). It was very interesting to watch the point to which they went, and with reference to this I should also ask the House to bear in mind that whenever supporters of the Government or Members of the Front Ministerial Bench have spoken, addressing themselves to the Irish Benches, of the sovereignty of the Imperial Parliament, there was a cessation of those enthusiastic cheers with which the utterances of the Government have generally been supported in that question. That has been my observation. and I think it has been very close. Now, I am glad to think that in the latter part of this debate, and especially in the speech of the hon. Member for East Wolverhampton (Mr. Henry H. Fowler), the sovereignty of Parliament was considerably insisted upon; but the case is this, and I think we may treat it, as others have said, from the most common-sense point of view. Supposing it is granted that the sovereignty is not impaired, but that it is in reserve; supposing that it is granted that it can be exercised, but that it would be a breach of contract to exercise it; is it not true that that sovereignty is practically weakened and impaired by the suspense and by the contract that we will not use it? I think that it was the Chancellor of the Exchequer himself who used the words that, of course, in a certain sense, the sovereignty of Parliament would be impaired. Are we content to allow it to be impaired in that sense? The point is this, and it was put in this way by the hon. Member for Sligo—he showed that the sovereignty was good against any breach of contract upon the part of Ireland; he showed that precautions had been taken with regard to the exercise of any illegitimate powers by establishing a Court, or by referring disputed matters to the Privy Council. But then the hon. Member came to the third head, that of possible misdoing on the part of the Irish Parliament; and he said—"If, on the other hand, they should pass Acts contrary to public policy, have you not the veto of the First Order in Ireland?" And the hon. Member went on to explain that the minority in Ireland had been given a great deal too much power. Well, but, if that is so, the House will see that the sovereignty in this respect is not dependent upon anything else but upon that power of veto which is given to the First Order in the new Legislative Body in Dublin—a First Order as to which I am extremely doubtful whether we shall see it again when we see the Bill next winter. There are certain precautions which have been taken in this Bill for the protection of minorities. Several Members of the Government have told us that they attach value to them, mainly on account of the fears of others, and not on account of fears which they entertain themselves. That is not an attitude of much encouragement towards those clauses which are to protect the minority; and so we come to this point —that the operation of the sovereignty of Parliament is dependent upon clauses in the Bill to which it is highly possible that the majority in this House will never consent. As was said, I think by my noble Friend the Member for Rossendale (the Marquess of Hartington), in his speech at Bradford—there will be this great distinction, if this Bill is passed, from the present position—that there will be men having grievances who will not be able to come to the Imperial Parliament for the removal of those grievances. If we part with the control over legislation in Ireland, let us do it with our eyes open, because even though there were some power of veto, if you establish a separate Government and a separate Executive, if you establish this whole apparatus of Government, the exercise of the veto would lead to such intolerable friction that the last state of things would be worse than the first. I say, therefore, that the sovereignty of Parliament is visibly and sensibly impaired by the proposals of this Bill.

Now, Sir, with regard to the protection of minorities. This is an essential point of the case. As I have ventured to say, until I know the Government view about the Land Bill, until I know the Government view about Ulster, until I know the attitude of Members on this side of the House towards that part of the scheme which involves the veto of the First Order, we have no security that that protection will be given. And, speaking of minorities, I would say a very few words upon a question which is an extremely delicate one, but to which I do not wish entirely to give the go-by — that is, the question between the Roman Catholics and the Protestants in Ireland. I entirely believe that there would not be what you would call persecution. We have got, of course, beyond that. I will go further, and I will say that I believe in the sincerity of the great number of hon. Members from Ireland when they declare that they would be anxious to prevent that clerical ascendancy which is aimed at by the priesthood. ["No, no!"] You have not heard the end of my sentence— which is aimed at by the priesthood of almost every Church; that ascendancy in education which I say is aimed at by the clergy of almost every Church. Why, surely, wherever we look, whether we look at history or at the present times, there is a fierce struggle in educational matters by the members of all religious denominations to keep as strong a hold as possible over the education of the young. It is a natural and perfectly justifiable tendency on the part of the clergy. I believe that hon. Members opposite will, if this Bill should pass, find themselves embarked in a tremendous struggle with the Roman Catholic clergy with regard to many of those educational questions; and it has required the moderating influence of England, that kind of neutral support which has been given, and which has sometimes been objected to in an almost angry mood by the ecclesiastics of Ireland—it has required that to keep the Protestants and the Catholics working comfortably, if they do work comfortably, together. The example of other countries has been appealed to. I think someone asked whether there was any country in Europe where there was a Roman Catholic ascendancy in which Protestants were not properly treated? I do not think, as I say, that you can point to persecution; but in Austria and Bohemia the position of the Protestants is by no means comfortable. They are elbowed out in various ways. They suffer in their educational arrangements; and I venture to say that, with every desire on the part of what I may call the lay Leaders of the Nationalist Party, they will have very great difficulty in this respect with the Roman Catholic clergy. I have put this part of the case, I hope, temperately. I have no wish in the world to excite any religious animosity; but I have said that there are dangers which have to be looked in the face. Let us also remember this—in acknowledging the difficulties with which the Irish will have to deal, that there is in Ireland, as compared with any foreign country, the example of which has been cited not only this difference in creed, but that it is aggravated by differences of class and differences of race; and we cannot entirely ignore this most striking distinction between Ireland and those countries. Well, let us pass from the consideration of the Protestant minority in general to the position of Ulster. Apart from any pressure upon the Protestants, what is now going on surely indicates great dangers arising from the rivalries of race and creed in Ireland; and how strong a hand is necessary, and, if possible, a neutral hand, to meet such difficulties as those which have just occurred. And the mention of Ulster reminds me of a matter which I am compelled to touch, as an explanation has been asked of me with reference to a point in an earlier speech of mine, to which allusion has been made by the hon. Member for the St. Stephen's Green Division of Dublin (Mr. Gray) on the subject of the Irish linen trade. It is scarcely part of the general argument; but the hon. Member complained of my having alluded to some remarks on the linen trade in a journal under his control. I will gladly say that I am convinced that the hon. Member had no animosity towards the linen trade in Ireland; but, on the contrary, that he instituted the inquiry published in his journal in its interests. I have read the whole of the papers which the hon. Gentleman has sent me. I admit that he undertook the inquiry and appointed a commissioner with the wish to serve the linen trade; but I must also admit that he was singularly unfortunate in the choice of the instrument he selected. I read to the House, on the first occasion, some quotations; and if I trouble them with other quotations now, it is merely that they may recognize some of the difficulties which exist with regard to Ulster. Through the whole of the correspondence in the paper in question the differences arising between the Protestants and Catholics are continually brought to the front, and complaints on the part of the Catholics that they are not employed by the Protestants, and recrimination on the part of the Protestants. Then follow denunciations of the linen trade as a scourge and not a blessing to Ulster. Here is an extract—I will not read many. It is from *The Belfast Morning News* of December 29, 1884. The writer says—

> "Show American public opinion, interested in Ireland, interested in linen—that opinion which backs its judgment by purchase—that the supposed immaculately white article is deeply, densely, doubly orange and purple—that the bigoted Ulster 'linenites' rather than extend the area of flax cultivation to South and West —rather than supplement 'flaxed-out' Ulster by the 'Papist and League-ridden' Provinces—cheerfully allow the linen trade to walk the plank—and you at once bring to bear on the indiscriminate users of the Syrian hue an irresistible influence. It is the Gospel truth, as your Ohio correspondent was informed, that the linen trade of Ireland is solidly Orange."

Here, again, is another extract from the same paper—

> "The linen trade has been a scourge and not a blessing to Ulster. The Province is by far the poorest of the four, except Connaught, and even tops Munster in many respects. This Mr. T. Galloway Rigg, of Castle Douglas, has proved with force, finish, and finality in two admirable letters to *The Dumfries and Galloway Standard*. . . . Mr. Rigg does not mention what intensified the sterility of the Province; what added to the ruggedness of hill and mountain; what accentuated the inhospitality of bog and morass, and aggravated the fluvial propensities of the fine, watery, marshy, vapoury privileges enjoyed by Ulidia—the existence of the linen trade."

The House will judge whether I was right in what I said in the speech which I made on the first reading of the Bill—that this correspondence in *The Belfast Morning News* boded little good to the linen trade if Home Rule were established. There is one point more on which I was specially challenged in reference to Ulster. I was reproached with having dealt with Schedule D only, and with having omitted Schedule A from my consideration. Speaking of the resources which would be enjoyed by the future Government of Ireland, I did not give the figures of Schedule D without mentioning clearly that I was speaking of Schedule D exclusively; but I distinctly spoke of them as showing the industrial resources of Ireland; and I will tell hon. Members why, in making their balance-sheet with regard to the finances under the new *régime*—a point which has never yet been dealt with by Her Majesty's Government, and which has attracted none of their arguments—I do not think they can count much upon Schedule A. And why? Schedule A will not form an available resource for the Income Tax. ["Why not?"] Hon. Members say, "Why not?" The Land Bill is still inseparably connected—at least, in the minds of Her Majesty's Government—with the scheme before the House. Under that Bill the owners of the land are to be paid by Consols. On these Consols the dividends will be paid in England; and the rent of Ireland, therefore, will not pay Income Tax under Schedule A in Dublin, but under Schedule D in England. Schedule A—not so far as regards houses, but as regards land—will perish as a taxable resource, unless you intend, after the property owners have carried off their Consols, to put Schedule A again as a tax upon the peasant proprietors who may be established in Ireland. Among the points which the Government have never dealt with, or attempted to deal with, is this question of the finances of Ireland. It has been put over and over again to them that friction must follow, because Ireland would have to pay a vast tribute for a poor country; and I should like to know why they have not answered the point? It may be said that this financial question is only a detail—that it is a matter to be dealt with afterwards. That is the only way in which I can account for the fact that none of the Prime Minister's Colleagues have dealt with this, which is surely a most important matter. And why so important? Because it leads up to a most momentous question with which the Government have attempted more or less, and hon. Members opposite also have continually attempted, to deal; and that is, whether this scheme can be looked upon as a final settlement, and will not ultimately lead to separation. Now, whether this is a final settlement I do not think will depend upon the assurances—I have no doubt the sincere assurances—of hon. Members opposite. I will not deal with this part of the case; because it has been pointed out over and over again that hon. Members cannot bind Ireland with regard to a final settlement. I allude to it for this reason—that if we wish this to be a final settlement, we must take care there is no room for friction; because, if there is friction, friction will upset the settlement, and the upsetting of the settlement may probably lead to separation; and I say in this scheme—not only in the Bill, but in the scheme itself—there are the elements of commercial friction, of financial friction, of legislative friction, and, above all, too, of Executive friction. That reminds me of another point which the Government have never attempted to answer, and that is with regard to the dangers which, from many international points of view, we might expect by establishing in Ireland an entirely separate Executive. I wish once more to recall to the notice of the House that, when we talk of Home Rule and a Legislative Body in Ireland, which is said to be just the principle of this Bill, it is accompanied by establishing in Ireland a separate Cabinet, a separate Executive; and in this it differs entirely from any demands for improved local government which come from Scotland or any other part of the Kingdom; it is this separate Executive that will lead up to friction and to separation. I admit that if you give this Parliament in Dublin such power as is sketched out by the Prime Minister, it is almost necessary to give an Executive too, and the Government may justify themselves and say they are compelled to give an Executive. But my inference is different. I say if you are compelled in that way to part with the Executive, do not give the Legislative Assembly in the form you propose to do. That is my answer to my right hon. Friend. I alluded, when I spoke first, to the difficulties of the Foreign Enlistment Act, to the case of the *Alabama*, to the many cases where this Imperial Parliament would be responsible for the acts of the Executive in Ireland; yet without any hope of our being able to control those acts. And do hon. Members below the Gangway think that is a mere abstract doubt? Do they think it is a question which I merely bring forward for the sake of argument? We have before us, at this moment, an instance which ought to make us realize the great dangers of the case. Is there not in Canada at this moment the precise difficulty of which I have spoken—the Canadian Executive getting into trouble with the Imperial Rule of the United States, and this country being responsible for the difficulty, and having to settle the difficulty with America? The analogy of the Colonies has been brought forward. It has been asked, how do you settle these difficulties in the Colonies? There is the answer—You have the difficulties of the Colonies, and they might sometimes lead you into war; yet to that part of the case the Prime Minister and his Friends have not condescended to give the slightest reply. Let me come back to the point that there will be Executive friction, and that Executive friction may lead to separation. It has been assumed —what we all wish in our hearts might be true—that if you grant Home Rule to Ireland the grant will be followed by smiling plenty in every part of the country—that the Land Question, that the poverty of Ireland, and that all those causes of misery which reach so deep down into her social system, will vanish with Home Rule. But is that so? Can you hope that the poverty of Ireland will be cured by her being, so to speak, cut adrift from the richer country? Do you think that there will be no discontent; that that discontent will not culminate in agitation; and that that agitation may not once more be used as an argument for a further disturbance of this settlement, and, ultimately, for separation? And then, remember, we must keep before our minds the words of warning of the Chief Secretary. If there is much discontent, if this settlement, which it is hoped is to be a final settlement, should not be final, you are told Ireland has a moral support which she never had before. You are told that the Irish-Americans will place resources at her disposal of which she never had an idea before. You have parted with your Executive Government; you have alienated the friends of England in Ireland—perhaps turned them into your bitterest foes. You have placed the Executive in new and untried hands. But it is said, even supposing, under all these circumstances, there is that friction, that agitation, those difficulties; are you not 30,000,000, and they are only 5,000,000 in Ireland? Suppression by force is held out to us as a remedy for this state of things. But if that be so, if force is to be used, remember how all the conditions are changed. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, in an historic mood the other evening, spoke to us about Grattan's Parliament, and pointed out that Grattan's Parliament was much more independent than that which you now propose to establish. But was the Executive independent? Was the Executive not in the hands of the Crown? Was the Executive responsible to the Parliament of England, or to the Irish Parliament, as it is proposed to make this new Executive? It was by the Executive that the two countries at that time were held together. [An hon. MEMBER: 1798.] Not 1798; it was before 1798; I have still to speak of 1796. My right hon. Friend cheered the remark that it was by the Executive that the two countries were held together, and it was also cheered by the right hon. Gentleman who is, as we all know, the latest convert to those views—I mean the Chancellor of the Exchequer. I have a splendid extract from a speech of his in my pocket. [*Cries of* "Read!"] No; I shall resist the temptation; but he will know to what I refer when I state that it is from his speech upon the Irish University Bill in 1874, when he said that these Irish questions ought not to be treated according to Irish views, but according to Imperial views. But that was before he had noticed the statues of Burke and Grattan, of which he told us the other night. But to return to the point as to the one Executive having, in the time of Grattan, held the two countries together. I wish the two to be held together still. We are surprised to find that the Prime Minister will not admit that it is our duty still to keep the two countries together.

MR. GLADSTONE: I have said so.

MR. GOSCHEN: Well, the right hon. Gentleman would find it very difficult with the present Bill. My argument is that an appeal to the Parliament of Grattan, where you had an independent Parliament with an Executive dependent upon the Crown, cannot satisfy us that, if difficulties arose under this Bill, the unity that could be maintained then could be equally maintained now. There cannot be an argument from analogy where there is not, as a basis, that union of the Executive which exists, for instance, in the case of Austria and Hungary.

MR. GLADSTONE: Partial unity only.

MR. GOSCHEN: Well, I will not pursue the argument further. But here is another point. How is the question of the unity affected by the existence of the Irish-Americans? Remember I told you that their existence must always be borne in mind. An hon. Member just now called out "1798." But what happened in 1796? Was there not a French force that started from France, and which would have invaded Ireland but for a storm that then occurred? The unity of the Kingdom was not so entirely secure under the Grattan system, and but for the storms and waves it is not so certain that the Chancellor of the Exchequer could have pointed with such triumphant emphasis to the security of those days. My right hon. Friend also appealed to "the wisdom of our ancestors," and he read some striking passages to show that the statesmen of those days accepted cheerfully the separation of the two Parliaments. They assented cheerfully, but only when it had become absolutely indispensable; and it is a remarkable fact that my right hon. Friend, with all his great historical knowledge, was not able to quote a single instance from later statesmen in favour of anything like the course now proposed by the Government in this Bill. But ought he not to have put before the House the circumstances which really compelled the English Government to consent to that surrender? Does he not know that it was practically extorted from the British Government by the perils in which they stood?

["Hear, hear!"] My right hon. Friend and the Chief Secretary cheer that statement. I understand that cheer. I said that the quotations of the Chancellor of the Exchequer only showed that it was "the wisdom of our ancestors" to cheerfully concede what was extorted from them, and that statement is cheered by my right hon. Friends. Is this Bill extorted from us? The Chancellor of the Exchequer does not say no to that question. Is it extorted from him? Is this the reason that he is now an advocate of Home Rule? Is this a surrender? Remember, in 1782, Cornwallis had laid down his arms at York Town, and among the nations of Europe there was a league against us. Russia and Holland had joined France and America and Spain. Under these circumstances, the Volunteers in arms extorted this independent Parliament for Ireland; and yet my right hon. Friend puts this event before the House and the country as if our forefathers had spontaneously granted this independent Parliament, and as if they considered it the best thing that could possibly be done. As there are possibly many persons who are not very intimately acquainted with this chapter of history, I wish to dispose of the idea that the wisdom of our ancestors was in favour of a separate Irish Parliament. That Parliament was extorted from them, and when they had the power they cynically took it back. I should like, before sitting down, to make a few observations with regard to some of the suggestions and influences by which it is to be attempted to pass this scheme. My right hon. Friend the Prime Minister has, on more than one occasion, taken particular pains to say that those who oppose this Bill do so because they believe the Irish people to be endowed with a double dose of original sin. Can my right hon. Friend not see that there may be other beliefs which induce us to take this course? Can he not see that, without looking upon the Irish people as lost to the common virtues of civilized communities, we may think that they are not such an angelic people as to be likely to be suddenly transformed at one stroke of the pen, and all at once endowed with the faculty of governing themselves. No people with such antecedents as the Irish could be suddenly trusted with the unexampled powers which he proposes to confer on them. After what they have gone through, you may say it is the fault of England. You may say—I believe my right hon. Friend himself acknowledges—that it has been the previous history and previous troubles under which they have laboured and are labouring now, which have created the difficulty. But whatever the causes are, I cannot conceive that hon. Members can, looking at what is now in progress in Ireland — looking even at such riots as there are in Belfast—["Oh, oh!"]—refuse to acknowledge that reluctance to entrust the Irish people at such a time as this with uncontrolled power does not assume them to be more innately vicious than other people. I think I have the right to protest in the strongest manner against that argument of my right hon. Friend, and to say it is not one that can be legitimately used against the opponents of this Bill. But there is another argument—a more startling influence rather than argument—which has been pressed into his service by the Prime Minister, and with regard to which I wish to say a word. He says he sees opposed to him in this matter "class and the dependents of class," and that he has on his side "the upright sense of the nation." He does not only speak of "class;" he speaks of "the Professions." I think almost every member of this House will probably in one way or another be included in one of the categories referred to by my right hon. Friend. Why, most of the Members of this House belong to professions of one kind or another, and the Prime Minister throws scorn on the Professions. My right hon. Friend has done something which will leave its mark, I fear, on the politics of the country. He has raised this question of class. ["Hear, hear!"] I do not know whether that was an approving cheer; but, let me ask, is it true? Are the majority of those who oppose this Bill "class and the dependents of class?" I wonder whether he includes the opponents of the Bill in Ireland—all the operatives in Belfast, for instance. I wonder whether my right hon. Friend includes the enormous number of working men in Scotland who have petitioned against the Bill. Does my right hon. Friend remember that there is opposed to him perhaps the oldest opponent of the privileged classes in this House? Can my right hon. Friend say, as he says, that the opposing Party is "class and the dependents of class," when the senior Member for Birmingham (Mr. Bright) is against him? I do not know whether he has noticed all the protests that have come against his Bill, or whether they are sometimes kept from him, because otherwise I do not think my right hon. Friend would have made the statement. There are a number of Congregational ministers who are opposed to him—yes, a number of them. Are they "class or the dependents of class?" What shall we say of Mr. Spurgeon? *The Daily News* calls the opponents of the Bill the "swaggering class." I want to know is Mr. Spurgeon a representative of the swaggering class, while the Chancellor of the Exchequer represents "the upright sense of the nation?" There has been some merriment and some little discontent at my having introduced the subject, apparently, among some hon. Members of this House; but it is a matter of the most serious importance, and I think hon. Members who wish to see how it is put in some quarters had better read the views of the cynical Member for Northampton as expressed in a recent publication. They will there see what he thinks of the declaration of the Prime Minister. The Prime Minister has kindled a fire—a most serious fire. He has lit this fire in order to get up a sufficient head of steam to pass this Bill. He has said to himself—"Here are some old rafters which are holding the framework of British society together. Fling them into the flames. Steam we must have, or else we cannot pass our Bill." Then, of course, there is the favourite argument that is used against us—that this is a generous policy, and that all who are opposed to it are in favour of coercion. Really I am almost ashamed to speak again in this House of the false interpretation that has been put upon that unfortunate word. When used before public assemblies it is made to do duty as if some tremendous Draconic law were in existence in Ireland, and as if Ireland were being cruelly oppressed. Is this the case? And when we speak of exceptional legislation what is meant? Is it a Draconic Code which is going to suppress the liberties of the Irish people? ["Hear, hear!"] No; you know what I shall answer, and therefore that cheer was not as unanimous as usual. What we shall suppress are not the liberties of the Irish people; but if we can suppress them it will be the doings of the Moonlighters. I do not wish, even in voice or manner, to give pain to hon. Members opposite on this point; but we must remember that these Moonlight outrages—these murders—are not isolated crimes committed on the spur of the moment or in the heat of passion. There must be large numbers of men who are implicated. We hear of whole bands, and no evidence can be procured against the criminals. I say the British public, and the Prime Minister himself, will assist, if need be, in such legislation as may be necessary to put down this, which is a scandal to civilization. My right hon. Friend himself, I say, will assist. The English democracy, if it learns that these doings are what necessitate the demand for additional powers, will not refuse to give them. It has been said before, but may I say it again? that coercion is not a policy. Coercion is not a policy; but, in its present sense and in its present meaning, it means the enforcement of the law. When murders are committed, the means to deal with them are to find out the murderers and to punish them. I feel that I am on delicate ground, for this reason—that when hon. Members opposite or on this side utter cries of dissent from what I urge, they may be giving a colour to the view that some of us are ready to minimize crimes which have the effect of hastening on political changes. If hon. Members opposite encourage that view, if they refuse to assist in granting all necessary powers to repress crime, I say they will indeed have a tremendous responsibility. These questions which give such pain are forced upon us by the situation. We cannot be blind to these facts, and our bringing them forward ought not to be used to damage the Unionist cause amongst the people of this country. I admit there are some appeals that are made in favour of the Bill that are noble and generous, and the response which is given to them does not distress me, though I may take them to be mistaken and dangerous. An appeal is constantly made to the masses, that, in this matter, they are bound to follow the illustrious statesman who for 50 years has rendered such services. [*Cries of* "No, no!"] That which is put before the country continually is this——[*Cries of* "No, no!"] Then I will substitute other words, and I will, perhaps, convey my meaning better. It is put before them in this way—"You cannot understand this question; it is difficult, it is intricate; but here is one man who has been at the head of the State for all these years; you are bound to follow him blindfold." ["No, no!"] Hon. Members cannot deny it. It has been repeatedly so put in the Press. I am sincerely sorry that my mention of an appeal, which I admit is an appeal to the generous impulse of the people, should have raised this dissension. I wanted to say that it is perfectly natural that the people of this country should show the greatest respect for my right hon. Friend. It is a generous impulse. And it is also a generous impulse of the masses if they rise to their feet when they are told justice is involved, though it appears that justice to Ireland would not be the same as justice to Scotland or to England. Again, I think it is a worthy appeal which is made to them, when it is pointed out to them that they may satisfy in this matter Irish nationality. We have heard many eloquent appeals to this Irish nationality. They move us, and they excite our sympathy. But to many of us there is something else which appeals to our hearts, and which we think is even more worthy of sympathy, and that is the wider nationality of the United Kingdom. And if we think that the wider nationality is inextricably bound up with the Legislative Union between the two countries, then surely it is not an unworthy thing if we maintain that the Bill must be resisted to the last. The democracy of this country is now enthroned for the first time, so to speak, in office; and it has to face in its first days this tremendous responsibility. I say, do not let it be hustled into a fatal and irrevocable step. This step is irrevocable. Do not let the first chapter in this new volume of our history open with a breach in the Constitution and a sapping of the foundations which bear the weight of this colossal Empire. I said that this step was irrevocable. Why is it irrevocable? We may summon back the Members from Ireland for a special purpose, or we may summon them back in order to modify the Act which we are now passing. But, depend upon it, if they are so summoned back, it will be, not to tighten the bonds, but to widen the breach. So I say it is an irrevocable step. We are maiming for ever the Constitution of this country, and let us remember that we are but life trustees. Let us remember, too, with reference to foreign opinion, that no foreign country ever has had or has now a Parliament such as ours. We are told of Colonial opinion; but the Legislative Assemblies in the Colonies are not like the Mother Parliament. We are told of Legislative Assemblies of former centuries; but they had not the duties, the privileges, the responsibilities of ours—they did not hold in their hands, as we do, the supreme and concentrated powers of the State. So, I say, remember that we are life trustees. Let us feel that we are bound to hand on the glorious possessions which we have inherited, unimpaired and unimpeached, without waste and detriment, to those who are to come after us. I implore this House, by the traditions of which we are the heirs, by every present obligation of duty and honour, by our hopes in a mighty and beneficent future for this Empire, by our duty to the Sovereign that rules over these Realms, I implore this House, let us look to it that those who come after us may bear witness that we have not betrayed our trust.

MR. PARNELL (Cork): If, Mr. Speaker, I intervene in the contest of giants which has been proceeding for so many days in this House in reference to this great question, it is not because I suppose that that intervention is specially suitable to the moment; and I certainly should not, under ordinary circumstances, have felt any self-confidence whatever in following so able and eloquent a Member of this House as the right hon. Gentleman the Member for the Eastern Division of Edinburgh. But "Thrice is he armed who hath his quarrel just;" and even a man so inferior from every point of view to the right hon. Gentleman as I am may hope upon this occasion not to be so much behind him as usual. Sir, without intending to offer any disrespect to the right hon. Gentleman, I must say that I could not help thinking, when listening to his speech, that in all the lost causes which I have seen him attempting to defend during many years past he was never so little effective as when contending against the Bill which we hope to see read a second time to-night. The right hon. Gentleman has sought—I think very unfairly—to cast a lurid light upon the situation by an allusion to those unhappy outrages which have occurred in Kerry. I join the right hon. Gentleman in expressing my contempt for these cowardly and disgraceful practices. I join him in that respect to the fullest extent. Neither do I say that because for months past evictions have been more numerous in Kerry than in all the rest of Munster taken together—neither do I say that that constitutes any excuse for these outrages, although it may supply us with a reason for them; but when I denounce outrages I denounce them in all parts of Ireland, whether they occur in Ulster or in Kerry. The right hon. Gentleman himself is certainly free from reproach in this matter. He has not joined the noble Lord the Member for South Paddington (Lord Randolph Churchill) and the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham (Mr. J. Chamberlain) in the use of reckless language with reference to the affairs of a country which is not their country, for the use of which language they had not even the paltry excuse that the subject was any business of theirs, or that they really feel any interest in it. My Colleagues have been reproached, some of them, in times past because they have not been very careful to look into what might be the effect of their language, and the doctrine of indirect responsibility has been employed against many of them to the length of imprisonment. But if the doctrine of indirect responsibility had been employed against the noble Lord and the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham, the former of them might, perhaps, have pleaded as an excuse that as he himself believes in nothing and in nobody except himself, so he could not expect any great importance to be attached to his declarations; while the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham might have said, and very truly, that he was absolutely ignorant of all the circumstances of Ireland, his celebrated projected visit to that country last autumn not having come off, and that consequently he really did not know what would be the probable result of his language. However, Sir, we have the result now in one murder which has already been committed in Belfast. I trust that in future right hon. Gentlemen will remember that the importance and gravity of the occurrences which may follow in Ulster—and these occurrences cannot well go further than outrage and assassination—will depend very much upon what they say and upon the meaning which their words may convey to the minds of Ulster men. But certainly I do condemn these outrages in Kerry; and the right hon. Gentleman says very rightly that they must be put a stop to. Well, so say we all; but the right hon. Gentleman would try to put a stop to them by resorting to the old bad method of coercion, which he and his Friends have been using for the last 86 years, while we say with the Prime Minister—"Try the effect of self-government;" and if Kerry men then resort to outrages they will very soon find that the rest of Ireland will put a stop to them. With reference to the terrible occurrence in Belfast, I wish to give an explanation, because, as usual, the English newspapers have perverted for their own purposes what actually took place. I was very much pained at reading that it was alleged that the disturbance arose out of an expression addressed by a Catholic workman to a Protestant fellow-workman, to the effect that in a short time none of his religious persuasion would be allowed to earn a crust of bread in Ireland. Now, that does not represent the circumstances of the occurrence as they are reported in the local newspapers. What really took place was this. The Catholic overseer of the works found fault with the way in which an Orangeman — I think he was an Orange workman; at all events, he was a Protestant workman—was executing the digging out of a drain. The overseer said to the workman—"That is a nice way to dig this drain," and the Orangeman replied—the overseer happened to be a Catholic—"What does a Papist know about digging drains?" The overseer being irritated—I will not say justly irritated, because it was absurd of him to be irritated by such a remark—said, in reply, "You will never earn a crust in these works again," meaning that the workman would be dismissed. "That is all right; that is all I want," said the Orangeman, and he took up his shovel and left the works, and I believe that while leaving he was assaulted by one or more of the Catholic workmen. It is necessary to point out—so difficult is it to know here what is true with regard to any Irish matter—it is very important that the House should understand that the overseer's remark had not a general but an individual application. At the same time, I am not to be taken as justifying in the slightest degree the conduct of the Catholics employed in the yard. Now, Sir, the right hon. Member for East Edinburgh (Mr. Goschen) spoke about the sovereignty of Parliament. I entirely agree upon this point. I entirely accept the definitions given by the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Mr. Bryce) the other day. We have always known since the introduction of this Bill the difference between a co-ordinate and a subordinate Parliament, and we have recognized that the Legislature which the Prime Minister proposes to constitute is a subordinate Parliament — that it is not the same as Grattan's Parliament, which was co-equal with the Imperial Parliament, arising out of the same Constitution given to the Irish people by the Crown, just in the same way, though not by the same means, as Parliamentary Institutions were given to Great Britain by the Sovereign. We understand this perfectly well. Undoubtedly I should have preferred—as I stated in speeches which have been quoted against me as showing that I could not accept this proposed settlement as final—I should have preferred the restitution of Grattan's Parliament; it would have been more in accordance with the sentiments of the Irish people, whose sentiments in such matters it is most important to regard. But with reference to the argument that has been used against us, that I am precluded from accepting this solution as a final solution because I have claimed the restitution of Grattan's Parliament, I would beg to say that I consider there are practical advantages connected with the proposed statutory Body, limited and subordinate to this Imperial Parliament as it undoubtedly will be, which will render it much more useful and advantageous to the Irish people than was Grattan's Parliament, and that the Statutory Body which the right hon. Gentleman proposes to constitute is much more likely to be a final settlement than Grattan's Parliament. That Parliament had many disadvantages. In the first place it had a House of Lords. Well, we get rid of the House of Lords by the Constitution of the right hon. Gentleman. It is true that in its place is put the First Order; a very salutary provision, although I do not agree entirely as to the extent of time for which the First Order is allowed to hang up a Bill, or as to some of the qualifications for it. But these are subordinate matters. I say, then, that the First Order is a very salutary provision, one that will tend to prevent rash legislation and intemperate action; and as to the power of the First Order to hang up a Bill, I would rather see a measure hung up for 10 years by such a Body than hung up for only 24 hours by this Imperial Parliament. I venture to express that opinion, having regard to the irritation which such constant action by the Imperial Parliament, such constant meddling and overthrowing on the part of this Imperial Parliament, as is suggested by the right hon. Member for West Birmingham, would have on the minds of the people of Ireland. That would be most mischievous and dangerous, and sure to prevent the settlement being regarded as final. But when we are all assembled together in one Chamber, different sections of Irishmen threshing out different subjects, those causes and effects which have always come into operation in similar circumstances will be reproduced in Ireland also, and discussion will be relied upon for bringing about a settlement of disputed questions, which we, of course, have, like other people, and the result of these two Orders working together will be that those questions will be decided on a basis of compromise more or less satisfactory to both parties. We feel, therefore, that under this Bill this Imperial Parliament will have the ultimate supremacy and the ultimate sovereignty. I have already said that under this Bill the House of Lords of Grattan's Parliament will not be revived; but there is another great difference between Grattan's Parliament and the Legislature to be established by this Bill—namely, that in Grattan's Parliament the Executive was divorced from the Legislative Body, whereas the two Bodies will be united under this Bill. I think it was Fox who said that there could be no perfect system of government in which the Executive and the Legislative Bodies were not joined together. In that observation I quite agree, and I think that the most useful part of the Bill is that in which the Prime Minister throws the responsibility upon the new Legislature of maintaining that order in Ireland without which no State and no society can exist. I understand the supremacy of the Imperial Parliament to be this—that they can interfere in the event of the powers which are conferred by this Bill being abused under certain circumstances. But the Nationalists in accepting this Bill go, as I think, under an honourable understanding not to abuse those powers; and we pledge ourselves in that respect for the Irish people, as far as we can pledge ourselves, not to abuse those powers, and to devote our energies and our influence which we may have with the Irish people to prevent those powers from being abused. But, if those powers should be abused, the Imperial Parliament will have at its command the force which it reserves to itself, and it will be ready to intervene, but only in the case of grave necessity arising. I believe that this is by far the best mode in which we can hope to settle this question. You will have the real power of force in your hands, and you ought to have it; and if abuses are committed and injustice be perpetrated you will always be able to use that force to put a stop to them. You will have the power and the supremacy of Parliament untouched and unimpaired, just as though this Bill had never been brought forward. We fully recognize this to be the effect of the Bill. I now repeat what I have already said on the first reading of the measure, immediately after I heard the statement of the Prime Minister that we look upon the provisions of the Bill as a final settlement of this question, and that I believe that the Irish people have accepted it as such a settlement. [*Cheers and ironical cheers.*] Of course you may not believe me, but I can say no more. I think my words upon that occasion have been singularly justified by the result. We have had this measure accepted in the sense I have indicated by all the leaders of every section of National opinion both in Ireland and outside Ireland. It has been so accepted in the United States of America, and by the Irish population in that country with whose vengeance some hon. Members are so fond of threatening us. Not a single dissentient voice has been raised against this Bill by any Irishman—not by any Irishman holding National opinions—and I need scarcely remind the House that there are sections among Irish Nationalists just as much as there are even among the great Conservative Party. I say that as far as it is possible for a nation to accept a measure cheerfully, freely, gladly, and without reservation as a final settlement, I say that the Irish people have shown that they have accepted this measure in that sense. Even the terrible *Irish World*, which has not been upon my side for the last five or six years, says—

> "The Irish race at home and abroad have signified a willingness to accept the terms of peace offered by Mr. Gladstone."

And it goes on to say that—

> "If a Coercion Bill were now passed by Parliament, it will be equivalent to a declaration of war on the part of England."

I need scarcely say that we have not agreed with Mr. Patrick Ford during the last five or six years. We strongly condemn his proposals, and he returns the compliment by not agreeing with us, so that the honours are pretty easy; but I take his testimony upon this point—that as far as the Irish people at home and in America can accept this Bill they have done so without any reservation whatever in a final sense. I will now leave this question of the supremacy of the Imperial Parliament, and I will turn to one that was strongly dwelt upon by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for East Edinburgh—I mean the influence which he fears the Irish priesthood will seek to exercise upon the future education of the Irish people. The right hon. Gentleman certainly has not followed the example of other illustrious persons by indulging in extravagant language on the Protestant and Catholic question, and I may say at once that I am quite sure that the right hon. Gentleman's apprehensions upon this subject are genuine, so far as they go, and that at the same time he has no desire to fan the flame of religious discord. On the whole, I think that the right hon. Gentleman has spoken very fairly in reference to this part of the question; and I will not say that, perhaps as a Protestant had I not had, as I have had, abundant experience of Ireland, I might not have been inclined to share his fears myself. Certainly, I have no such fears; but it is rather remarkable that this question of education is the only matter the right hon. Gentleman has any fears about in dealing with the question of Protestant and Catholic in Ireland. There is, however, a further remarkable fact that in reference to this branch of the question the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham has actually proposed to give the entire control of Irish education to a Central Council sitting in Dublin, without any reservation whatever as regards Ulster or the Irish Protestant population. I believe in that scheme, also, there was to be a First and Second Order. Sir, it is very hard to please everybody, and while we please the right hon. Member for West Birmingham by agreeing to give the control of Irish education to a Legislative Body which will include the Representatives of the Protestants of Ulster, we find that we are unfortunately running foul of the right hon. Member for East Edinburgh. I can, however, assure the latter right hon. Gentleman that we Irishmen shall be able to settle this question of Irish education very well among ourselves. There are many Liberal Nationalists in Ireland—I call them Liberal Nationalists, because I take the phrase in reference to this question of education—there are many Liberal Nationalists who do not altogether share the views of the Roman Catholic Church upon the subject of education, and they are anxious that Ulster should remain an integral part of Ireland in order that they may share the responsibility of Government and may influence that Government by the feelings which they have with regard to this question of education. You may depend upon it that in an Irish Legislature Ulster, with such Representatives as she now has in the Imperial Parliament, would be able to successfully resist the realization of any idea which the Roman Catholic hierarchy might entertain with regard to obtaining an undue control of Irish education. But I repeat that we shall be able to settle this question and others very satisfactorily to all the parties concerned among ourselves. I may, however, remind the House that things are going on in this House with reference to denominational education which would undoubtedly result in denominational education being conceded to Ireland within a very few years without any effective control over it being given to the Ulster Protestants. Mention has been made by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for East Edinburgh (Mr. Goschen) of the linen trade of Ireland, and some correspondence on the subject has been read. I think, however, the right hon. Gentleman was rather unfair to my hon. Friend the Member for Dublin (Mr. Gray). I have not had the advantage of reading the correspondence; but the part of it which the right Gentleman quoted to prove that the linen trade was the curse of Ulster was one passage out of many letters intended to prove that the linen trade of Ireland had been a curse to Ulster, as it had been the means, not perhaps directly, but indirectly, of enabling the peasantry to pay the rack rents of the landlords, who otherwise could not have obtained them. I do not think that the right hon. Gentleman was fair in seeking to carry the matter further than that; indeed, there did not appear to be an inclination on the part of the right hon. Gentleman to carry it very far. I observe that there had been a similar reticence exercised with regard to the financial question, of which such a point was made upon the first reading of the Bill. The speech of the right hon. Gentleman upon the first reading of the Bill undoubtedly produced a great sensation in the House and in this country. The right hon. Gentleman, as I and others, and as I believe the country, understood him, argued on that occasion that Ulster was wealthier than either of the three other Provinces, and that consequently the burden of taxation would chiefly fall upon her, and that without Ulster, therefore, it would be impossible to carry on the Government of Ireland. The right hon. Gentleman did not press the financial question very far to-day; but it would not be improper, perhaps, if we were to direct a little more of our attention to it. For instance, the great wealth of Ulster has been taken up as the war cry of the Loyal and Patriotic Union. The right hon. Gentleman was not very fair in choosing the Income Tax, Schedule D, referring to trade and professions, as his standard and measure of the relative wealth of the four Provinces. The fair measure of their relative wealth is their assessment to the Income Tax under all the different Schedules, and also the value of the rateable property in Ireland; and these tests show conclusively that, so far from Ulster being the wealthiest of the four Provinces—and the right hon. Gentleman does not deny it now—Ulster comes third in point of relative wealth per head of the population. She comes after Leinster and Munster, and she is only superior to impoverished Connaught. The Income Tax for Leinster shows £10 6*s.* 9*d.* per head; Munster, £6 0*s.* 7*d.* per head; Ulster, £5 14*s.* 9*d.* per head; and Connaught, £3 13*s.* 7*d.* per head. These figures will give the relative wealth of the four Provinces as ascertained by these, the only fair tests, as 9·92 for Leinster, 5·78 for Munster, 5·49 for Ulster—or little more than half the relative wealth of Leinster—and 3·52 for Connaught. And if you take any other fair test the same results will be arrived at, and you will find that Ulster, instead of being first on the list as regards wealth per head, comes a long way third. But the right hon. Gentleman also argued that there was a great disparity between the north-eastern or Protestant counties of Ulster and the Catholic counties in point of relative wealth. He chose not the fairest test, but the test that showed the best results for his argument, and he represented the disparity as a great deal larger than that which actually exists. But undoubtedly, to a considerable extent, there is this disproportion between the relative wealth of the north-eastern counties of Ulster and the other counties of the Province. But that same disproportion exists all through Ireland. The eastern counties are universally the richer counties all over Ireland. If you draw a meridian line down through the centre of the country you will find to the east of that line comparative prosperity and to the west of it considerable poverty. The reason of this is obvious. In the first place, the country becomes rocky and barren as you go west; and, in the second place, its chief trade is with England; and consequently the great distributing centres, the shipping ports and other places where men of business and wealth congregate and find their living, exist on the eastern sea-board. And it is only natural, not only as regards Ulster, but Munster and Leinster, that the eastern portions of the Province are richer than the rest. I come next to the question of the protection of the minority. I have incidentally dwelt on this point in respect to the matter of education; but I should like, with the permission of the House, to say a few words more about it, because it is one on which great attention has been bestowed. One would think from what we hear that the Protestants of Ireland were going to be handed over to the tender mercies of a set of Thugs and bandits. ["Hear, hear!"] The hon. and gallant Member for North Armagh (Major Saunderson) cheers that. I only wish that I was as safe in the North of Ireland when I go there as the hon. and gallant Member would be in the South. What do hon. Gentlemen mean by the protection of the loyal minority? In the first place, I ask them what they mean by the loyal minority. The right hon. Member for East Edinburgh (Mr. Goschen) does not seem to have made up his mind, even at this late stage of the discussion, as to what loyal Ulster he means. When asked the question, he said he meant the same loyal Ulster as was referred to by the Prime Minister in his speech; but he would not commit himself by telling us what signification he attributed to the Prime Minister's expression. Well, I have examined the Prime Minister's reference since then, and I find that he referred to the whole Province of Ulster. He did not select a little bit of the Province, because the Opposition had not discovered this point at that time; and consequently I suppose I may assume that the right hon. Member for East Edinburgh also referred to the whole Province of Ulster when he asked for special protection for it. He has not, however, told us how he would specially protect it. But we may go to other sources to supply that deficiency. It is one of the features of this debate that in order to make up the patchwork of a plan you have to go round to the Opposition speakers and select a bit from one and a bit from another and a bit from a third to frame something like a programme in opposition to the proposal of the Prime Minister, and even then the results are very unsatisfactory. But the right hon. Member for West Birmingham (Mr. Chamberlain) has claimed for Ulster — and I suppose that the right hon. Member for East Edinburgh, when the proper time comes, will support him in that claim—a separate Legislature for the Province of Ulster. Well, Sir, you would not protect the loyal minority of Ireland even supposing that you gave a separate Legislature to the Province of Ulster, because there are outside the Province of Ulster over 400,000 Protestants who would still be without any protection so far as you propose to give them protection. You would make the position of these 400,000 Protestants, by taking away Ulster from them, infinitely less secure. But you would not even protect the Protestants in Ulster, because the Protestants, according to the last Census, were in the proportion of 52 to 48 Catholics; and we have every reason to believe that now the Protestants and Catholics in Ulster are about equal in number. At all events, however that may be, the Nationalists have succeeded in returning the majority of the Ulster Members, and consequently we have the Nationalists in a majority in Ulster. The main reason of the balance of forces I believe to be that a large proportion of the Protestant Nationalists voted in the closely divided constituencies of Ulster in favour of my hon. Colleagues. So that you would have the Nationalist will to deal with in Ulster, even if Ulster had a separate Legislature; and the very first thing that the Ulster Legislature would do would be to unite itself with the Dublin Parliament. Well, being driven away from the fiction of Protestant Ulster and the great majority of Protestants which until recently was alleged to exist in Ulster, the opponents of this Bill have been compelled to seek refuge in the north-east corner of Ulster, consisting of three counties. Here, again, comes in the difficulty that, instead of protecting the majority of the Protestants of Ireland by constituting a Legislature for the north-east corner of Ulster, you would abandon the majority of the Protestants of Ireland to their fate under a Dublin Parliament. Seven-twelfths of the Protestants of Ireland live outside these three counties in the north-east corner of Ulster, and the other five-twelfths of the Protestants of Ireland live inside those counties. So that, whichever way you put it, you must give up the idea of protecting the Protestants either as a body or as a majority by the establishment of a separate Legislature, either in Ulster or in any portion of Ulster. No, Sir; we cannot give up a single Irishman. We want the energy, the patriotism, the talents, and the work of every Irishman to insure that this great experiment shall be a successful one. The best system of Government for a country I believe to be one which requires that that Government should be the resultant of all the forces within that country. We cannot give away to a second Legislature the talents and influence of any portion or section of the Irish people. The class of Protestants will form a most valuable element in the Irish Legislature of the future, constituting as they will a strong minority, and exercising through the First Order a moderating influence in making the laws. We have heard of the danger that will result from an untried and unpractised Legislature being established in Ireland. Now I regard variety as vitally necessary for the success of this trial. We want, Sir, all creeds and all classes in Ireland. We cannot consent to look upon a single Irishman as not belonging to us. And, however much we recognize the great abilities and the industry of the Irish Protestants — and we recognize them freely and fully—we cannot admit that there is a single one of them too good to take part in the Dublin Parliament. We do not blame the small proportion of the Protestants of Ireland who feel any real fear. I admit, Sir, that there is a small proportion of them who do feel this fear. We do not blame them; we have been doing our best to allay that fear, and we shall continue to do so. And finally, when this Bill becomes an Act, we shall not cease from the work of conciliating the fears of this small section of Irishmen. No, Sir. Theirs is not the shame and disgrace of this fear. That shame and disgrace belong to right hon. Gentlemen and noble Lords of English political Parties who, for selfish interests, have sought to rekindle the embers—the almost expiring embers—of religious bigotry. Ireland has never injured the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham. I do not know why he should have added the strength of his powerful arm—why he should, like another Brennus—let us hope not with the same result—why he should have thrown his sword into the scale against

Ireland. I am not aware that we have either personally or politically attempted to injure the right hon. Gentleman, yet he and his kind seek to dash this cup from the lips of the Irish people—the first cup of cold water that has been offered to our nation since the recall of Lord Fitzwilliam. This settlement, Sir, I believe will be a final settlement. I have been reproached—and it has been made an argument against the honesty of my declaration as to the final character of the settlement—that in a speech at Wicklow I claimed the right of protecting the Irish manufactures; and it is said that this Bill gives no such right. Well, undoubtedly I claimed that right. But it was not when a Liberal Government was in power. That speech about Protection at Wicklow was made at a time when we had every reason to know that the Conservative Party, if they should be successful at the polls, would have offered Ireland a Statutory Legislature with a right to protect her own industries, and that this would have been coupled with the settlement of the Irish Land Question on the basis of purchase on a larger scale than that now proposed by the Prime Minister. I never should have thought, I never did think, and I do not think now, of claiming Protection from the Liberal Party—I never expected it, and, therefore, I recognize the settlement as final without Protection. There is another and a stronger argument as well. In introducing this Bill the Prime Minister showed that unless we have fiscal unity there will be a loss of £1,400,000. I think, therefore, that, as a consequence of fiscal unity, £1,400,000 is a good *quid pro quo* for the loss of protection. The question of the retention of the Irish Members I shall only touch upon very slightly. I have always desired to keep my mind thoroughly open upon it, and not to make it a vital question. There are difficulties; but they are rather more from the English than the Irish point of view, and I think that when we come to consider the question in Committee that feeling will be a growing one on the part of Liberal Members. I admit the existence of a strong sentiment in favour of our retention—I will not say it is a reasonable sentiment, when I consider how many times my Colleagues and I have been forcibly ejected from this House, how often the necessity of suspending, if not entirely abrogating, representation on the part of Ireland has been eagerly canvassed by the London Press as the only necessary solution of it—perhaps I may not, under these circumstances, consider the desire on the part of Liberal Members as a very reasonable one. I admit that it is an honest one. All I can say is that when the Prime Minister has produced his plan—and I admit that it is a difficult question, and will require some little time for consideration — when the Prime Minister has produced his plan, without binding myself beforehand, I shall candidly examine it, with a desire not to see in it an element that will injure the permanency of the settlement. I shall chiefly deal with it with a view of seeing whether it will diminish the permanency of the settlement to the success of which my Colleagues and I have pledged our political future. But I confess, Sir, that if I had regard to the spirit with which the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham has dealt with this question, I should have been hopelessly alienated from the plan of retaining the Irish Members. He has dealt with it in a way to attach an apparent stigma of inferiority to us, and in order that he may have the excuse for constantly meddling in our affairs, checking us, thwarting us, and keeping us under his thumb. The Irish people will never submit to that. We could not agree to his scheme, for that would be fatal to the finality and durability of the scheme. Now, Sir, what does it all come to? It comes to two alternatives when everything has been said and everything has been done. One alternative is the coercion which Lord Salisbury put before the country, and the other is the alternative offered by the Prime Minister, carrying with it the lasting settlement of a treaty of peace. If you reject this Bill, Lord Salisbury was quite right in what he said as to coercion. ["No, no!"] With great respect to the cries of "No!" by hon. Members above the Gangway, I beg to say you will have to resort to coercion. That is not a threat on my part—I would do much to prevent the necessity for resorting to coercion; but I say it will be inevitable, and the best-intentioned Radical who sits on those Benches, and who thinks that he "never, never will be a party to coercion," will be found very soon walking into the Division Lobby in favour of the strongest and most drastic Coercion Bill, or, at the very outside, pitifully abstaining. We have gone through it all before. During the last five years I know, Sir, there have been very severe and drastic Coercion Bills; but it will require an even severer and more drastic measure of coercion now. You will require all that you have had during the last five years, and more besides. What, Sir, has that coercion been? You have had, Sir, during those five years—I do not say this to inflame passion or awaken bitter memories—you have had during those five years the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act; you have had a thousand of your Irish fellow-subjects held in prison without specific charge, many of them for long periods of time, some of them for 20 months, without trial and without any intention of placing them on trial—I think of all these thousand persons arrested under the Coercion Act of the late Mr. Forster scarcely a dozen were put on their trial; you have had the Arms Acts; you have had the suspension of trial by jury—all during the last five years. You have authorized your police to enter the domicile of a citizen, of your fellow-subject in Ireland, at any hour of the day or night, and to search every part of this domicile, even the beds of the women, without warrant. You have fined the innocent for offences committed by the guilty; you have taken power to expel aliens from this country; you have revived the Curfew Law and the blood-money of your Norman conquerors; you have gagged the Press and seized and suppressed newspapers; you have manufactured new crimes and offences, and applied fresh penalties unknown to your laws for these crimes and offences. All this you have done for five years, and all this and much more you will have to do again. The provision in the Bill for terminating the representation of Irish Members has been very vehemently objected to, and the right hon. Gentleman the Member for the Border Burghs (Mr. Trevelyan) has said that there is no half-way house between separation and the maintenance of law and order in Ireland by Imperial authority. I say, with just as much sincerity of belief, and just as much experience as the right hon. Gentleman, that, in my judgment, there is no half-way house between the concession of legislative autonomy to Ireland and the disfranchisement of the country and her government as a Crown Colony. But, Sir, I refuse to believe that these evil days must come. I am convinced there are a sufficient number of wise and just Members in this House to cause it to disregard appeals made to passion and to pocket, and to choose the better way of the Prime Minister—the way of founding peace and goodwill among nations; and when the numbers in the Division Lobby come to be told, it will also be told, for the admiration of all future generations, that England and her Parliament, in this nineteenth century, was wise enough, brave enough, and generous enough to close the strife of centuries, and to give peace, prosperity, and happiness to suffering Ireland.

Mr. MORGAN HOWARD (Camberwell, Dulwich) said, that whether, on the one hand, it was wise on the part of the Imperial Parliament to confer upon Ireland, or expedient or wise on the part of Ireland to accept, such powers as were conferred by this Bill, was an inquiry which had already been exhaustively dealt with, and which, therefore, he would not further pursue. But he would say, at all events, that if he were an Irishman he should like to have some voice in the question of the trade and the navigation of the country, in the great question of foreign affairs, in the question of peace and war, which might so vitally affect the fortunes of his country, a voice in the making and discussion of International Treaties, and would desire to be entrusted with the guardianship of the country's Revenue. He could quote statistics showing that since the Union the trade and navigation of Ireland had increased, and that the condition of the people had greatly improved. The Irish Debt, for example, in 1791 was less than £2,500,000, the annual interest charged being £142,000. In 1800, the year of the Union, within a short period of nine years the Debt had increased to upwards of £25,500,000, the interest charged being considerably over £1,000,000. The Prime Minister had stated that the national sentiment of Ireland was in favour of the Home Rule scheme. What evidence was there to show that the national sentiment of the country had declared itself in favour of such a proposal as this? Speaking of the people of Ireland as a whole, he asked what evidence had been forthcoming to show that they desired the tremendous changes which this scheme involved? It had not been shown in the few and meagre Petitions presented in favour of the proposal; while, on the other hand, probably no fewer than 500,000 persons belonging to the influential and industrious classes of the country desired that the Bill should be defeated. What, then, was the apology for the Bill? The Prime Minister had stated that they must regard the return of 86 Nationalist Members as expressing the Constitutional voice of the Irish people. That seemed to him, with great deference to the Prime Minister, to depend upon many circumstances. He should like to know, in the first place, by whom these Members were returned, because he was convinced, from examination which had been made of the statistics of the last elections in Ireland, that the 86 Nationalist Members, out of the 103 Members returned for Ireland, represented only one-half of the Irish electors. He would ask the Prime Minister whether his proposition was that because 86 Home Rulers had been returned to that House therefore we ought to grant Home Rule in such a sense as to disturb the Union between the two countries? Was not this a national as distinguished from an Irish question? With regard to the endowment of religion, it was a significant circumstance that the Attorney General had given no answer to the question addressed to him by the noble Lord the Member for North Devon (Viscount Lymington) as to whether the new Parliament in Dublin might not, under Clause 19 of the Bill, give pecuniary support to the Roman Catholic Church. His hon. and learned Friend escaped—he would not say evaded—the point, and they were at that moment without any assurance on the part of the Government that that was not an inevitable consequence of the 19th clause. There would be, as he believed, an actual power vested in the new Legislature to apply much of the Revenues of Ireland to the support of the Roman Catholic religion. A Dissolution of Parliament had been threatened if this Bill were defeated; but in the course of the debate the Government had contended that the constituencies were consulted on this subject at the late General Election, and so it followed as a matter of course that the majority which would be registered against the second reading was the Constitutional verdict of the people. The Prime Minister had stipulated for absolute political equality between Great Britain and Ireland as an essential condition of his scheme; but there could hardly be equality between three peoples when two of them had the right to impose burdens, and the third only the obligation to share them. That was not consistent with the Prime Minister's declaration that it was indispensable to maintain absolute political equality. If he were an Irishman he should not look with indifference upon the exclusion of his countrymen from the exercise of voice and vote upon such questions as the defence of the Empire, peace and war, navigation laws, and all the subjects reserved to the Imperial Parliament. The Prime Minister had laid it down that the welfare and security of the whole United Kingdom must be preferred to the advantage of a part; and he must surely now recognize the weight of opinion and belief that his plan did jeopardize the unity and safety of the whole. It was said that they were to vote upon the principle of the Bill, and not upon its provisions. He understood the Bill, but not the principle, which, without the Bill, was without a definition. It was said the principle was a domestic Legislature sitting in Dublin; but the whole question was the sort of Legislative Body to be provided. It did not advance matters to speak simply of a Legislative Body. If some reasonable definition were given then they might go into the Lobby with their eyes open. The retention or exclusion of the Irish Members was really a question of high principle, and when the Prime Minister had said he could see no alternative to their exclusion it was not easy to trust his supporters who, under stress of weather, proposed to retain them. Whether, in the view of the Government, there was or was not a way of meeting this difficulty they ought to be told before the division. He trusted the Prime Minister would deal frankly with the House, in order that they might know in what sense it was that there was in the Bill a principle with a definition attached to it which should command their assent, and be entitled to receive their support. It was not treating the House properly to ask them, merely to save a Government from defeat, to support the Bill because it was to be withdrawn, and he declined to walk in the path so indicated.

Mr. MENZIES (Perthshire, E.): Sir, at this late stage of the debate, I do not ask the indulgence of the House for the purpose of making a speech upon the interesting, but not inexhaustible, subject we are discussing. I wish only to make a plain statement of the construction which I personally place upon the vote for the second reading. In voting for the second reading of this Bill, I consider that I am voting upon nothing more than the general principle of an Irish Legislature, dealing with affairs specifically and exclusively Irish. It would be impossible for me to withhold my assent from that proposition, and I consider that a very grave and serious responsibility will hereafter lie at the door of those hon. Members who oppose it, should they be unfortunate enough to succeed in securing its rejection.

Mr. E. R. RUSSELL (Glasgow, Bridgeton) said, he had heard nothing whatever to diminish the disposition which he had felt from the beginning of this question to place trust not merely in the Irish people, but in those Liberal principles which were at stake, in granting the Irish people self-government at the present time. The hon. and learned Member who lately spoke (Mr. Morgan Howard) rather misconstrued the ground upon which they based their adhesion to the principle of Home Rule. It was not the case that this Parliament was about to give the Irish nation Home Rule simply because the Irish people had demanded it. We could imagine the Irish people demanding things which this Parliament must refuse them. It was an essential part of the doctrine of those who adopted the measure that the power of this Parliament would remain intact—that this Parliament was acting for the best for the whole nation and the whole Empire. He believed the speech of the hon. Member for Cork (Mr. Parnell) would affect very greatly the minds of the people in Great Britain when it was as carefully read as it had been soberly and seriously delivered. They might recognize in that speech not merely goodwill in reference to the undertaking now set about, but also a perception of the difficulties of that undertaking; and they might trace the past workings of the hon. Gentleman's mind when, as Leader of his Party, he had been determining the nature of the relations which he could establish between this Parliament and the nation whose affairs were intrusted to his hands. Then they had the speech of his right hon. Friend the Member for East Edinburgh (Mr. Goschen). They knew that the sentiments of that right hon. Gentleman were very firmly fixed and very conscientiously held, and they all agreed that he had maintained them that night with no inconsiderable amount of delicacy and consideration, and that he escaped the dreadful sin of pandering to that bigotry in which some right hon. Gentleman on that side had unfortunately involved the discussion. On a former occasion he (Mr. E. R. Russell) protested against the right hon. Gentleman's use of the word coercion, because the right hon. Gentleman always persisted in maintaining that coercion was not an extraordinary action of the State, but a regular method. The simple test in such a question was whether we should like the methods employed in Irish coercion to be employed in their entirety in our own country. If the question was put, they all knew what the answer must be. This difficulty about coercion was not a new one. There was an incident in the past history of the question which was of very great interest and significance. It would be remembered that in 1846, when Sir Robert Peel was carrying through his change of the Corn Laws, and had at the same time to deal with the question of insecurity of life and property in Ireland, he had to decide upon whether he would dissolve or resign in the event of his measures being beaten. In a Memorandum which he handed to the Duke of Wellington deprecating Dissolution, he made use of these remarkable words—

> "I firmly believe that the dangerous watchword, coercion for Ireland, would shake the foundations of the Legislative Union."

Sir Robert Peel felt that, however easily coercion might be adopted incidentally at other times, whoever went to the country with the watchword "coercion for Ireland" must bring great evils on the country, and one of the greatest evils he foresaw was that the foundations of the Legislative Union would be shaken. He (Mr. E. R. Russell) asked, if now they went to the country with coercion as the only alternative, what chance there was that the Legislative Union would be perpetuated by such an attempt? The Duke of Wellington, on the other hand, took the tone of the noble Lord the Member for Rossendale and the right hon. Gentleman the Member for East Edinburgh. He wrote, in reply to Sir Robert Peel—

> "I confess that if it were necessary I should feel no objection to go to the country on the single question of the Irish Assassination Act Sooner or later the people must be informed of what is really going forward in that country, and must make up their minds to govern it as people in a social state ought to be governed."

But Sir Robert Peel wrote back asking the Duke what could be done to make the people of England more fully acquainted with the state of Ireland, where in many districts no man's life was safe except the life of an assassin; and he further asked what would happen if they went to the country. Sir Robert Peel said there would be a stronger Irish representation in the new House of Commons, and it would not be possible, owing to Party considerations and combinations, to pass a Coercion Bill. That case was very much on all-fours with the present situation, and it was remarkable that Sir Robert Peel and his Colleagues resolved not to bring about a Dissolution, and to avoid going to the country on a Coercion Bill. Another point on which he thought his right hon. Friend (Mr. Goschen) was very interesting was that of nationality. The right hon. Gentleman expressed that sentiment of sympathy which was very easy for us to feel when we had no inclination to gratify it. This Bill would, however, in a safe manner gratify the national aspirations of Ireland, of which there were innumerable illustrations, both gay and grave. As a humorous illustration, he (Mr. E. R. Russell) gave a citation from the records of the Council of Constance, in 1418, when the four Empires represented were the Roman, the Constantinopolitan, the Spanish, and the Irish. The English Ambassadors were allowed precedence solely because Henry was Monarch of Ireland, England not counting, because deemed to be absorbed in the German, which was equivalent to the Roman, Empire. On the serious side of the case, in the Reign of Henry VIII. a Chief Baron wrote to him in words which were as true now as ever they were. He said—

> "The English statutes passed in Ireland are not observed eight days after passing, whereas those laws and statutes made by the Irish on their hills they keep firm and stable without breaking them for any favour or reward."

When they found things like this written from age to age, could they hear in patience the high tone of superiority in which so many Members addressed that House, as if all the thinking, all the arguments, and all the judgment were to be found with those who wasted hour after hour of the discussion in pointing out small objections to a measure designed to gratify insuperable national feelings? They showed that some Gentlemen had been very good Attorney Generals, and that others were likely to be very good Attorney Generals if they got an opportunity, when any one of the rising suns began to shine. But they did not convey, to his mind at least, the impression that they had really mastered the exigency. He supported an appeal which had been made on the other side of the House in a most thoughtful speech by the hon. Member for Colchester (Mr. Trotter) to consider the position of the hon. Member for Cork with more candour than they had been in the habit of showing. He asked whether the English and Scotch people had not the necessary sense of humour, if they had not the necessary imagination, to treat in public debate, as they treated at dinner tables and in private conversations, the surroundings which led to Irish public men adopting a particular tone at a particular time? When he heard the hon. Member for Cork charged with many of the things which he had repudiated, he felt very much inclined to remember the case of Benedick, who, when he swore he would die a bachelor, did not think he would live to be married. The hon. Member for Cork had now good reason to believe that the spirit which had so long defied his endeavours had been modified and ameliorated. As to the Protestant part of Ulster, he (Mr. E. R. Russell) did not doubt the sincerity or earnestness of those Gentlemen who had spoken strongly on this subject; but he believed that events would change their convictions. He had such faith in the solid character of the people of the North that he could not imagine them embarking for any length of time on a course of resistance to the mighty will of this Empire, when they were able to perceive that it had been brought to bear for the good of their country. His hope was that the natural exercise of those Northern faculties, of which we heard so much, would find play not in resisting a policy which would make the Catholic majority inconvenient or hurtful to the Protestant minority, but in the working out of a great system, in which should be blended religions and races, the habits and characteristics of each of which would alike minister to the good of the nation. He had always looked with great admiration on many of the Gentlemen who sat below the Gangway opposite, for the place they had made for themselves in public life. He had thought sometimes that if a man so largely just and so little ungenerous as the noble Lord the Member for Rossendale were to acquaint himself with the lives and struggles and the self-education of many hon. Gentlemen who had taken a part in the freeing of their country in that House, he might be inclined, perhaps, to purge his political system of that despair which seemed so largely to have poisoned his ideas on one of the greatest questions. The whole value of the speeches against the Bill had been *nil*, except so far as they represented the strong and earnest objections to Home Rule which were known to be entertained by the noble Lord the Member for Rossendale and some others. Theirs was a logical and consistent opposition. He had listened with great respect to the many elaborate and brilliant dissertations that they had had on the details of the Bill. He believed, however, they all anticipated what ought to be left to a later stage. The issue of the whole matter was whether they were bound, in the interests of the Empire, to fly in the face of the national sentiment of Ireland; whether there was not hope that the measure of the Government would produce excellent results in bringing together rival interests in Ireland, and promoting the general good and the prosperity of the Empire? It must not be supposed that because the heads of the Liberals had now, as some said, sprung this policy on the Party, there had been no feeling for Home Rule in their ranks. Hon. Gentlemen opposite knew of many candidatures which had turned on this question. If the Liberals now found their Leaders coming to the front they had good reason to rejoice over it, and he could not understand that there was anything for the Leaders to be ashamed of, even if some were convicted of a certain degree of inconsistency with their past declarations. He denied that the Party were blindly following their Chief. Still more, that this had been, as his right hon. Friend the Member for East Edinburgh said, avowed. He had not seen one word in print, or heard one word to justify any such insinuation. If the adherence to the right hon. Gentleman had ever been blind it would now have been limited to a few, and it would have fallen off. The reason the followers of the right hon. Gentleman adhered to him more steadily than to any other statesman, and the reason the country was about to support him by an overwhelming majority, was that he was right oftener and ready sooner than any other statesman. They believed he was right now. They rejoiced that he was ready, and they would do their utmost to support him in the course he had resolved to adopt.

Mr. MUNTZ (Warwickshire, Tamworth) said, that they were bound to ask themselves who were responsible for the outrages which had taken place in Ireland and had culminated in the murder in the Phœnix Park? He felt bound to say that, in his opinion, it was the Party led by the hon. Member for Cork (Mr. Parnell) that was responsible for what had taken place in Ireland at that period, and there had been no sign given that that Party had since regretted the part which they had played, nor had they taken any steps to repress outrages in Ireland or support the Ministers of the Crown. He refused to acknowledge that hon. Members below the Gangway represented the majority of the Irish people, considering the circumstances under which they had been elected. The Irish legislation of the Prime Minister had hitherto been a great failure, and they could not trust him to try any further experiments. The Bill, instead of being a final settlement, would create numerous inconsistencies, and lead to conflict and confusion. When the Conservative Party declared their policy last January, which was the policy of maintaining law and order in Ireland, what did the "old Parliamentary hand" do? He introduced this treasonable measure. ["Oh, oh," *and cries of* "Withdraw!"] He used the word "treasonable" on the authority of the Prime Minister. [*Renewed cries of* "Order" *and* "Withdraw!"] He could not withdraw, because he found the Prime Minister proposing to put the Government of Ireland into the hands of a man whom the right hon. Gentleman himself had described as "steeped to the lips in treason."

THE FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY (Mr. GLADSTONE): No, no; I never said that.

MR. MUNTZ: As the right hon. Gentleman denied it, he would withdraw at once; but the right hon. Gentleman certainly had always had the credit of that saying. There was neither policy nor principle in the Bill. If it had any policy at all, it was that of poltroonery and pandering to the Home Rule vote. He believed that the electors of England would disdainfully discard this most unwise measure as calculated to do irreparable injury.

MR. JOSEPH COWEN (Newcastle-on-Tyne): I will not occupy the time of the House more than a few minutes. Indeed, it is physically impossible for me to do so longer, as I am, and have been for some days, suffering; but I do not wish the debate to close without having an opportunity of stating—even if it is only in a few sentences—my cordial approval of the new Irish legislation of the Government. In these perturbed times there is not much credit got by being consistent. But such as there is I may not unfairly lay claim to. I am not accustomed to take my opinions from the Treasury Bench, and while I have been a Member of this House I have invariably voted against coercion and for Home Rule. I have, therefore, no recantation to read, no compromising speech to unsay, and no tergiversation to apologize for. In upholding the principle of this Bill I am only upholding a sincere and lifelong conviction. With the personal recriminations of the debate I am not concerned and will not meddle. The opponents of this measure are for law, for order, for property, and for Imperial integrity. So are we. Law is the enacted reason of the Legislature, and is intended for every man's preservation. It rules and vitalizes society. The weakest feels its care, and the strongest are not exempted from its power. Obedience is the essence of law, and without obedience the wisest and best laws will fail. Law without force would give us licentiousness and not liberty; and force without law would produce slavery and not subjection. But we run contrary to the spirit of law, and we shake the whole system of jurisprudence, when we put a man above the law and entrust him with discretionary power over the liberty and fortunes of his fellow-subjects upon the presumption that it will not be abused. That is not law. That is coercion. We are against it. We are for order—for the faithful and diligent submission to the immutable principle by which the duties of life are methodized, separated, and harmonized. Without authority there would be anarchy, the rule of the Buccaneers. Whoever else is benefited by disorder, the poor man is not and cannot be. The strong man may. Demagogy and despotism are equal foes to liberty; and I would resent as vigorously the tyrannical exercise of power by a multitude as by a King. We are also for property—as the indestructible condition of personal dignity, as the sign and fruit of labour, and as indispensable to secure the existence of society, to sanction the liberty and promote the development of man. I am opposed to all methods, whether open or covert, of robbing any man, or any class of men, of his or their honest earnings, acquirements, or inheritances for the nation's benefit; but some of our opponents' ideas of property are so severe that they mystify their ideas of justice and liberty. Finally, we are for National Union—Union, mark—not centralization. The two things are not only dissimilar, but antagonistic. Destroy the Empire! Why, I would grapple it together with hooks of steel, make it as lasting as the granite which underlies the Island. The Imperial sentiment is incarnate and ineradicable in Englishmen. It will die only with the extinction of the race. The man would be a traitor, not only to his country, but to civilization, who would attempt to break up an organization which had conferred such inestimable benefits on the human race. But we seek to show that the Empire is not a noun of multitude, but a moral personality; that its benignity is as great as its strength; that its power may be trusted as well as feared; and that its efficiency to secure concerted action throughout the whole without infringing upon the local freedom of parts is equal to the force with which it can resist external aggression. On these points we are agreed with the opponents of the Bill, and on one essential point our opponents are agreed with us. They admit that over the greater part of Ireland misery is chronic, discontent perennial, and insurrection smouldering. They allege that in those districts the Queen's writs do not run, and that the law of the League is more potent than the law of the land. They also admit that something must be done, although no two of them agree throughout what that something should be. One set of objectors are in favour of suspending evictions and instituting inquiries, as if we had not information galore. Another are for establishing Provincial Boards; another for the creation of a National Council, charged with administrative, but not legislative, functions; and all are for one or other form of coercion. Some of these schemes might have succeeded if they had been tried in time; but they are now too late. The country has traversed new phases of its history, and fresh elements have been introduced into political life since they were suggested. Provincial Councils, if they had been established when Earl Russell proposed them 35 years ago, would have modified the popular craving for self-government. Now they would only stimulate it. To give Ireland not all she is entitled to, but only half of what she asks, and to allow that half to be extorted from apprehension and embarrassment, will evoke no gratitude and allay no disaffection. We are told that this measure is revolutionary. It may be. Its authors, however, are not responsible for that. Revolutions ought not to be set to the account of those who make them, but of those who make them necessary. Times arise when great ills demand great remedies—when we cannot avoid a blow by flying from it, and when energy, far from inviting danger, routs it. This is a decentralizing, but not a disuniting, Bill. The Act of 1800 united the Legislatures, but divided the peoples. This Bill will divide the Legislature, and, we trust, unite the people. We believe in the possibility of one and the certainty of the other result. When national affections are alienated, when the fraternal spirit gives way to indifference, or collision of objects festers into hatred, parchment Unions are artificial and transient. We do not want England and Ireland to be strapped together like a leash of angry hounds, but to be bound by the magnetism of consolidated interests and kindly sympathies. We do not seek a statutory combination only, but a comingling of spirit and purpose, of homogeneity of sentiment and aspiration. The blood in our veins is a kindred tide. Every way our welfare is intertwined. We would bind the two countries in bonds which no despotism can suspend and no anarchy subvert—too subtle for the succession of events to leave isolated, and too enduring for the changes of time to render obsolete. We are moving forward to that end. We have got out of routine into realities. Events are stronger than Cabinets. No political phantasmagoria, no word entanglements, can undo what has been done. It is irrevocable. You can no more remake the past than you can resuscitate the dead. Party combinations can no more resist the progress of this cause than a stack of corn can retard the roll of an avalanche. The spirit of great events strides on before the events, and in to-day already walks to-morrow. If this Bill is not victory, it is the herald of victory. In its principle—the liberty for a nation to walk faithfully after the type of its own individuality—will be found the political gospel of the future. It will send a quickening stir of grateful life through a dissevered and discontented land, which has long been rent with civil feuds, and often stained with fratricidal blood. Its influence will be more benign than sunshine or than zephyrs. It will dress the labourer's face with smiles, lift him in the scale of civilization, imbue him with the true spirit of human toil. It will educate and enrich him. It will cover the barren rocks with soil; drain the sterile swamps, clothe the brown heath with verdure, and people the storm-swept gorges of Ireland's old grey hills with beneficent activity and enduring peace. The mists from the marshes may obscure the sun, but they do not taint or extinguish it. Through the gloom there is light, and beyond the sorrow there is hope. And in the same scroll in which Providence has written "Safety for the British Empire" is inscribed "Peace, liberty, and contentment for Ireland."

SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH (Bristol, W.): Mr. Speaker, the House always listens with pleasure to the hon. Member who has just sat down, not merely because we recognize in him the highest form of Parliamentary eloquence, but also because throughout all his speeches there is a depth of conviction and honesty of purpose which we can all appreciate and approve. Yet, Sir, I can remember the day when, after speaking as plainly as he has done tonight on another subject, the hon. Member for Newcastle (Mr. Joseph Cowen) was formally drummed out of the Liberal Party. The hon. Member has given to us his views upon the advantages of Home Rule for Ireland; but I observe that he carefully abstained from attempting to prove how the Bill that is now before the House would bring about those advantages. I admit, Sir, that the hon. Member is more than consistent in the views he has expressed upon this great subject. For many years—long before Home Rule became part of the creed of the Liberal Party—the hon. Member was a Home Ruler; and, Sir, if the measure now before the House had proceeded from him, at any rate I should not have anything to say upon the proposition that there was something remarkable in its history. But, Sir, this measure, important though it is, is, perhaps, important for this reason as much as any other—namely, on account of its history. It does not represent the policy of one of the great Parties of the State, ratified by the constituencies at the polls. It does not represent the views of the Leaders of the Liberal Party. With one great exception, all those Leaders are going to vote against it; and I will venture to say that if this Bill had chanced to have been found in the Lobby of the House of Commons about the middle of January last by, let us say, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, that right hon. Gentleman would have disclaimed it altogether as exhibiting the policy of the Liberal Party, and would have put it down to an infamous combination between the Tory Leaders and the Home Rule Members below the Gangway. Now, Sir, this Bill is the production of one man—the highest, no doubt, in authority and in power in this Kingdom—of one man practically alone; and, Sir, it is not the result, so far as we can tell, of a very lengthened or ancient conviction on the part of the right hon. Gentleman. His addresses and his speeches to his constituents during the electoral campaign did not lead the country to anticipate for one single moment that he would have made himself responsible for such a proposal as this. On the contrary, we have heard from more than one of the staunchest admirers of the right hon. Gentleman on that side of the House that, having carefully considered those speeches and those addresses, and having formed their own opinion upon them, they now find themselves bound, by the pledges which they gave to their constituents upon the plain interpretation of the statements of the right hon. Gentleman himself, to vote against this Bill. Well, Sir, I may therefore say that, up to the date of the close of the General Election, this policy was not anticipated from the right hon. Gentleman even by his own followers. Then, Sir, there was a sudden change. It became evident to the country, not that the hon. Member for Cork (Mr. Parnell) would have between 80 and 90 followers in the new Parliament—for that had been practically known to everybody, including the right hon. Gentleman himself, long before—but that the right hon. Gentleman could not obtain a majority in the new House of Commons without the assistance of the hon. Member for Cork and of hon. Gentlemen below the Gangway. And, Sir, something happened which strangely coincided with the evidence of that fact. Unauthorized statements were sent in a mysterious way to certain newspapers of the right hon. Gentleman's opinions upon this subject of Home Rule for Ireland—statements which in some material particulars were strangely like the Bill which is now before us. Remonstrances were made by some of the most trusted Colleagues of the right hon. Gentleman, but a very half-hearted denial of those statements was given in reply to those remonstrances; and, Sir, when Parliament met, on the first night of the debate upon the Address the right hon. Gentleman made it very clear to the hon. Member for Cork that he, at any rate, would not object to the disturbance of the Legislative Union between England and Ireland, and within a few days the right hon. Gentleman was installed on that Bench by the support of the hon. Member for Cork. Now, Sir, I have stated simple facts. It has been a favourite subject of insinuation with a good many persons that the late Conservative Government were not impervious to similar temptations. Those insinuations have often been made, and, as I think, have been sufficiently responded to by the distinct statements of Lord Salisbury. But, Sir, to-night a more definite statement than I have ever heard before has come from the hon. Member for Cork. I think the hon. Member stated that his demand for power to protect Irish industries was made at a time when he had every reason to suppose that, if the Conservative Party had been successful at the polls, they would have offered him a Statutory Parliament.

Mr. PARNELL (Cork): With power to protect Irish industries.

Sir MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH With power to protect the Irish industries. That, I think, would be a more agreeable proposition to the hon. Member for Cork and his Friends than the Bill now before the House. I judge from the speeches of the hon. Member for Cork that he is in favour of a protection of Irish industries which this Bill would not enable him to bring about. If the hon. Member really believes that he could obtain from a Conservative Government a Bill that would be more agreeable to him and his Party than the Bill before the House, why do they not vote against the present measure? But, Sir, that is not all that I have to say with reference to this remarkable statement of the hon. Member. I must for myself and for my Colleagues state, in the plainest and most distinct terms, that I utterly and categorically deny that the late Conservative Government ever had any such intention.

Mr. PARNELL: Does the right hon. Gentleman mean to deny that that intention was communicated to me by one of his own Colleagues—a Minister of the Crown?

Sir MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH Yes, Sir; I do—[*Cries of* "Name!"]—to the best of my knowledge and belief; and if any such statement was communicated by anyone to the hon. Member I am certain that he had not the authority to make it. [*Renewed cries of* "Name!"] Will the hon. Member do us the pleasure to give the name to the House?

Mr. PARNELL: The right hon. Gentleman has asked me a question which he knows is a very safe one. [*Cries of* "Oh!"] I shall be very glad to communicate the name of his Colleague when I receive his Colleague's permission to do so. [*Cries of* "Oh!" *and* "Name!"]

Sir MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH: Insinuations are easily made. To prove them is a very different thing; and I have observed that the rules of the code of honour of hon. Members below the Gangway step in at the point when proof becomes necessary. But, after all, the question before the House is not what the late Conservative Government did or would have done, or what they certainly would not have done; but what the right hon. Gentleman now on the Treasury Bench has actually done. Under the circumstances which I have stated to the House the right hon. Gentleman formed his Cabinet, on the basis of examination and inquiry into this important question. Some profane persons said that it was a Cabinet formed on the chance of being able to agree. Well, I do not know how that might be. I do not know whether that truly represented the state of affairs or not; but this we do know—we have learnt from one of the Members of that Cabinet, from the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham (Mr. Chamberlain), that this examination and inquiry was not undertaken by the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister in concert with his Colleagues. It was so distinctly stated in this House; and in proof of that I may say that, although the Cabinet was formed in the very early days of February, it was not until the 13th of March that the first intimation was made to the Cabinet that an early edition of the plan which the right hon. Gentleman had personally framed for the government of Ireland was ready to be submitted to his Colleagues. That fact the right hon. Gentleman stated to the House himself; and it was not until the 26th of March that a complete scheme was submitted to the Cabinet, which, with the important exception of the clause relating to the control of the Customs and Excise, was substantially identical with that which was submitted to the House by the right hon. Gentleman upon the 8th of April.

THE FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY (Mr. W. E. GLADSTONE) (Edinburgh, Mid Lothian): There were many other alterations.

SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH: The right hon. Gentleman says that there were many other alterations; but I have taken the trouble to compare the statement in the speech of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham (Mr. Chamberlain) as to the scheme that was submitted to the Cabinet when he was a Member of it with the scheme that was introduced to this House by the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister, and I assert that there was no difference of importance between them except upon the subject of the Customs and Excise. These dates show conclusively that the right hon. Gentleman is alone—or, perhaps, in conjunction with the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland, is alone—responsible for this scheme, and that the Cabinet really never had a voice upon the matter. If I wanted proof of that I would refer to the debate upon the first reading of the Bill, when, in answer to all our arguments and to all our inquiries, no one Member of the Cabinet, with the two exceptions of the Prime Minister and the Chief Secretary for Ireland, could do anything more than refer us to what we should see in the Bill when it was printed and circulated among hon. Members. But, Sir, no sooner was the Bill printed—and it was not until a week after it had been read a first time that it was printed—than doubts began to arise in the mind of its author as to its provisions. On May 1 the right hon. Gentleman began to minimize his scheme. The right hon. Gentleman then told us that we had not to deal with details and particulars, and that we had only to decide whether or not we should have regard to the prayer of Ireland for the management by herself of affairs specifically and exclusively her own. On May 10, in moving the second reading of the Bill, the right hon. Gentleman proceeded further, and he announced this very important alteration—that the Government would provide that when a proposal was made to alter taxation in relation to the Customs and Excise of Ireland, the Irish Members should have an opportunity of appearing in this House to take part in the discussion. The right hon. Gentleman went on to dangle before our eyes some extraordinary suggestions as to the mode in which Representatives of the Irish Parliament might deal with Imperial and foreign affairs, but which have never since got beyond the point at which he then left them. And then, again, at a subsequent meeting at the Foreign Office of Members of the British Home Rule Party, the right hon. Gentleman extended his alterations to the promise of a plan for retaining to the Irish Representatives a title to be heard upon Imperial and reserved questions, and he told those present on that occasion that votes given on this Bill would not be taken as binding them to support the Land Purchase Bill, hitherto considered to be an inseparable part of the measure.

MR. W. E. GLADSTONE: That was my own speech on the Land Purchase Bill.

SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH: I am glad that the right hon. Gentleman quoted his own speech, and I am not going to follow his example; but he distinctly presented to his followers—and I am open to correction by many who were present—that their votes upon the second reading of this Bill would not bind their votes upon the Land Purchase Bill, and he went on to say that provided the barren honour of a second reading were vouchsafed to this Bill no further progress would be made with it. These were the concessions, the modifications, the explanations, and the withdrawals which were promised by the right hon. Gentleman in the hope that by means of them he might unite his Party in support of his scheme. But even that did not suffice. All these tactics, no doubt, required delay, and there were influences at work—subterranean influences—which somehow or other delayed the judgment of Parliament upon this great scheme of Her Majesty's Government. Never was a Government so little anxious, to all appearance, to obtain the judgment of the House of Commons upon a great proposal to effect alterations in the law. For a whole week after the commencement of the debate on the second reading the right hon. Gentleman could not be induced to ask the House of Commons to divert its attention from academical discussions, which were not of the slightest interest to anybody, in order to proceed with his Bill; and when he had hardened his heart to that point, somehow—of course, not from his initiative—Government Business was introduced, which practically delayed the consideration of this Bill, but which Business, if the Government had not deliberately wasted their opportunities, might have been dealt with long before. The net result, Sir, is this—that during a long and weary month the debate on the second reading of a measure which was imperatively required for the restoration of social order in Ireland has been protracted without a word of remonstrance from the right hon. Gentleman. And how has the interval been spent by the wirepullers of the Liberal Party? We know very well that every method of persuasion, of influence, of intimidation, and of abuse has been used against hon. Members on that side of the House, who because they could not depart with the same facility as Her Majesty's Government from the principles they had hitherto held — because they thought themselves bound by their pledges to their constituents, have been branded as traitors and Secessionists. Well, Sir, at last, to-night, we are about to come to an issue upon this Bill; and even yet the issue is clouded, or is attempted to be clouded, by the supporters of the right hon. Gentleman. The staple of some of the speeches which have been delivered from that Bench has been abuse of a coercion policy to be applied for 20 years, which they have calumniated Lord Salisbury by attributing to him; and we have been told by many speakers that we are asked to vote on the adoption of such a policy. Sir, that is not the question on which the vote of the bulk of the House will be given. Neither will the vote of the House be given to-night on an abstract Resolution, as was suggested by the hon. Baronet the Member for Durham (Sir Joseph Pease) on Friday night. The right hon. Gentleman himself has very frankly and very properly, in reply to some remarks of my own, expounded the true position of the House in this matter. He has said that the vote of this House is to be given for the very thing which has always been put by him in contrast to an abstract Resolution—namely, that it is a vote having reference to a Bill before Parliament. And no wonder that the right hon. Gentleman repudiated the suggestion—the clever suggestion—of the hon. Member for the Scotland Division of Liverpool (Mr. T. P. O'Connor) the other night, when he told the House that what we had before us was merely a draft for discussion, and not a definite plan to establish a Statutory Parliament for Ireland. But still the clouds do seem to obscure the minds of some hon. Members opposite, as acute and as intelligent as the hon. Member for Clapham (Mr. Moulton), who addressed the House on Friday evening. That hon. Gentleman said that the House was in a favourable position for avowing its conviction with regard to the great question of autonomy for Ireland, unhampered by the manner in which the principle was to be carried out. Who can for a moment, if he really considers the matter, believe that a question of principle can be separated from the question of the possibility of the application of the principle? If any hon. Member of this House votes for the establishment of a Statutory Parliament for the transaction of Irish affairs without having satisfied himself that it is possible that such a Parliament can be established consistently with the maintenance of the real supremacy of the Imperial Parliament, and with the protection of the rights of the minority, I will venture to say that the vote of that hon. Member is not only a farce, but a mischievous farce, for such a vote merely means this—that it discredits the existing system of government and of legislation for Ireland, without expressing any opinion as to what should be put in its place. The hon. Baronet the Member for Durham (Sir Joseph Pease) suggested the other night that this scheme was impracticable; that the House was not prepared to assent to it; and that it ought to be withdrawn. But, Sir, so long as this scheme nominally holds the field, so long it is the scheme on which Members of this House are called upon to record their votes. If you are opposed to this scheme, you will vote against the Bill; if you are in favour of the scheme, you will vote for the Bill. If you vote for the Bill, what does that vote pledge you to? Why, Sir, it pledges you to a Bill that is not to be remodelled, and that is not to be reconstructed, except as regards the relations of the Representatives of Ireland to the Imperial Parliament. I think the right hon. Gentleman will not deny that.

Mr. W. E. GLADSTONE: Yes; I do.

Sir MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH: I have simply quoted the words used by the right hon. Gentleman in this House on Friday last; and, of course, if these explanations and withdrawals and concessions are to be carried further to-night, I cannot say how much further they will go. But the right hon. Gentleman himself then distinctly stated that this Bill was not to be remodelled, and was not to be reconstructed, except in regard to the relations of the Irish Representatives to the Imperial Parliament; and I think he used the word "never." I do not know how long the right hon. Gentleman's "never" lasts. It may last even a shorter time than his opposition to the principle of Home Rule for Ireland lasted when he saw the result of the Election. That, at any rate, is our present position in regard to this measure. That is the position of the Bill; that, so far as we know, is the point at which the Government have stood with regard to any possible alterations in it. And the right hon. Gentleman has further stated that he will accept a vote in favour of the second reading of the Bill as a promise or engagement, than which nothing can be more definite or more distinct either as to substance or as to time, in favour of the establishment, at the first available moment, of a Parliament which he described as a practically independent Body for the exclusive management of Irish as distinct from Imperial affairs. Now, can any hon. Member suppose that having given a vote in favour of that principle to-night, he does not compromise his action in the autumn, or that he will not be appealed to as having deprived himself by such a vote of the power of disappointing Ireland of what he has virtually promised her by his vote in the summer by withdrawing from the support of this Bill or a similar Bill in the Autumn Session? Sir, I trust that the House to-night will not commit itself to so dangerous a pledge. My view of this matter is shortly this—I am anxious, as far as may be possible, that the political privileges and disabilities of the people should be equal throughout the Three Kingdoms; but I do think that throughout the Three Kingdoms sufficient power should be retained in the hands of the Central Government for the effective control of law and order, and the real and practical supremacy of the Imperial Parliament should be preserved. We have had many legal arguments for and against the theory whether the supremacy of the Imperial Parliament will be preserved by the Bill. I will not touch that question. The hon. Member for Cork (Mr. Parnell) to-night has said that he accepts this Bill as subordinating the Irish Parliament to the Imperial Parliament. Well, Sir, it may do so in theory, but how will it be in practice? The hon. Member for the Scotland Division of Liverpool (Mr. T. P. O'Connor) has told us that the only difference the Bill would make in the supremacy of the Imperial Parliament would be the difference between a power exercised and a power in reserve; but I maintain that you cannot reserve a power which you deliberately give away. By this Bill this House is asked deliberately to give away to the Irish Legislative Body in Dublin the sole control over Irish affairs. If that be so, it would be practically impossible for this House to legislate upon Irish affairs, having given away their power to the Irish Legislative Body in Dublin, and in the absence of the Irish Members here. More than this, it is a capital article of the Irish Legislative Body that it should have the control of the Executive Government of Ireland. Well, Sir, that being so, this House could not deal with the Executive Government of Ireland, which would be constitutionally responsible to the Irish Legislative Body in Dublin. Therefore I contend that for all practical purposes, so far as Irish affairs are concerned, this

Bill does deprive the Imperial Parliament of its supremacy and hand it over to the Parliament in Dublin. That surely is a large concession. Do we get anything in return? One of the two main objects which the right hon. Gentleman proposed to himself when he introduced this Bill was to restore to the Imperial Parliament its dignity, and to legislation its natural and ancient unimpeded course; and the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland made the same remark earlier, in rather rougher language. He said he wished to remove the Irish Members from the House of Commons, because they turned out Ministries and rejected Bills from motives which were not, in our sense, national and patriotic. Now, Sir, the Bill as it was framed effected this—it banished the Irish Members from the Imperial Parliament. But how is it after the alterations which the right hon. Gentleman has promised to embody in it? The Irish Members are to come here in their full strength for the consideration and discussion of all Imperial and reserved affairs. I do not think anything was more clearly demonstrated in this House by the right hon. Gentleman, who is a master of argument, than this—that it would be impossible for the Queen's Government to be carried on by a House of Commons varying in its composition from day to day; on one day turning out a Ministry, and on the next day reinstating it. He showed how difficult it would be to distinguish between the classes of Business in which the different Members might take part, and he dwelt on the anomaly of having two classes of Members in this House, the one competent to deal with all kinds of Business, and the other only summoned for certain kinds of Business, and in the intervals consigned to a state of suspended animation. Well, Sir, that, I think, would utterly ruin the efficiency of the Imperial Parliament—first, as a working machine, and, secondly, as a power to control the Executive Government. The Chief Secretary for Ireland told us that he objected to the Irish Members as a disturbing element in the House of Commons. Why, Sir, if they are a disturbing element now, what would they be under such a proposal as this? We have been warned that they would vote on Imperial questions not with regard to their merits, but with regard to what they could get for Ireland; and that their votes might depend, therefore, upon some change in the powers given to the Legislative Body in Dublin, or on some financial boon which might be afforded to Ireland by the Imperial Parliament. Would that, Sir, tend to the unity of the Empire, or to the advantage of Great Britain? But, more than this, the Chief Secretary for Ireland desires to free this House from the discussion of Irish affairs; but the Irish Members are still to come to this House for the discussion of affairs reserved from the Irish Legislative Body, according to the proposals as modified by the Prime Minister; and, therefore, we should have some Irish matters discussed here by hon. Members taking, as they do now, opposite views; and it would be very strange if, in the first place, the legislation which might be passed by this House on those subjects was deemed in Ireland less foreign than the legislation we pass now, or if, on the other hand, the subjects were not made, by the ingenuity of Irishmen, vehicles for introducing discussions on every conceivable question in the House of Commons. Therefore, what I would say is this—that while, by the proposed alterations of the right hon. Gentleman, you would do almost irreparable injury to the Imperial Parliament, you do nothing, on the other hand, to remove the main objection to this Bill, for the main objection to this Bill is that you give to the Irish Legislative Body complete control of Irish legislation and administration free from the control of the Imperial Parliament. Of course, in objecting to that we are told that we are incurably opposed to any measure that shows confidence in the Irish people. But, Sir, we cannot forget the views that have been expressed by the Irish popular Representatives, and the objects that are aimed at by the Irish tenants, and we cannot believe that all those views and those objects will be entirely changed by the mere passing of the measure that is now before the House. Why, Sir, Her Majesty's Government do not believe it themselves, for if they did they never would have suggested that Land Purchase Bill, which, up till to-night, we have supposed to be an inseparable part of this great scheme for the restoration of social order in Ireland. If they did believe it they never would have attempted to reserve from the Irish Legislative Body a power of imposing religious disabilities on any class of the people of that country, or of interfering with the rights of Corporations. Nor would they have suggested to the House that we should pass a special enactment to prevent injustice to Irish Judges, whose only fault has been that they have faithfully administered the law. Sir, these very points of religious freedom and of security of property are the points on which the Loyal minority in Ireland are at the present moment most anxious. Well, the hon. Member for Cork (Mr. Parnell), in the speech which he made to-night—so mild, and so remarkably contrasting with his previous utterances before this Bill was introduced—suggested that the Irish Loyal minority might be protected by the system of Orders in the new Irish Legislative Body. I think he told us that this was a very salutary provision. I marvel at that statement coming from the Leader of the Party who have, year after year, ever since I can remember, protested against the thing most nearly corresponding to this Institution of Orders, which, at the moment, I can recollect in Ireland—namely, the institution of *ex officio* Guardians in Poor Law Unions, is the most objectionable thing in the whole system of Irish local government. It may be, however, that the hon. Member for Cork, like the right hon. Gentlemen on the opposite Bench, has changed his opinion. If so, I shall welcome the change; but I must say that I cannot see how his support of this remarkable proposition of the First Order in the new Irish Legislative Body is consistent with his long-continued opposition to a Body like the *ex officio* Guardians in Poor Law Unions. But I am bound to say that the hon. Member guarded himself, for he told us that he did not quite approve the period of veto allowed to the First Order in the Irish Legislative Body, and he rather doubted the proposals of the Government with respect to the mode in which the First Order should be elected. ["No, no!"]

MR. DILLON (Mayo, E.): He said the qualification.

SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH: Well, that was the impression I derived. At any rate, the assent was qualified; and I also understood the hon. Member to say that, if this Bill should reach Committee, he would not be prevented from offering a distinct resistance to this protection of the minority, which he now considers is in principle a salutary provision. As a matter of fact, the Loyal minority in Ireland have seen the Bill with this provision included in it; and whatever may have been their political creed—whether they are Conservatives, Liberals, or Radicals—they are practically unanimous in declaring that it does not remove their fears of this measure. Why do they fear it? I think not so much on account of the danger which they might incur from bad legislation as of those greater dangers which they might incur from bad or unjust administration. Now, there has been some talk of armed resistance. Well, I have seen something of Ireland, and I have learnt to believe that if you want to arrive at the real English meaning of Irish speeches you must make a very liberal discount from the words spoken. I have never heard it alleged that there would be any attempt on the part of anybody in Ireland at armed resistance to an Act of the Imperial Parliament. What I have heard stated is this—that the relations between the minority in Ireland and the Irish Legislative Body would be very dangerous. Now, that view has been treated with ridicule, not merely in that quarter of the House, but also by right hon. Gentlemen on the Treasury Bench. I do not think that it was wise to treat that matter with ridicule. It is perfectly possible—I hope it might be so—that there would be no open resistance in Ireland to an Irish Legislative Body and Irish Executive; and yet if anyone looks back to the history of the Battle of the Boyne, and the events that preceded that battle, and if one also bears in mind what the hon. Member for Cork (Mr. Parnell) has stated to-night to this House, that he would not be safe in Ulster—[An hon. MEMBER: No; he did not say that.]—and the fact that the present Government, mainly in view of the deep animosities between different factions in the North of Ireland, had found it necessary to pass an Arms Act, I do not think he will treat with ridicule even the possibility of open resistance. But, to my mind, what is very much more likely is this—that the successful career of the National League will be imitated in the North of Ireland, and that the Irish Legislative Body and Executive will find themselves met by a sort of resistance which they might find it very difficult, if not impossible, to deal with. I do not think that they would have the help of Imperial troops in any such matter. The Imperial troops, if this Bill were to become law, would be in Ireland as they are sometimes in our great self-governing Colonies, for the maintenance of Imperial authority, and for defence against foreign attack, but not for interference between the local Government and its subjects. I suspect that hon. Members below the Gangway, if they were then the Irish Executive, would be disposed to look with more favour than they do at present on the *quasi*-military character of the Irish Constabulary, and even, perhaps, to suggest certain coercive legislation from the Irish Legislative Body—a course which would be deeply painful to hon. Members opposite. But there would be something worse. Coercive legislation directed against the Irish minority would excite deep sympathy in Scotland and in England, and that would not tend to the establishment of those harmonious relations between Great Britain and Ireland which you expect to be insured by the Bill that is now before the House. Well, Sir, I do not want at all to go into the details of this Bill; but the point which I have touched upon is not a detail. It is what is known, though I think somewhat inaccurately, as the Ulster Question. And what we feel about that matter is this—that we cannot—it is the first difficulty upon the threshold of any proposal of this kind—we cannot give uncontrolled authority to the majority of the people in Ireland without the gravest risk of injury and injustice to the minority far greater than anything that could be possible under any Coercion Act which has ever been passed by the Imperial Parliament. I may be asked to define what coercion is. Of course, we are constantly twitted with this suggestion—that coercion is our only alternative policy. To my mind, coercion may be defined in this way. It is restriction upon the liberty of the subject in Ireland which does not exist in any other parts of the United Kingdom. If that be so, the present Government are not opposed to coercion in principle in spite of their denunciations of coercion. I can remember when I was Chief Secretary for Ireland, in 1875, that it was my duty to pass a Bill through Parliament which mainly imposed the precise restrictions on the possession and use of arms that are included in the Bill which has just been passed by the right hon. Gentleman the present Chief Secretary for Ireland; and, Sir, that Bill in 1875 was resisted by the whole of the popular Irish Party as strongly and as vehemently as any Coercion Bill that was ever proposed in this House. The hon. Member for the County of Cavan (Mr. Biggar) distinguished himself on that occasion by speaking for four hours in this House; and that was the character of the resistance to that measure. Her Majesty's Government only object to coercion if that coercion touches the National League. The Secretary of State for War told us the other day that this was because the National League is a political organization. Now, Sir, the freedom of political organization in the United Kingdom is a great popular right. Long may it continue. But political organizations have their duties as well as their rights, and in return for the freedom which they enjoy they are bound to carry on their agitation for the objects which they desire by Constitutional means. If a political organization in Great Britian were to seek to promote its objects by the use of intimidation followed by outrage, by interference with individual liberty—well, Sir, the law ought to deal very strictly with that organization, and if it was not strong enough to deal with it, it ought to be made so. And, Sir, that, neither more nor less, is all that we mean by coercive legislation for Ireland. We object to this measure because we believe it destroys the advantages of the Union, and does not satisfy that national sentiment which the hon. Member for Cork represents. He admitted that it did not satisfy that national sentiment as much as Grattan's Parliament did. If it does not satisfy that national sentiment, it cannot bring about that improved state of feeling between Great Britain and Ireland which has been the basis of the arguments of the supporters of the measure. The right hon. Gentleman and his supporters have appealed to the opinion of the civilized world. Well, there are several kinds of foreign opinion. There is the opinion of those who are notoriously hostile to England. That opinion may be set aside. There is the opinion of others who express their views merely as a bid for political office. I should not pay much attention to that opinion. But there is a friendly opinion, and to that let us pay all due attention. But even to that let us say that we do not brook interference in our domestic affairs. Now, Sir, I think we may take warning from these expressions of opinion. They are given now with hesitation generally, almost with bated breath; and why? Because these affairs are domestic affairs. But if the Irish Legislative Body was once established at Dublin—if that Irish Legislative Body contracted, as it would very soon contract, a loan in New York or in Paris—when that was done, we think there would be a temptation, and a justification even, for foreign interference between us and Ireland, in the event of any financial or political difficulties between the Irish Government or Parliament and this Government or Parliament, which might cost us dearly. No, Sir; this is our affair; but it is not only the affair of Irishmen. The hon. Member for Cork seemed to question the right of my noble Friend near me (Lord Randolph Churchill), and the right hon. Member for West Birmingham (Mr. Chamberlain), to discuss Irish affairs. I would venture to remind the hon. Member for Cork that we are still a United Kingdom, and, please God, we long mean to be so. The Union was effected by the vote of the Parliament of Great Britain.

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR (Liverpool, Scotland): And the money of England.

SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH: The Union was effected by the vote of the Parliament of Great Britain, as well as the vote of the Parliament of Ireland. Whatever may be the result of to-night's division, this at any rate is certain—that the majority of the Representatives of Great Britain in this House will vote against this Bill; and I do not hesitate to say that the House of Commons has no right, even if this Bill should be carried by the votes of a majority of Members from Ireland, to modify the Union without the previous consent of the people of Great Britain, who have never been consulted in this matter at all. The right hon. Gentleman has told us that this proposal has been welcomed with warmth throughout the country, and he has urged that his opponents are only certain classes and their dependents. If he believes in his own statements he will not fear to appeal to the people of Great Britain. [Mr. W. E. GLADSTONE: Hear, hear!] Their verdict, and their verdict alone, can really settle this question. I believe, in spite of the great authority of the right hon. Gentleman, that this verdict will be given decisively in condemnation of his policy; and if it be given I also believe that the Irish people will accept it, because they are bound to submit themselves to the majority, and if they do not the people of this country will know the reason why. The issue is now near. I am sorry that in the consideration of that issue Party questions have been raised. I regretted to hear the hon. Member for Bradford (Mr. Illingworth) on Friday night, as the burden of his speech, make an urgent appeal to those who sit about him to avoid doing a vital injury to the Liberal Party. The life or the death of a Government in this country is as nothing in comparison with the consequences of the vote we are called upon to give. I think we who sit in this part of the House may claim to have given some proof that we do not look on this matter from the point of personal advantage; that we are not thinking of the interests of our Party; that we are trying only to save our country from that which we believe to be the greatest evil which has ever menaced it in our generation. Sir, the right hon. Gentleman the Member for East Edinburgh (Mr. Goschen) said very truly that we are the trustees and inheritors of the Parliamentary privileges of a free and historic Kingdom — a Kingdom which is the centre of a great but loosely united Empire. Many Members on both sides of the House are looking for means to unite and weld together that Empire more firmly than at present.

Let us beware how we admit the canker of disintegration into its very heart. There may be dangers in the rejection of this Bill. There may be difficulties in store for us in this House or in Ireland. But these dangers and difficulties will vanish before a bold determination to confront the responsibility from which we cannot escape, and to maintain the union of our Government and our Parliament before the nations of the world.

THE FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY (Mr. W. E. GLADSTONE) (Edinburgh, Mid Lothian): Mr. Speaker—I shall venture to make, Sir, a few remarks on the speech of the right hon. Gentleman (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach); but I will first allow myself the satisfaction of expressing what I believe to be a very widespread sentiment, and saying with what pleasure I listened to two speeches this evening—the singularly eloquent speech of the senior Member for Newcastle (Mr. Joseph Cowen), and the masterly exposition—for I cannot call it less—of the hon. Member for Cork (Mr. Parnell). Sir, I feel a strong conviction that speeches couched in that tone, marked alike by sound statesmanship and far-seeing moderation, will never fail to produce a lasting effect upon the minds and convictions of the people of England and Scotland. Sir, with respect to the personal question which has arisen between the hon. Member for Cork and the right hon. Gentleman opposite (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach) I think it no part of my duty to interfere. I have avoided, and I shall avoid, in the discussion of this question, so far as I can, all matters which are of a purely polemical character between Party and Party. I presume that this subject will be carried further. I understand a distinct allegation to be made by the hon. Member for Cork with regard to some person, whose name he does not give, but who is one of a limited body. In that limited body it will not be difficult, I conclude, to procure it if it can be given. Upon that I pass no judgment. I simply make this comment upon a subject which is of considerable public interest. The right hon. Gentleman opposite will do me the justice to say that I have not sought, before taking Office or since taking it, to make the conduct which right hon. Gentlemen opposite pursued on their accession to power matter of reproach against them. [*Opposition laughter.*] If they do not like to do me that justice I shall not ask it. On the speech of the right hon. Gentleman I need not dwell at great length. He began by stating a series of what he succinctly described as simple facts. I will not say his simple facts are pure fictions, because that would hardly, perhaps, be courteous. But they are as devoid of foundation as if they had been pure fiction. The right hon. Gentleman declared—though I do not see that it has much to do with the matter—that this is the Bill of one man. Well, I am amazed that the noble Lord and the right hon. Gentleman speak as if they had been at my elbow all day, and every day, through the autumn and winter of last year. How can any man know that this is the Bill of one man? [*A laugh.*] How can the hon. Member who laughs know that this is the Bill of one man? Reference is made to the allegations of my right hon. Friend the Member for West Birmingham (Mr. Chamberlain). My right hon. Friend could only speak within the compass of his knowledge, and if he said that it was the Bill of one man he would know no more about it than the hon. Member opposite. What my right hon. Friend said, and said truly, was to state the time at which the Bill came before the Cabinet. But, Sir, long before that time the subject of the Bill and its leading details had been matter of anxious consideration between me and my nearest political Friends. [*Cries of* "Name!"] I never heard a more extraordinary demand in my life, not to say gross impropriety. I refer to those of my Colleagues who were most likely to give the most valuable aid, and with whom from the first I was in communication. Then, Sir, the right hon. Gentleman says we were installed in Office by the help of the hon. Member for Cork. The right hon. Gentleman appears to have forgotten the elementary lessons of arithmetic. It is perfectly true that the energetic assistance of the hon. Member for Cork might have kept the right hon. Gentleman in Office. The right hon. Gentleman speaks of the Party behind him and the Liberal Party, as it then was on this side of the House, as if they had been two equal Parties, and only required the hon. Member for Cork and his Friends to turn the scale. [Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: They were.] They were, says the noble Lord? The noble Lord's arithmetic is still more defective—335 is by 85 votes a larger Party than 250. Then the right hon. Gentleman says that with the exception of the Customs and Excise Duties no change was made in the Bill after it was first submitted to the Cabinet. He has no means of knowing that, even if it were true, but it happens to be entirely untrue. Provisions of great importance had never been seen by my right hon. Friend the Member for West Birmingham (Mr. Chamberlain). My right hon. Friend took exception to certain provisions of the Bill without being acquainted with the whole *corpus* of the Bill. That is the fact; so that the right hon. Gentleman is entirely wrong also upon this as well as upon his other "simple facts." Then the right hon. Gentleman says that I had announced that this Bill was not to be reconstructed. I announced nothing of the kind. I announced that I did not promise that it should be reconstructed. [*A laugh.*] There are actually Gentlemen opposite—Members of Parliament chosen to represent the country—who think this a matter of laughter, and can see no distinction between promises that a Bill shall not be reconstructed, and not having promised that it shall be. I conceive that a person who has promised that a Bill shall be reconstructed is bound to reconstruct it. Is that true? A person who has not promised that a Bill shall be reconstructed is free to reconstruct it, but is not bound to do so. I hope I have made a clear distinction; and I am glad to see that the laughter opposite has ceased as light has flowed in upon the minds of those hon. Gentlemen. I was struck with another observation of the right hon. Gentleman. He says that this Bill, whatever else may happen, will at any rate be rejected by the votes of a majority of English and Scotch Members—[*Opposition cheers*]—and he is cheered by those who teach us that they are, above all things, anxious for the maintenance of an absolutely United Kingdom, and an absolutely United Parliament, in which Irish Members are in all respects to be assimilated to, and identical with, those representing English and Scotch constituencies. The right hon. Gentleman talks about a Dissolution, and I am very glad to find that upon that point he and we are much more nearly associated in our views and expectations than upon almost any other point. After what the right hon. Gentleman has said, and the want of acquaintance which he has shown with the history of this Bill, on which he dwelt so long, and after what was said by my right hon. Friend behind me (Mr. Goschen), I must again remind the House, at any rate, in the clearest terms I can use, of the exact position in which we stand with reference to the Bill. In the first place, I take it to be absolutely beyond dispute, on broad and high Parliamentary grounds, that that which is voted upon to-night is the principle of the Bill as distinguished from the particulars of the Bill. [*A laugh.*] What may be the principle of the Bill, I grant you freely, I have no authority to determine. [*A laugh.*] The hon. Member laughs; I am much obliged for his running commentary, which is not usual on my observations, but it is our duty to give our own sense of the construction of the principle of the Bill, and I think I drew a confirmation of that construction from the speech of the right hon. Gentleman, because he himself said this was a Bill for the purpose of establishing a Legislative Body in Ireland for the management of Irish affairs. Well, Sir, that—if we have any power or any title to give our view on the subject—is the principle of the Bill. As respects the particulars of the Bill, I apprehend it to be beyond all question that Members voting for the principle of the Bill are in this sense entirely and absolutely free—that if they consider that there is another set of provisions by means of which better and fuller effect may be given to the principle of the Bill they are at liberty to displace all the particulars they find in it which hinder that better and fuller effect being given to the principle. [*A laugh.*] That does not admit of doubt. I am quite certain the hon. Member who laughs will not rise in his place at any time and say that a Member is not at liberty to remove each and all, if he thinks fit, of the particulars of the Bill if in good faith he believes that the principle of the Bill can be better and more adequately promoted by a different set of provisions. But the Government have taken certain engagements. They have taken an engagement as to taxation for the intervention of Irish Members, to the terms of which I need not refer. They have also taken an engagement on the claim of Ireland to a continued concern through her Members in the treatment of Imperial subjects generally. And that has entailed a positive pledge to reconstruct the 24th clause, and to adopt certain consequential Amendments connected with it. One more question has been raised and has excited a deep interest, and that is with respect to other Amendments to the Bill. Of course, as to the freedom of hon. Members to suggest other Amendments. I have spoken in terms which, I think, are abundantly large. As respects our duty, there can be no question at all that our duty, if an interval is granted to us, and the circumstances of the present Session require the withdrawal of the Bill, and it is to be re-introduced with Amendments at an early date in the autumn—of course, it is our duty to amend our Bill with every real amendment and improvement, and with whatever is calculated to make it more effective and more acceptable for the attainment of its end. It is, as a matter of course, and without any specific assurance, our duty to consider all such Amendments. We are perfectly free to deal with them; but it would be the meanest and the basest act on the part of the Government to pretend that they have a plan of reconstruction ready beforehand, cut and dry, in their minds at a time when from the very nature of the case it must be obvious that they can have no such thing. So much, then, for the situation, for the freedom of Members to propose Amendments, for the duty of the Government to consider Amendments and improve their Bill, if they can, with the view of a fuller and better application of the principle; but subject, let me add, to conditions, five in number, which have been clearly enumerated on a former occasion, and from which there is no intention on our part to recede. The right hon. Gentleman speaks of Ulster as a question of principle. The question of Ulster, or whatever the common name of the question may be, may be one of great importance; but I must say that while I in no respect recede from the statement made in regard to it at the opening of these debates, yet I cannot see that any certain plan for Ulster has made any serious or effective progress. The hon. and gallant Gentleman the Member for North Armagh (Major Saunderson) emphatically disclaims the severance of Ulster from the rest of Ireland, and the hon. Member for Cork has laid before us a reasoned and elaborate argument on that subject to-day, which, as it appears to me, requires the careful attention of those who propose such a plan for our acceptance. We retain, however, perfect freedom to judge the case upon its merits. Now, Sir, I want to say a word upon the subject of Irish loyalism, because we are obliged to use phrases in debates of this kind which cannot be explained from time to time when using them, and it is well that there should be a little understanding beforehand. When I hear the speeches of the hon. Member for South Belfast (Mr. Johnston)—and of some other Gentlemen—it always appears to me that he is under the pious conviction that loyalty is innate in the Irish Protestants, and disloyalty innate in [a slight pause] some other persons. I do believe that he is under the impression that at all times, in all the long generations of Irish history, that has been the distinction to be drawn between Protestants and persons who are not Protestants. [" No, no!"] Is Protestant loyalism a thing that has a date and origin, or is it not? Has the hon. Member, or the hon. and gallant Member for North Armagh (Major Saunderson), inquired what was the state of Ireland in the 18th century with respect to loyalty? As far as regarded the great mass of the population —the Roman Catholic population—they were hardly born into political life until the close of the century, and for a long period, in the time of Dean Swift, who describes their incapacity for political action as something beyond belief, it would have been absurd to speak of them as loyal or disloyal. But at the close of the century the Protestants and Roman Catholics of Ireland were described in a short passage by Mr. Burke, which I shall now read to the House. The date of it is 1796, and it is taken from a letter to Mr. Windham. He speaks of the subject of disaffection. "It"—that is to say disaffection—

> "has cast deep roots in the principles and habits of the majority among the lower and middle classes of the whole Protestant part of Ireland. The Catholics who are intermingled with them are more or less tainted. In the other parts of Ireland (some in Dublin only excepted) the Catholics, who are in a manner the whole people, are as yet sound; but they may be provoked, as all men easily may be, out of their principles."

What does that mean? That the Protestants, not having grievances to complain of, have become loyal; but in many cases the Roman Catholics, as Mr. Burke says, have been provoked, as all men easily may be, out of their principles of loyalty. And these are words, and these are ideas, which show us what is the way in which to promote loyalty, and what is the way in which we can destroy it. Another subject on which I shall dwell only for a moment is that of federation. Many Gentlemen in this House are greatly enamoured of this idea, and the object they have in view is a noble object. I will not admit the justice of the disparagement cast by the right hon. Gentleman on the British Empire. I do not consider that this is a "loosely-connected Empire." But I admit that, if means can be devised of establishing a more active connection with our distant Colonies, the idea is well worthy the attention of every loyal man. The idea of federation is a popular one. I will give no opinion upon it now; but I suspect that it is beset with more difficulties than have as yet been examined or brought to light. But this Bill, whatever be its rights or wrongs in any other respect, is unquestionably a step—an important step—in that direction. Federation rests essentially upon two things, and upon two things alone, as preconditioned. One is the division of Legislature, and the other is the division of subjects, and both those divisions are among the vital objects of this Bill. The right hon. Gentleman has referred to the question of supremacy. My own opinion is that this debate has, in a considerable degree, cleared the ground upon that subject. It is most satisfactory to me to hear the statements of the hon. Member for Cork (Mr. Parnell). I own I have heard some astounding doctrines—astounding to an ignorant layman—from learned lawyers; but still, upon the whole, the balance of authority seems to me to have established, as a clear and elementary proposition that cannot be denied, that this Parliament, be it the Imperial Parliament or not, as long as it continues in its legal identity, is possessed now, as it was possessed before the Union and before the time of Grattan's Parliament, of a supremacy which is absolutely and in the nature of things inalienable, which it could not part with it if would, and which it would not part with if it could. There is no doubt a practical question, because it is quite true that in constituting a Legislature in Ireland we do what we did when we constituted a Legislature for Canada and for Australia. We devolve an important portion of power—we did it in Canada, and I hope we shall do it in Ireland—and we devolve it with a view to not a partial, not a nominal, but a real and practical independent management of their own affairs. That is what the right hon. Gentleman objects to doing. That is the thing which we desire and hope and mean to do. It is obvious that the question may be raised, How are you to deal with the possible cases where the Imperial Government, notwithstanding this general division of affairs, may be compelled by obligations of Imperial interest and honour to interfere? My answer is that this question has received a far better solution from practical politics, and from the experience of the last 40 or 50 years, than could ever have been given to it by the definition of lawyers, however eminent they may be. When the Legislature of Canada was founded this difficulty arose. We had the case of the Canadian Rebellion, where I myself, for one, was of opinion, and Lord Brougham was also of opinion—I know not now whether rightly or wrongly—that the honour of the Crown had been invaded by the proposition to grant compensation for losses in the Rebellion to those who had been rebels, and who had incurred those losses as rebels. I say nothing now about our being right or wrong; but in 1849 Lord Brougham brought forward a Motion on the subject in the House of Lords, and I myself did the same in the House of Commons. The important part was the declaration which was drawn from Ministers of the Crown, Lord John Russell then, in answer to me, laid down what I conceive to be a true and sound doctrine in terms which, I think, may be described as classical and authoritative in their manner of dealing with this question. Lord Russell, speaking on the 14th of June, 1849, said—

> "I entirely concur with the right hon. Gentleman—and it is, indeed, in conformity with the sentiments I expressed in a despatch written, I think, some ten years ago—that there are cases which must be left to the decision of the responsible Ministers of the Crown. There are cases where the honour of the Crown and the safety of this country are concerned, and in such cases it requires the utmost temper in the Colonies, and the utmost temper and firmness in this country, in order to prevent differences from being pushed to a collision which might be fatal to the connections between the Mother Country and the Colonies. I fully admit that there are such cases; but when the right hon. Gentleman goes on to say that he considers the Earl of Elgin has received some instructions from the Government of this country by which he is debarred from asking the advice and direction of the Crown upon questions which affect Imperial policy and the national honour, he is totally mistaken in that unwarranted assumption."—(3 *Hansard*, [106] 225-6.)

That passage, as I believe, contains, very justly and clearly set forth, the practical mode by which this question, difficult in the abstract, will be settled now as it has been settled before, and we shall find that as it has been perfectly easy to reconcile the rights of Canada with the supremacy of the Imperial Parliament, it will not be less easy in practice to reconcile the rights and the autonomy of Ireland with the same supremacy. I wish now to refer to another matter. I hear constantly used the terms Unionists and Separatists. But what I want to know is, who are the Unionists? I want to know who are the Separatists? I see this Bill described in newspapers of great circulation, and elsewhere, as a Separation Bill. Several Gentlemen opposite adopt and make that style of description their own. Speaking of that description, I say that it is the merest slang of vulgar controversy. Do you think this Bill will tend to separation? ["Hear, hear!"] Well, your arguments, and even your prejudices, are worthy of all consideration and respect; but is it a fair and rational mode of conducting a controversy to attach these hard names to measures on which you wish to argue, and on which, I suppose, you desire to convince by argument? Let me illustrate. I go back to the Reform Act of Lord Grey. When that Reform Bill was introduced, it was conscientiously and honestly believed by great masses of men, and intelligent men, too, that the Bill absolutely involved the destruction of the Monarchy. The Duke of Wellington propounded a doctrine very much to this effect; but I do not think that any of those Gentlemen, nor the newspapers that supported them, ever descended so low in their choice of weapons as to call the measure "the Monarchy Destruction Bill." Such language is a mere begging of the question. Now, I must make a large demand on your patience and your indulgence—we conscientiously believe that there are Unionists and Disunionists; but that it is our policy that leads to union and yours to separation. This involves a very large and deep historical question. Let us try, for a few moments, to look at it historically. The arguments used on the other side of the House appear to me to rest in principle and in the main upon one of two suppositions. One of them, which I will not now discuss, is the profound incompetency of the Irish people; but there is another, and it is this. It is, I believe, the conscientious conviction of hon. Gentlemen opposite that when two or more countries, associated but not incorporated together, are in disturbed relations with each other, the remedy is to create an absolute legislative incorporation. On the other hand, they believe that the dissolution of such an incorporation is clearly the mode to bring about the dissolution of the political relations of those countries. I do not deny that there may be cases in which legislative incorporation may have been the means of constituting a great country, as in the case of France. But we believe, as proved by history, that where there are those disturbed relations between countries associated, but not incorporated, the true principle is to make ample provision for local independence, subject to Imperial unity. These are propositions of the greatest interest and importance. Gentlemen speak of tightening the ties between England and Ireland as if tightening the tie were always the means to be adopted. Tightening the tie is frequently the means of making it burst, whilst relaxing the tie is very frequently the way to provide for its durability, and to enable it to stand a stronger strain; so that it is true, as was said by the hon. Member for Newcastle (Mr. Joseph Cowen), that the separation of Legislatures is often the union of countries, and the union of Legislatures is often the severance of countries. Can you give me a single instance from all your historical inquiries where the acknowledgment of local independence has been followed by the severance of countries? [*Cries of* "Turkey!" "Servia!"] I was just going to refer to those countries, and to make this admission—that what I have said does not apply where a third Power has intervened, and has given liberty in defiance of the Sovereign Power to the subject State. But do you propose to wait until some third Power shall intervene in the case of Ireland, as it intervened in the case of America? [An hon. MEMBER: We are not afraid.] I never asked the hon. Gentleman whether he was afraid. It does not matter much whether he is afraid or not; but I would inculcate in him that early and provident fear which, in the language of Mr. Burke, is the mother of safety. I admit that where some third Power interferes, as France interfered in the case of America, you can expect nothing to result but severance with hostile feeling on both sides. But I am not speaking of such cases. That is not the case before us. But I ask you to give me a single instance where, apart from the intervention of a third Power, the independence of the Legislatures was followed by the severance of the nations? I can give several instances where total severance of countries has been the consequence of an attempt to tighten the bond—in the case of England and America, in the case of Belgium and Holland. The attempt to make Belgians conform to the ways and ideas and institutions of Holland led to the severance of the two countries. In the case of Denmark and the Duchies, they long attempted to do what, perhaps, Gentlemen would wish much to do in Ireland—namely, to force Danish institutions and ideas on the Duchies. Those long attempts ended, as we all know, together with the insufficient acknowledgment of the ancient institutions of those Duchies, in the total loss of those Duchies to Denmark, and their incorporation in another political connection. But let us not look simply to the negative side. Where local independence has been acknowledged and legislative severance has been given, there, in a number of cases, it has been made practicable to hold countries together that otherwise could not have been held together, and the difficulties which existed either have been lessened or altogether removed. The world is full of such cases. [An hon. MEMBER: Turkey.] An hon. Gentleman imprudently interrupted me by calling out "Turkey." I am going to tell him that in Turkey, with its imperfect organization, in cases where there has not been violent interference, where the matter has not been driven to a point to provoke armed interference by a foreign Power, local autonomy has been tried and tried with the best effect. In the Island of Crete, which 20 years ago appeared to be almost lost to Turkey, loosening the ties to Constantinople has immensely improved the relations between the Sultan and that Island. [Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: Chronic revolution.] Chronic revolution! What are the tests of chronic revolution? Has it paid its tribute? Has it called for the armed force of Turkey to put down revolt? Then I will take another case, the case of the Lebanon. That was the subject of International arrangement 23 or 24 years ago. The Lebanon was in chronic revolution, and was under the absolute sway of Constantinople. The Lebanon was placed under a system of practical local independence, and from that day to this it has never been a trouble to Turkey. In a case more remarkable, the case of the Island of Samos, which has enjoyed for a length of time, I believe, a complete autonomy, and in which, singular as it may seem, it has never been possible to create disorder, a real attachment to the Turkish Empire, or, at any rate, a contentment with the political tie, subsists and holds that country in tranquillity. So that even Turkey bears testimony to the principle of which I speak. There are numbers of other cases. The case of Norway and Sweden is most remarkable, because of these two countries the stronger and more populous can hardly hope to have power to coerce the weaker—two countries completely separate, having absolutely no connection of Legislative or Executive Government, and united together recently, only 60 years ago. That union has been found practicable, and practicable only, by means of granting a just autonomy and independence. Take the case of Denmark and Iceland. [*Laughter.*] Laughter is, with hon. Gentlemen opposite, a very common weapon now, and it is very difficult for me to contend with it at this period of my life. Perhaps 20, 30, or 40 years ago I could have defended myself against it with more ease. It has been said that the Parliament of Iceland has been dissolved, and that there have been difficulties. Well, there have been difficulties between the Parliament of Iceland and the Crown of Denmark. The Crown of Denmark is, unhappily, in difficulties with the Legislative Body of Denmark, but between the Legislative Body of Denmark and the Legislative Body of Iceland there have been, I believe, no difficulties. When my hon. Friend the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Mr. Bryce), in his admirable speech, quoted the case of Iceland, hon. Gentlemen opposite, with their usual method of rebuke, laughed, and someone endeavouring to dignify, adorn, and decorate that laughter with an idea, called out—"Distance; Iceland is so distant." Well, if it is so distant, I apprehend that that makes it a great deal more difficult for Denmark to hold her down by force, and therefore more necessary for her to choose the methods which are most likely to secure contentment and tranquillity. But if you object to the case of Iceland on account of distance, what do you say to the case of Finland? Is that country distant from Russia? Are you aware that the social and political difficulties, which have so often threatened the peace of Russia, and which were fatal not many years ago to the life of one of the best and worthiest of her Sovereigns, have no place in Finland? Why? Because Finland has perfect legislative autonomy, the management of her own affairs, the preservation of her own institutions. That state of things has given contentment to Finland, and might be envied by many better known and more famous parts of the world. But the case of Austria is, perhaps, the most remarkable of all. I will not refer now to Austria and Hungary further than to say that I believe my right hon. Friend the Member for East Edinburgh (Mr. Goschen) is entirely wrong, for all practical purposes, in what he said as to the mixture of Executive Governments. I may lay down this proposition without fear of contradiction. There is no mixture whatever of Executive Governments so far as local affairs are concerned. As far as joint affairs are concerned it is a different matter; but there is a perfect independence between Austria and Hungary so far as local affairs are concerned. The case there, I should state, was surrounded with difficulties infinitely transcending any before us. But it is not Austria and Hungary alone. It is not too much to say of Austria that that great Empire, with the multitude of States of which it is composed, is held together by local autonomy and nothing else, and that the man who should attempt to banish local autonomy from Austria and to gather together the Representatives of her States in Vienna to deal with the local affairs of the Provinces would seal the death-warrant of the Empire. Long may she flourish as having based herself upon so just and so enlightened a principle. The most striking instance in the wide circuit of her Empire is Galicia. Galicia is inhabited by Poles. Austria has one of the fragments of that unhappy and dissevered country under her charge. Well, I need not speak of Russia and Poland, while even in Prussia the relations of Prussian Poland are, at this moment, the subject of most serious difficulty. There are no difficulties between Galicia and Austria. Why? Because Austria has treated Galicia upon the principle of placing trust and confidence in her, and has invested her with full practical power over the management of her own affairs. Now, I do not think that I have thrown out any unfair challenges. I have asked for instances from the other side in which the granting of Home Rule has been attended with evil consequences, but none have been given—whereas I have given a multitude of instances in support of my proposition; which is that the severance which we propose to make for local purposes between the Irish Legislative Body and Parliament meeting in these walls, is not a mode of disunion, but is a mode of closer union, and is not a mode of separation, but is a mode preventing separation. Before I leave this point I must refer to the case of Canada, because it is so remarkable, and because, notwithstanding the multitude of circumstantial differences between Canada and Great Britain, yet still the resemblances in principle are so profound and so significant. My right hon. Friend the Member for West Birmingham (Mr. Chamberlain) said, as I understood him the other day, that he had been investigating the case of Canada. I own I thought I knew something about it, because in the early years of my Parliamentary life I took great interest in it, and some part in the great discussions on the disposal of Canada some 50 years ago. My reading of the history of Canada sustains my original propositions. My right hon. Friend announced to the House that he had found that the Legislative Councils in Canada had been established for the purpose of protecting the minority. Where did he find that? I read not long ago the very lengthened and detailed debates in Parliament on the subject of the establishment of those Legislative Councils, and from the beginning to the end of those debates, while the character of the Legislative Councils was abundantly discussed, there is not a word about their being appointed for the protection of minorities. But I will not rest the case of Canada upon that ground. What does the case of Canada show? It shows two things—first, that between 1830 and 1840 there were most formidable differences between Great Britain and Canada, and that those differences were completely cured and healed by the establishment of a responsible Government with a free Executive—that is to say, that those differences were absolutely cured by the very remedy which we now propose to apply in the case of Ireland. But, as I have shown, supremacy was not relinquished, it remained as was stated in the citation from Lord Russell. But after that, what happened? The two Provinces changed most fundamentally in their relative importance, and the stereotyped arrangements of the Union of 1840 were found to be totally inadequate to deal with the altered conditions of the Provinces among themselves. Recollect that these Provinces were united Provinces with one Legislature. Discord arose between them. What was the mode adopted of curing that discord? The mode which we now propose of the severance of the Legislatures—the establishment of an extended Union under which, at this moment, with the multiplied Legislatures of those Provinces, a substantial and perfect political harmony exists. I can understand, then, the disinclination which hon. Gentlemen opposite have to go into history as to these cases; but it will be unfolded more and more as these debates proceed, if the controversy be prolonged—it will more and more appear how strong is the foundation upon which we stand now, and upon which Mr. Grattan stood over 86 years ago, when he contended that a union of the Legislatures was the way to a moral and a real separation between the two countries. It has been asked in this debate, why have we put aside all the other Business of Parliament, and why have we thrown the country into all this agitation for the sake of the Irish Question? ["Hear, hear!"] That cheer is the echo that I wanted. Well, Sir, the first reason is this—because in Ireland the primary purposes of Government are not attained. What said the hon. Member for Newcastle (Mr. J. Cowen) in his eloquent speech? That in a considerable part of Ireland distress was chronic, disaffection was perpetual, and insurrection was smouldering. What is implied by those who speak of the dreadful murder that lately took place in Kerry? And I must quote the Belfast outrage along with it; not as being precisely of the same character, but as a significant proof of the weakness of the tie which binds the people to the law. Sir, it is that you have not got that respect for the law, that sympathy with the law on the part of the people without which real civilization cannot exist. That is our first reason. I will not go back at this time on the dreadful story of the Union; but that, too, must be unfolded in all its hideous features if this controversy is to be prolonged—that Union of which I ought to say that, without qualifying in the least any epithet I have used, I do not believe that that Union can or ought to be repealed, for it has made marks upon history that cannot be effaced. But I go on to another pious belief which prevails on the other side of the House, or which is often professed in controversies on the Irish Question. It is supposed that all the abuses of English power in Ireland relate to a remote period of history, and that from the year 1800 onwards from the time of the Union there has been a period of steady redress of grievances. Sir, I am sorry to say that there has been nothing of the kind. There has been a period when grievances have been redressed under compulsion, as in 1829, when Catholic Emancipation was granted to avoid civil war. There have been grievances mixed up with the most terrible evidence of the general failure of Government, as was exhibited by the Devon Commission in the year 1843. On a former night I made a quotation from the Report which spoke of the labourer. Now I have a corresponding quotation which is more important, and which speaks of the cottier. What was the proportion of the population which more than 40 years after the Union was described by the Devon Report as being in a condition worse and more disgraceful than any population in Europe? Mr. O'Connell has estimated it in this House at 5,000,000, out of 7,000,000; and Sir James Graham, in debate with him, declined to admit that it was 5,000,000, but did admit that it was 3,500,000. Well, Sir, in 1815 Parliament passed an Act of Irish legislation. What was the purpose of that Act? The Act declared that, from the state of the law in Ireland, the old intertangled usages and provisions containing effectual protection for the tenant against the landlord could not avail. These intertangled usages, which had replaced in an imperfect manner the tribal usages on which the tenure of land in Ireland was founded—Parliament swept them away and did everything to expose the tenant to the action of the landlord, but nothing to relieve or to deal with, by any amendment of the law, the terrible distress which was finally disclosed by the Devon Commission. Again, what was the state of Ireland with regard to freedom? In the year 1820 the Sheriff of Dublin and the gentry of that county and capital determined to have a county meeting to make compliments to George IV.—the trial of Queen Caroline being just over. They held their county meeting; the people went to the county meeting, and a counter-address was moved, warm in professions of loyalty, but setting out the grievances of the country and condemning the trial and proceedings against the Queen. The Sheriff refused to hear it. He put his own motion, but refused to put the other motion; he left the meeting, which continued the debate, and he sent in the military to the meeting, which was broken up by force. That was the state of Ireland as to freedom of Petition and remonstrance 20 years after the Union. Do you suppose that would have been the case if Ireland had retained her own Parliament? No, Sir. Other cases I will not dwell upon at this late hour, simply on account of the lateness of the hour. From 1857, when we passed an Act which enabled the landlords of Ireland to sell improvements on their tenants' holdings over their heads, down to 1880, when a most limited and carefully framed Bill, the product of Mr. Forster's benevolence, was passed by this House and rejected by an enormous majority in the House of Lords, thereby precipitating the Land Act of 1881, it is impossible to stand by the legislation of this House as a whole since the Union. I have sometimes heard it said, You have had all kinds of remedial legislation. The two chief items are the Disestablishment of the Church and the reform of the Land Laws? But what did you say of these? Why, you said the change in the Land Laws was confiscation and the Disestablishment of the Church was sacrilege. You cannot at one and the same time condemn these measures as confiscation and sacrilege, and at the same time quote them as proofs of the justice with which you have acted to Ireland. I must further say that we have proposed this measure because Ireland wants to make her own laws. It is not enough to say that you are prepared to make good laws. You were prepared to make good laws for the Colonies. You did make good laws for the Colonies according to the best of your light. The Colonists were totally dissatisfied with them. You accepted their claim to make their own laws. Ireland, in our opinion, has a claim not less urgent. Now, Sir, what is before us? What is before us in the event of the rejection of this Bill? What alternatives have been proposed? Here I must for a moment comment on the fertile imagination of my right hon. Friend the Member for West Birmingham. He has proposed alternatives, and plenty of them. My right hon. Friend says that a Dissolution has no terrors for him. I do not wonder at it. I do not see how a Dissolution can have any terrors for him. He has trimmed his vessel and he has touched his rudder in such a masterly way that in whichever direction the winds of Heaven may blow they must fill his sails. Let me illustrate my meaning. I will suppose different cases. Supposing at the Election—I mean that an Election is a thing like Christmas, it is always coming—supposing that at an Election public opinion should be very strong in favour of the Bill. My right hon. Friend would then be perfectly prepared to meet that public opinion, and tell it—"I declared strongly that I adopted the principle of the Bill." On the other hand, if public opinion was very adverse to the Bill, my right hon. Friend, again, is in complete armour, because he says—"Yes, I voted against the Bill." Supposing, again, public opinion is in favour of a very large plan for Ireland. My right hon. Friend is perfectly provided for that case also. The Government plan was not large enough for him, and he proposed in his speech on the introduction of the Bill that we should have a measure on the basis of federation, which goes beyond this Bill. Lastly—and now I have very nearly boxed the compass—supposing that public opinion should take quite a different turn, and instead of wanting very large measures for Ireland should demand very small measures for Ireland, still the resources of my right hon. Friend are not exhausted, because then he is able to point out that the last of his plans was four Provincial Councils controlled from London. Under other circumstances I should, perhaps, have been tempted to ask the secret of my right hon. Friend's recipe; as it is, I am afraid I am too old to learn it. But I do not wonder that a Dissolution has no terrors for him, because he is prepared in such a way and with such a series of expedients to meet all the possible contingencies of the case. Well, Sir, when I come to look at these practical alternatives and provisions, I find that they are visibly creations of the vivid imagination born of the hour and perishing with the hour, totally and absolutely unavailable for the solution of a great and difficult problem, the weight of which, and the urgency of which, my right hon. Friend himself in other days has seemed to feel. But I should not say now that our plan has possession of the field without a rival. Lord Salisbury has given us a rival plan. My first remark is that Lord Salisbury's policy has not been disavowed. It is, therefore, adopted. What is it? [*A laugh.*] Another laugh? It has not been disavowed; what is it? Great complaints are made because it has been called a policy of coercion; and Lord Salisbury is stated to have explained in "another place" that he is not favourable to coercion, but only to legislative provisions for preventing interference by one man with the liberty of another, and for insuring the regular execution of the law. And that, you say, is not coercion? Was that your view six months ago? What did the Liberal Government propose when they went out of Office? They proposed to enact clauses against the—[*Cries of* "No, no!" *from the Opposition*].

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL (Paddington, S.): They never made any proposal.

MR. W. E. GLADSTONE: Perhaps not; but it was publicly stated. It was stated by me in a letter to the right hon. Gentleman.

SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH: In October.

MR. W. E. GLADSTONE: Certainly; but it was stated in order to correct a rather gross error of the right hon. Gentleman. It was stated as what we had intended when we were going out of Office—unless I am greatly mistaken, it was publicly stated in this House long before. However, it is not very important. What were the proposals that we were about to make, or that we were supposed to be about to make? Well, a proposal about "Boycotting"—to prevent one man interfering with the liberty of another; and a proposal about a change of venue to insure the execution of the ordinary law. And how were these proposals viewed? Did not the Tories go to the Elections putting upon their placards—"Vote for the Tories and no Coercion?"

Sir WALTER B. BARTTELOT (Sussex, North-West): No, no!

Mr. W. E. GLADSTONE: I do not say that every Tory did it. The hon. and gallant Baronet cries "No." No doubt he did not do it; but he had no Irish voters.

Sir WALTER B. BARTTELOT: If I had I would have done it.

Mr. W. E. GLADSTONE: Then it means this—that these proposals which we were about to make were defined as coercion by the Tories at the Election, and Lord Salisbury now denies them to be coercion; and it is resented with the loudest manifestations of displeasure when anyone on this side of the House states that Lord Salisbury has recommended 20 years of coercion. Lord Salisbury recommended, as he says himself, 20 years of those measures which last year were denounced by the Tories. But what did Lord Salisbury call them himself? What were his own words? His words were—

> "My alternative policy is that Parliament should enable the Government of England to govern Ireland."

What is the meaning of those words? Their meaning, in the first instance, is this—The Government does not want the aid of Parliament to exercise their Executive power; it wants the aid of Parliament for fresh legislation. The demand that the Parliament should enable the Government of England to govern Ireland is a demand for fresh legislative power. This fresh legislative power, how are they to use?

> "Apply that recipe honestly, consistently, and resolutely for 20 years, and at the end of that time you will find Ireland will be fit to accept any gift in the way of local government or repeal of Coercion Laws that you may wish to give."

And yet objections and complaints of misrepresentation teem from that side of the House when anyone on this side says that Lord Salisbury recommended coercion, when he himself applies that same term in his own words. A question was put to me by my hon. Friend the Member for Bermondsey (Mr. Thorold Rogers), in the course of his most instructive speech. My hon. Friend had a serious misgiving as to the point of time. Were we right in introducing this measure now? He did not object to the principle; he intimated a doubt as to the moment. I may ask my hon. Friend to consider what would have happened had we hesitated as to the duty before us, had we used the constant efforts that would have been necessary to keep the late Government in Office, and allowed them to persevere in their intentions. On the 26th of January they proposed what we termed a measure of coercion, and I think we were justified in so terming it, because anything attempting to put down a political association can hardly have another name. Can it be denied that that legislation must have been accompanied by legislation against the Press, legislation against public meetings, and other legislation without which it would have been totally ineffective? Would it have been better if a great controversy cannot be avoided—and I am sensible of the evil of this great controversy—I say it is better that Parties should be matched in conflict upon a question of giving a great boon to Ireland, rather than—as we should have been if the policy of January 26 had proceeded—that we should have been matched and brought into conflict, and the whole country torn with dispute and discussion upon the policy of a great measure of coercion. That is my first reason. My second reason is this. Let my hon. Friend recollect that this is the earliest moment in our Parliamentary history when we have the voice of Ireland authentically expressed in our hearing. Majorities of Home Rulers there may have been upon other occasions; a practical majority of Irish Members never has been brought together for such a purpose. Now, first, we can understand her; now, first, we are able to deal with her; we are able to learn authentically what she wants and wishes, what she offers and will do; and as we ourselves enter into the strongest moral and honourable obligations by the steps which we take in this House, so we have before us practically an Ireland under the representative system able to give us equally authentic information, able morally to convey to us an assurance the breach and rupture of which would cover Ireland with disgrace. There is another reason, but not a very important one. It is this. I feel that any attempt to palter with the demands of Ireland, so conveyed in forms known to the Constitution, and any rejection of the conciliatory policy, might have an effect that none of us could wish in strengthening that Party of disorder which is behind the back of the Irish Representatives, which skulks in America, which skulks in Ireland, which I trust is losing ground and is losing force, and will lose ground and will lose force in proportion as our policy is carried out, and which I cannot altogether dismiss from consideration when I take into view the consequences that might follow upon its rejection. What is the case of Ireland at this moment? Have hon. Gentlemen considered that they are coming into conflict with a nation? Can anything stop a nation's demand, except its being proved to be immoderate and unsafe? But here are multitudes, and, I believe, millions upon millions, out-of-doors, who feel this demand to be neither immoderate nor unsafe. In our opinion, there is but one question before us abou this demand. It is as to the time and circumstance of granting it. There is no question in our minds that it will be granted. We wish it to be granted in the mode prescribed by Mr. Burke. Mr. Burke said, in his first speech at Bristol—

> "I was true to my old-standing invariable principle, that all things which came from Great Britain should issue as a gift of her bounty and beneficence rather than as claims recovered against struggling litigants, or at least, if your beneficence obtained no credit in your concessions, yet that they should appear the salutary provisions of your wisdom and foresight—not as things wrung from you with your blood by the cruel gripe of a rigid necessity."

The difference between giving with freedom and dignity on the one side, with acknowledgment and gratitude on the other, and giving under compulsion—giving with disgrace, giving with resentment dogging you at every step of your path—this difference is, in our eyes, fundamental, and this is the main reason not only why we have acted, but why we have acted now. This, if I understand it, is one of the golden moments of our history—one of those opportunities which may come and may go, but which rarely return, or, if they return, return at long intervals, and under circumstances which no man can forecast. There have been such golden moments even in the tragic history of Ireland, as her poet says—

> "One time the harp of Innisfail
> Was tuned to notes of gladness."

And then he goes on to say—

> "But yet did oftener tell a tale
> Of more prevailing sadness."

But there was such a golden moment—it was in 1795—it was on the mission of Lord Fitzwilliam. At that moment it is historically clear that the Parliament of Grattan was on the point of solving the Irish problem. The two great knots of that problem were—in the first place, Roman Catholic Emancipation; and, in the second place, the Reform of Parliament. The cup was at her lips, and she was ready to drink it, when the hand of England rudely and ruthlessly dashed it to the ground in obedience to the wild and dangerous intimations of an Irish faction.

> "Ex illo fluere ac retro sublapsa referri,
> Spes Danaûm."

There has been no great day of hope for Ireland, no day when you might hope completely and definitely to end the controversy till now—more than 90 years. The long periodic time has at last run out, and the star has again mounted into the heavens. What Ireland was doing for herself in 1795 we at length have done. The Roman Catholics have been emancipated—emancipated after a woeful disregard of solemn promises through 29 years, emancipated slowly, sullenly, not from goodwill, but from abject terror, with all the fruits and consequences which will always follow that method of legislation. The second problem has been also solved, and the representation of Ireland has been thoroughly reformed; and I am thankful to say that the franchise was given to Ireland on the re-adjustment of last year with a free heart, with an open hand, and the gift of that franchise was the last act required to make the success of Ireland in her final effort absolutely sure. We have given Ireland a voice: we must all listen for a moment to what she says. We must all listen—both sides, both Parties, I mean as they are, divided on this question—divided, I am afraid, by an almost immeasurable gap. We do not undervalue or despise the forces opposed to us. I have described them as the forces of class and its dependents; and that as a general description—as a slight and rude outline of a description—is, I believe, perfectly true. I do not deny that many are against us whom we should have expected to be for us. I do not deny that some whom we see against us have caused us by their conscientious action the bitterest disappointment. You have power, you have wealth, you have rank, you have station, you have organization. What have we? We think that we have the people's heart; we believe and we know we have the promise of the harvest of the future. As to the people's heart, you may dispute it, and dispute it with perfect sincerity. Let that matter make its own proof. As to the harvest of the future, I doubt if you have so much confidence, and I believe that there is in the breast of many a man who means to vote against us to-night a profound misgiving, approaching even to a deep conviction, that the end will be as we foresee, and not as you do—that the ebbing tide is with you and the flowing tide is with us. Ireland stands at your bar expectant, hopeful, almost suppliant. Her words are the words of truth and soberness. She asks a blessed oblivion of the past, and in that oblivion our interest is deeper than even hers. My right hon. Friend the Member for East Edinburgh (Mr. Goschen) asks us to-night to abide by the traditions of which we are the heirs. What traditions? By the Irish traditions? Go into the length and breadth of the world, ransack the literature of all countries, find, if you can, a single voice, a single book, find, I would almost say, as much as a single newspaper article, unless the product of the day, in which the conduct of England towards Ireland is anywhere treated except with profound and bitter condemnation. Are these the traditions by which we are exhorted to stand? No; they are a sad exception to the glory of our country. They are a broad and black blot upon the pages of its history; and what we want to do is to stand by the traditions of which we are the heirs in all matters except our relations with Ireland, and to make our relations with Ireland to conform to the other traditions of our country. So we treat our traditions—so we hail the demand of Ireland for what I call a blessed oblivion of the past. She asks also a boon for the future; and that boon for the future, unless we are much mistaken, will be a boon to us in respect of honour, no less than a boon to her in respect of happiness, prosperity, and peace. Such, Sir, is her prayer. Think, I beseech you, think well, think wisely, think, not for the moment, but for the years that are to come, before you reject this Bill.

Question put.

The House *divided*:—Ayes 311; Noes 341: Majority 30.

AYES.

Abraham, W. (Glam.)
Abraham, W. (Limerick, W.)
Acland, rt.hn. Sir T. D.
Acland, A. H. D.
Acland, C. T. D.
Agnew, W.
Allison, R. A.
Arch, J.
Armitage, B.
Asher, A.
Ashton, T. G.
Atherley-Jones, L.
Baker, L. J.
Balfour, rt. hon. J. B.
Balfour, Sir G.
Barbour, W. B.
Barry, J.
Bass, Sir A.
Beith, G.
Bennett, J.
Biggar, J. G.
Blake, J. A.
Blake, T.
Blane, A.
Bolton, J. C.
Bolton, T. H.
Borlase, W. C.
Bradlaugh, C.
Brassey, Sir T.
Bright, W. L.
Brinton, J.
Broadhurst, H.
Brocklehurst, W. C.
Bruce, hon. R. P.
Brunner, J. T.
Bryce, J.
Buckley, A.
Burt, T.
Buxton, E. N.
Byrne, G. M.
Cameron, C.
Cameron, J. M.
Campbell, Sir G.
Campbell, H.
Campbell-Bannerman, right hon. H.
Carbutt, E. H.
Carew, J. L.
Chance, P. A.
Channing, F. A.
Childers, right hon. H. C. E.
Clancy, J. J.
Clark, Dr. G. B.
Cobb, H. P.
Cohen, A.
Coleridge, hon. B.
Colman, J. J.
Commins, A.
Compton, Lord W. G.
Condon, T. J.
Connolly L.
Conway, M.
Conybeare, C. A. V.
Cook, E. R.
Cook, W.
Coote, T.
Corbet, W. J.
Cossham, H.
Cowen, J.
Cox, J. R.
Craven, J.
Crawford, D.
Crawford, W.
Cremer, W. R.
Crilly, D.
Crompton, C.
Crossley, E.
Davies, W.
Deasy, J.
Dilke, rt. hn. Sir C. W.
Dillon, J.
Dillwyn, L. L.
Dodds, J.
Duckham, T.
Duff, R. W.
Durant, J. C.
Egerton, Admiral hon. F.
Ellis, J.
Ellis, J. E.
Esmonde, Sir T.
Esslemont, P.
Everett, R. L.
Farquharson, Dr. R.
Fenwick, C.
Finlayson, J.
Finucane, J.
Fletcher, B.
Flower, C.
Flynn, J. C.
Foley, P. J.
Foljambe, C. G. S.
Forster, Sir C.
Foster, Dr. B.

Fowler, H. H.
Fox, Dr. J. F.
Fry, T.
Fuller, G. P.
Gardner, H.
Gaskell, C. G. Milnes-
Gibb, T. E.
Gilhooly, J.
Gill, H. J.
Gill, T. P.
Gladstone, rt. hn. W. E.
Gladstone, H. J.
Glyn, hon. P. C.
Gourley, E. T.
Gower, G. G. L.
Gray, E. D.
Green, H.
Grenfell, W. H.
Grey, Sir E.
Haldane, R. B.
Hamilton, J. G. C.
Harcourt, rt. hn. Sir W. G. V. V.
Harrington, E.
Harrington, T.
Harris, M.
Hayden, L. P.
Hayne, C. Seale-
Healy, M.
Healy, T. M.
Hibbert, rt. hon. J. T.
Holden, A.
Holden, I.
Hooper, J.
Howard, E. S.
Howell, G.
Hoyle, I.
Hunter, W. A
Illingworth, A.
Ince, H. B.
Ingram, W. J.
Jacoby, J. A.
James, hon. W. H.
James, C. H.
Jenkins, D. J.
Johns, J. W.
Johnson-Ferguson, J. E.
Joicey, J.
Jones-Parry, L.
Jordan, J.
Kay-Shuttleworth, rt. hon. Sir U. J.
Kelly, B.
Kenny, C. S.
Kenny, J. E.
Kenny, M. J.
Kilcoursie, right hon. Viscount
Labouchere, H.
Lacaita, C. C.
Lalor, R.
Lane, W. J.
Latham, G. W.
Lawson, H. L. W.
Leahy, J.
Leake, R.
Leamy, E.
Lefevre, rt. hon. G. S.
Leicester, J.
Lockwood, F.
Lyell, L.
Macfarlane, D. H.
MacInnes, M.
M'Arthur, A.
M'Carthy, J.
M'Carthy, J. H.
M'Culloch, J.
M'Donald, P.
M'Donald, Dr. R.
M'Kenna, Sir J. N.
M'Laren, C. B. B.
Magniac, C.
Maitland, W. F.
Mappin, F. T.
Marum, E. M.
Mason, S.
Mather, W.
Mayne, T.
Mellor, rt. hon. J. W.
Menzies, R. S.
Molloy, B. C.
Montagu, S.
Morgan, rt. hon. G. O.
Morgan, O. V.
Morley, rt. hon. J.
Moulton, J. F.
Mundella, rt. hn. A. J.
Murphy, W. M.
Newnes, G.
Nolan, Colonel J. P.
Nolan, J.
O'Brien, J. F. X.
O'Brien, P.
O'Brien, P. J.
O'Brien, W.
O'Connor, A.
O'Connor, J. (Kerry)
O'Connor, J. (Tippry.)
O'Connor, T. P.
O'Doherty, Dr. K. I.
O'Doherty, J E.
O'Hanlon, T.
O'Hea, P.
O'Kelly, J.
O'Mara, S.
Otter, F.
Paget, T. T.
Palmer, C. M.
Parker, C. S.
Parnell, C. S.
Paulton, J. M.
Peacock, R.
Pease, Sir J. W.
Pease, A. E.
Pease, H. F.
Pickard, B.
Pickersgill, E. H.
Picton, J. A.
Pilkington, G. A.
Playfair, rt. hon. Sir L.
Portman, hon. E. B.
Potter, T. B.
Powell, W. R. H.
Power, P. J.
Power, R.
Price, T. P.
Priestley, B.
Pugh, D.
Pulley, J.
Pyne, J. D.
Rathbone, W.
Redmond, J. E.
Redmond, W. H. K.
Reed, Sir E. J.
Reid, H. G.
Rendel, S.
Reynolds, W. J.
Richard, H.
Rigby, J.
Roberts, J.
Roberts, J. B.
Robertson, E.
Robinson, T.
Robson, W. S.
Roe, T.
Rogers, J. E. T.
Roscoe, Sir H. E.
Russell, Sir C.
Russell, E. R.
Samuelson, Sir B.
Saunders, W.
Sexton, T.
Shaw, T.
Sheehan, J. D.
Sheehy, D.
Sheil, E.
Sheridan, H. B.
Shirley, W. S.
Simon, Serjeant J.
Small, J. F.
Smith, S.
Smithwick, J. F.
Spencer, hon. C. R.
Spensley, H.
Spicer, H.
Stack, J.
Stansfeld, right hon. J.
Stevenson, F. S.
Stevenson, J. C.
Storey, S.
Strong, R.
Stuart, J.
Sturgis, H. P.
Sullivan, D.
Sullivan, T. D.
Swinburne, Sir J.
Tanner, C. K.
Tennant, Sir C.
Thomas, A.
Tuite, J.
Vanderbyl, P.
Verney, Captain E. H.
Wardle, H.
Warmington, C. M.
Wason, E.
Watson, T.
Watt, H.
Wayman, T.
Weston, J. D.
Whitbread, S.
Will, J. S.
Williams, A. J.
Williams, J. C.
Wilson, Sir M.
Wilson, C. H.
Wilson, H. J.
Wilson, I.
Wilson, J. (Durham)
Woodall, W.
Woodhead, J.
Wright, C.
Yeo, F. A.

### TELLERS.

Marjoribanks, rt. hon. E.
Morley, A.

## NOES.

Addison, J. E. W.
Agg-Gardner, J. T.
Ainslie, W. G.
Allen, H. G.
Allen, W. S.
Allsopp, hon. C.
Allsopp, hon. G.
Ambrose, W.
Amherst, W. A. T.
Anstruther, Sir R.
Ashmead-Bartlett, E.
Baden-Powell, G. S.
Baggallay, E.
Baily, L. R.
Baird, J.
Balfour, rt. hon. A. J.
Balfour, G. W.
Barclay, J. W.
Barnes, A.
Bartley, G. C. T.
Barttelot, Sir W. B.
Bates, Sir E.
Baumann, A. A.
Beach, right hon. Sir M. E. Hicks-
Beach, W. W. B.
Beadel, W. J.
Beaumont, H. F.
Beckett, E. W.
Beckett, W.
Bective, Earl of
Bentinck, rt. hn. G. C.
Beresford, Lord C. W. De la Poer
Bethell, Commander
Bickersteth, R.
Bickford Smith, W.
Biddulph, M.
Bigwood, J.
Birkbeck, Sir E.
Blaine, R. S.
Blundell, Col. H. B. H.
Bonsor, H. C. O.
Boord, T. W.
Borthwick, Sir A.
Bourke, right hon. R.
Boyd-Kinnear, J.
Bridgeman, Col. hon. F. C.
Bright, right hon. J.
Bristowe, T. L.
Brodrick, hon. W. St. J. F.
Brookfield, Col. A. M.
Brooks, Sir W. C.
Brown, A. H.
Buchanan, T. R.
Burdett-Coutts, W. L. Ash.-B.
Burghley, Lord
Campbell, Sir A.
Campbell, J. A.
Campbell, R. F. F.
Cavendish, Lord E.
Chamberlain, rt. hn. J.
Chamberlain, R.
Chaplin, right hon. H.
Charrington, S.

Churchill, rt. hn. Lord R. H. S.
Clarke, E. G.
Coddington, W.
Cohen, L. L.
Commerell, Adml. Sir J. E.
Compton, F.
Cooke, C. W. R.
Coope, O. E.
Corbett, A. C.
Corbett, J.
Corry, Sir J. P.
Cotton, Capt. E. T. D.
Courtney, L. H.
Cranborne, Viscount
Cross, rt. hn. Sir R. A.
Cross, H. S.
Crossley, Sir S. B.
Crossman, Gen. Sir W.
Cubitt, right hon. G.
Currie, Sir D.
Curzon, Viscount
Dalrymple, C.
Davies, D.
Dawnay, Colonel hon. L. P.
Dawson, R.
De Cobain, E. S. W.
De Worms, Baron H.
Dickson, Major A. G.
Dimsdale, Baron R.
Dixon, G.
Dixon-Hartland, F. D.
Donkin, R. S.
Douglas, A. Akers-
Duncan, Colonel F.
Duncombe, A.
Dyke, rt. hon. Sir W. H.
Eaton, H. W.
Ebrington, Viscount
Edwards-Moss, T. C.
Egerton, hn. A. J. F.
Egerton, hon. A. de T.
Elcho, Lord
Elliot, hon. A. R. D.
Elliot, hon. H. F. H.
Ellis, Sir J. W.
Evelyn, W. J.
Ewart, W.
Ewing, Sir A. O.
Fairbairn, Sir A.
Farquharson, H. R.
Feilden, Lt.-Gen. R. J.
Fellowes, W. H.
Fergusson, right hon. Sir J.
Ferguson, R.
Field, Admiral E.
Finch, G. H.
Finch-Hatton, hon. M. E. G.
Finlay, R. B.
Fisher, W. H.
Fitzgerald, R. U. P.
Fitzwilliam, hon. W. J. W.
Fitz-Wygram, Sir F.
Fletcher, Sir H.
Folkestone, Viscount
Forwood, A. B.
Fowler, Sir R. N.
Fraser, General C. C.
Fry, L.
Gardner, R. Richardson-
Gathorne-Hardy, hon. J. S.
Gent-Davis, R.
Gibson, J. G.
Giles, A.
Goldsmid, Sir J.
Goldsworthy, Major-General W. T.
Gorst, Sir J. E.
Goschen, rt. hon. G. J.
Grant, Sir G. M.
Green, Sir E.
Greenall, Sir G.
Gregory, G. B.
Grey, A.
Grimston, Viscount
Grove, Sir T. F.
Gunter, Colonel R.
Gurdon, R. T.
Hall, A. W.
Hall, C.
Halsey, T. F.
Hamilton, right hon. Lord G. F.
Hamilton, Lord C. J.
Hamilton, Lord E.
Hamilton, Lord F. S.
Hamilton, Col. C. E.
Hamley, Gen. Sir E. B.
Hanbury, R. W.
Hankey, F. A.
Harcourt, E. W.
Hardcastle, E.
Hardcastle, F.
Harker, W.
Hartington, Marq. of
Haslett, J. H.
Hastings, G. W.
Havelock-Allan, Sir H. M.
Heaton, J. H.
Heneage, right hon. E.
Henry, M.
Herbert, hon. S.
Hervey, Lord F.
Hickman, A.
Hill, Lord A. W.
Hill, A. S.
Hoare, S.
Hobhouse, H.
Holland, rt. hon. Sir H. T.
Holmes, rt. hon. H.
Hope, right hon. A. J. B. B.
Houldsworth, W. H.
Howard, H. C.
Howard, J.
Howard, J. M.
Hubbard, rt. hon. J.
Hughes, Colonel E.
Hughes-Hallett, Col. F. C.
Hunt, F. S.
Hunter, Sir G.
Hutton, J. F.
Isaacs, L. H.
Jacks, W.
Jackson, W. L.
James, rt. hon. Sir H.
Jardine, Sir R.
Jenkins, Sir J. J.
Jennings, L. J.
Johnston, W.
Jones, P.
Kennaway, Sir J. H.
Kenrick, W.
Kenyon, hon. G. T.
Ker, R. W. B.
Kimber, H.
King, H. S.
King-Harman, Colonel E. R.
Kitching, A. G.
Knatchbull-Hugessen, hon. H. T.
Knightley, Sir R.
Lawrance, J. C.
Lawrence, Sir T.
Lawrence, W. F.
Leatham, E. A.
Lechmere, Sir E. A. H.
Leighton, S.
Lethbridge, Sir R.
Lewis, C. E.
Lewisham, Viscount
Llewellyn, E. H.
Lloyd, W.
Long, W. H.
Lowther, hon. W.
Lubbock, Sir J.
Lymington, Viscount
Macdonald, right hon. J. H. A.
Mackintosh, C. F.
Maclean, F. W.
Maclean, J. M.
Macnaghten, E.
M'Calmont, Captain J.
M'Garel-Hogg, Sir J.
M'Iver, L.
Makins, Colonel W. T.
Manners, rt. hon. Lord J. J. R.
March, Earl of
Marriott, rt. hn. W. T.
Marton, Maj. G. B. H.
Maskelyne, M. H. N. Story-
Maxwell, Sir H. E.
Mildmay, F. B.
Mills, hon. C. W.
Milvain, T.
More, R. J.
Morgan, hon. F.
Mount, W. G.
Mowbray, rt. hon. Sir J. R.
Mulholland, H. L.
Muncaster, Lord
Muntz, P. A.
Murdoch, C. T.
Newark, Viscount
Noel, E.
Norris, E. S.
Northcote, hon. H. S.
Norton, R.
O'Neill, hon. R. T.
Paget, Sir R. H.
Pearce, W.
Pelly, Sir L.
Percy, Lord A. M.
Pitt-Lewis, G.
Plunket, rt. hon. D. R.
Pomfret, W. P.
Powell, F. S.
Price, Captain G. E.
Puleston, J. H.
Quilter, W. C.
Raikes, rt. hon. H. C.
Ramsay, J.
Ramsden Sir J.
Richardson, T.
Ritchie, C. T.
Robertson, H.
Robertson, J. P. B.
Ross, A. H.
Rothschild, Baron F. J. de
Round, J.
Royden, T. B.
Russell, Sir G.
Ruston, J.
Rylands, P.
St. Aubyn, Sir J.
Salis-Schwabe, Col. G.
Sandys, Lieut-Col. T. M.
Saunderson, Maj. E. J.
Sclater-Booth, rt. hn. G.
Seely, C.
Sellar, A. C.
Selwin-Ibbetson, rt. hon. Sir H. J.
Seton-Karr, H.
Sidebottom, T. H.
Sidebottom, W.
Sitwell, Sir G. R.
Smith, rt. hon. W. H.
Smith, A.
Smith, D.
Stafford, Marquess of
Stanhope, rt. hon. E.
Stanley, rt. hon. Col. Sir F. A.
Stanley, E. J.
Stewart, M. J.
Sturrock, P.
Sutherland, T.
Sykes, C.
Talbot, C. R. M.
Talbot, J. G.
Taylor, F.
Temple, Sir R.
Thompson, Sir H. M.
Tipping, W.
Tollemache, H. J.
Tomlinson, W. E. M.
Tottenham, A. L.
Trevelyan, rt.hon.G.O.
Trotter, H. J.
Tyler, Sir H. W.
Valentine, C. J.
Vincent, C. E. H.
Vivian, Sir H. H.
Walrond, Col. W. H.
Walsh, hon. A. H. J.
Waring, Colonel T.
Watkin, Sir E. W.
Watson, J.
Webster, Sir. R. E.
West, Colonel W. C.
Westlake, J.
White, J. B.

Whitley, E.
Wiggin, H.
Williams, J. P.
Wilson, J. (Ednbrgh.)
Winn, hon. R.
Winterbotham, A. B.
Wodehouse, E. R.
Wolmer, Viscount
Wortley, C. B. Stuart-
Wroughton, P.
Yorke, J. R.
Young, C. E. B.

TELLERS.
Brand, hon. H. R.
Caine, W. S.

Words *added.*

Main Question, as amended, put, and *agreed to.*

Second Reading *put off* for six months.

THE FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY (Mr. W. E. GLADSTONE) (Edinburgh, Mid Lothian): After the division which has just taken place, the Motion which I think it most fitting to make is that the House at its rising, do adjourn until Thursday next.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That this House, at the rising of the House this day, do adjourn till *Thursday.*"—(*Mr. W. E. Gladstone.*)

MR. T. M. HEALY (Londonderry, S.): I would ask the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister—[*Cries of* "Order!"] —to remember the words of Frederick Douglas, the Negro orator—"God and one make a majority." [*Cries of* "Order!"]

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR (Liverpool, Scotland): On the question of adjournment I wish to say a few words. Let me say, Sir, that I am entirely in favour of adjournment. I rejoice at the occasion which makes us adjourn. The Dictatorship of intrigue and incapacity is over.

MR. SPEAKER: Order, order!

MR. T. M. HEALY: On the Motion for the adjournment of the House, my hon. Friend is quite in Order.

MR. SPEAKER: Order! Hon. Members must obey the Chair when I call them to Order. The hon. Member was not using Parliamentary language, and that is why I called him to Order.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

*Resolved,* That this House, at the rising of the House this day, do adjourn till *Thursday.*

## COMMITTEES.

*Ordered,* That all Committees have leave to sit, notwithstanding the Adjournment of the House.—(*Mr. W. E. Gladstone.*)

House adjourned at half after One o'clock till Thursday.

# HOUSE OF LORDS,

*Tuesday,* 8*th June,* 1886.

MINUTES.]—PUBLIC BILLS—*Second Reading* — International and Colonial Copyright* (144).

*Committee*—Patents Amendment * (133).

*Committee—Report*—Patriotic Fund * (131).

*Committee—Report—Third Reading*—Sea Fishing Boats (Scotland) (140), and *passed.*

*Third Reading*—Contagious Diseases (Animals) (153), and *passed.*

PROVISIONAL ORDER BILLS—*Second Reading*—Gas and Water * (136); Water * (137).

*Third Reading*—Elementary Education Confirmation (Birmingham) * (96); Elementary Education Confirmation (London) * (97), and *passed.*

## NAVY—UNARMOUR-ENDED SHIPS.

### PERSONAL EXPLANATION.

VISCOUNT SIDMOUTH said, he wished to make a personal explanation. The noble Marquess the First Lord of the Admiralty (the Marquess of Ripon) the other night seemed to be under misapprehension that the letter to which his Question had referred was written by the late Chief Constructor, Mr. Barnaby, and consequently the answer of the noble Marquess had not exactly applied to the Question. The letter to which he referred was that of Mr. White, the present Chief Constructor, who, in his letter, clearly intended that water should be introduced into unarmour-ended ships of the *Admiral* class as a means not only of correcting the trim, but also as a protection in time of action; and he further gave them to understand that the loss of speed from the consequent immersion of the vessel to a depth of 15 or 18 inches would be very trifling. For himself, he thought that naval officers could not be expected to take their ships into action on untried systems; for they all knew that scientific inventions, although they might be exceedingly clever and ingenious, often failed when brought to the test of a practical trial because of the existence of conditions which were not and could not be foreseen by the inventor. When naval officers were let ashore sometimes for two or three years without being employed in the command of vessels, and when invention went on at the rate at which it progressed at present, it was impossible to expect the officers to keep abreast of those new inventions, or when the hour of trial came that they should be required to make use of those inventions on the spur of the moment.

The FIRST LORD of the ADMIRALTY (The Marquess of Ripon) said, it was a somewhat inconvenient practice that a Question which was not on the Paper should be asked and then afterwards supplemented by a lengthened statement. He would not follow the noble Viscount in this respect. In answer to the Question he had to say that he was afraid there was no hope of the noble Viscount and himself coming to a conclusion with respect to Mr. White's letter, because he had copied out the very extracts from that letter which the noble Viscount had used in order to prove exactly the opposite of that which the noble Viscount argued he had established. He still held to the statement which he made the other day. He admitted, however, that he had made a mistake in supposing that the letter referred to was from Mr. Barnaby. He had been led into that mistake because he had had a long conversation with Mr. White on the subject, and that gentleman had stated to him those views with respect to the purposes and intentions of the Admiralty as to those vessels which he had mentioned to their Lordships the other evening.

## ADJOURNMENT OF THE HOUSE—THE MINISTERIAL CRISIS.

### OBSERVATIONS.

The SECRETARY of STATE for INDIA (The Earl of Kimberley): It may be convenient that I should state to your Lordships that in consequence of what took place in the other House last night that House has adjourned until Thursday. I think it will be convenient that we should meet again on Thursday, and then I hope to be able to state to the House how long we propose to adjourn for the holidays.

## SEA FISHING BOATS (SCOTLAND) BILL.—(No. 140.)

(*The Earl of Dalhousie.*)

### COMMITTEE.

Order of the Day for the House to be put into Committee read.

The SECRETARY for SCOTLAND (The Earl of Dalhousie) said he hoped the House would agree to the Motion standing in his name—namely, to suspend the Standing Orders, so as to pass the Bill through its remaining stages. He was aware that that was a very unusual course; but the circumstances were very unusual. He was not referring to what took place in the other House early in the morning, but he was referring entirely to the Crofters Bill, which had just passed their Lordships' House. Their Lordships would remember that that Bill contained a provision for the Fishery Board to advance money to fishermen in the crofting parishes on the security of their boats. The Government had been in constant communication with the Fishery Board in Edinburgh with reference to the matter, and it appeared on examination that, as the law at present stood, there would be very great difficulty in the way of carrying out that provision as their Lordships intended it should be carried out. It therefore became necessary to pass a measure to facilitate the operation of registering and mortgaging fishing boats. The effect, if this Bill were not passed, would be to render inoperative one of the most valuable provisions of the Crofters Bill. There was also to be considered the uncertainty of Public Business; and he was, therefore, extremely anxious that the Standing Orders should be suspended, and that the Bill should pass through its remaining stages without delay.

*Moved*, "That the House do now resolve itself into Committee on the said Bill."—(*The Earl of Dalhousie.*)

Lord BALFOUR asked, whether it was not the fact that this Bill applied to other fishing boats than those used by the crofting population; whether this Bill gave the same powers as to mortgaging to the owners of these fishing boats as were given by the Act of Parliament to owners of ships of a larger size in return for compliance with certain requirements of the Board of Trade as to security and safety; whether it was not the fact that in this Bill no such corresponding obligations were proposed; and whether it was desirable to extend the privileges conferred on owners of these vessels to owners of fishing boats without getting a corresponding return?

The Earl of DALHOUSIE was understood to say that the Bill did apply to boats other than those belonging to crofters. The Board of Trade had put no obstacle in the way of the Bill, and the same conditions as to manning and security would be applied to these boats as were applied in the case of other vessels.

Motion *agreed to:* House in Committee; Bill *reported* without Amendment: Then Standing Order No. XXXV. *considered* (according to order), and *dispensed with:* Bill read 3ª, and *passed,* and sent to the Commons.

## WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE BILL.

(*The Lord Denman.*)

(NO. 10.) SECOND READING.

Order of the Day for the Second Reading read.

LORD DENMAN said, there had been no Notice of opposition to it; but the question was one which would be much better argued in Committee than on the second reading. The only objection to it had been that the subject required discussion. As their Lordships were all anxious to consider other things, he would content himself with simply moving the second reading.

*Moved,* "That the Bill be now read 2ª"—(*The Lord Denman.*)

THE EARL OF IDDESLEIGH said, that this subject was of great importance, and it was desirable to thoroughly consider it before arriving at a decision. He doubted very much whether, in present circumstances, the Bill could receive all the consideration to which it was entitled. It would, in his opinion, be an unfortunate circumstance if any vote should be taken on a matter which he believed to be one of great value. He would ask the noble Lord to let the Bill stand over, in order to see what the opposition to the measure was before they went into Committee on it.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA (The Earl of KIMBERLEY) said, that whatever might be their opinion as to the measure, everyone would admit that it was a subject of great importance. It was not, therefore, desirable that it should be treated in a light or off-hand manner. He hoped the noble Lord would withdraw the Bill on that occasion.

LORD DENMAN said that, looking at the state of Public Business, he would postpone the second reading until the 1st [subsequently altered to 8th] of July.

Second Reading *put off* to *Thursday* the 8*th of July* next.

## INTERNATIONAL AND COLONIAL COPYRIGHT BILL.—(No. 144.)

(*The Lord Chancellor.*)

SECOND READING.

Order of the Day for the Second Reading read.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR (Lord HERSCHELL), in moving that the Bill be now read a second time, said, the object of the Bill was to enable this country to come into the Union proposed at a conference held at Berne some four or five years ago. Under that Union, so far as International Copyright was concerned, copyright in one country would give copyright in all the countries who had joined the Union. The proposal was that where a term of copyright existed in two or more countries the International copyright should not endure in any country longer than the shortest time for which it existed, either according to the law of the country where the publication took place, or of that where the question was raised. If a work was published in this country under the Imperial Copyright Acts copyright was given to the whole of Her Majesty's Dominions. If, on the other hand, a work was published in any one of the Colonies which formed part of those Dominions that work enjoyed copyright only according to the law of that Colony. It had been felt that this was not a satisfactory state of the law; and, therefore, it was proposed that a work published in any one of the Colonies should, under the Imperial Copyright Acts, obtain copyright protection throughout Her Majesty's Dominions, just as, in the same way, copyright obtained by publication in the United Kingdom applied to all Her Majesty's Dominions. He thought it desirable that this legislation should be carried through this Session. With regard to the views of the Colonies, so far as the answers received at present showed, they were all favourable to the proposal. Not one unfavourable answer had been received; but some of the answers of the Colonies had not yet arrived. Before the Bill passed into Committee, and if those answers had not arrived, he should ask their Lordships to accept a clause excepting from the operation of the Bill the Colonies which did not wish to be included.

*Moved,* "That the Bill be now read 2ª."—(*The Lord Chancellor.*)

Motion *agreed to;* Bill read 2ª accordingly, and *committed* to a Committee of the Whole House on *Thursday* next.

### PATENTS AMENDMENT BILL.

(*The Lord Chancellor.*)

(NO. 133.) COMMITTEE.

House in Committee (according to order).

*Title.*

On Motion of The LORD CHANCELLOR, the following Amendment made:—In Title, after ("accompanied") insert ("and as respects exhibitions").

*Moved,* After Clause 2, to insert as new clause—

(Protection of patents and designs exhibited at international exhibitions.)

"Whereas by section thirty-nine of the Patents, Designs, and Trade Marks Act, 1883, as respects patents, and by section fifty-seven of the same Act as respects designs, provision is made that the exhibition of an invention or design at an industrial or international exhibition, certified as such by the Board of Trade, shall not prejudice the rights of the inventor or proprietor thereof, subject to the conditions therein mentioned, one of which is that the exhibitor must, before exhibiting the invention, design, or article, or publishing a description of the design, give the Controller the prescribed notice of his intention to do so.

"And whereas it is expedient to provide for the extension of the said sections to industrial and international exhibitions held out of the United Kingdom, be it therefore enacted as follows:

"It shall be lawful for Her Majesty, by Order in Council, from time to time to declare that sections thirty-nine and fifty-seven of the Patents, Designs, and Trade Marks Act, 1883, or either of those sections shall apply to any exhibition mentioned in the Order in like manner as if it were an industrial or international exhibition certified by the Board of Trade, and to provide that the exhibitor shall be relieved from the conditions, specified in the said sections, of giving notice to the Controller of his intention to exhibit, and shall be so relieved either absolutely or upon such terms and conditions as to Her Majesty in Council may seem fit."—(*The Lord Chancellor.*)

Motion *agreed to;* Clause *inserted* accordingly.

The Report of the Amendments to be received on *Thursday* next.

### TRAMWAYS ORDER IN COUNCIL (IRELAND) BILL.—QUESTION.

THE EARL OF BELMORE asked the Lord President of the Council, If it is the case, as stated by the opponents of the Tramways Order in Council (Ireland) Bill, that—

"An application was made by the promoters to the Irish Government to introduce a Confirming Act this Session, and the matter having been submitted to the Law Officers, they advised the Government that, having regard to the provisions of the General Tramways Acts, the Order in Council in this matter must be deemed to have lapsed, and that it was not now competent to introduce a Confirming Bill;"

and, whether the solicitor for the opponents to the Bill was informed by the Attorney General for Ireland and the Assistant Under Secretary (Sir William B. Kaye), so recently as 25th May, that the Government had determined not to introduce another Bill for confirming the said Order in Council?

THE LORD PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL (Earl SPENCER): It is not usual to make public the opinion of Law Officers given to the Government as matter of advice. I may state, however, that the action of the Government in declining to act under the particular powers and obligations created by Section 14 of the Tramways Act, 1860, and introduce a second Bill thereunder, was owing to advice received from the Law Officers. The Law Officers did not advise that it was not competent for the Government under their general powers to introduce such a Bill.

LORD HALSBURY said, that when the matter came on for discussion he thought it could be shown that the action which had been taken by the Government was open to question.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR (Lord HERSCHELL) said, that he had not offered a decided opinion; but admitted that the matter was open to very grave doubt. He felt that it was a scheme which it was desirable should be carried out, and that as it had been made a subject of local inquiry it would not be wise to reject the measure on the second reading.

### CRIME AND OUTRAGE (IRELAND)—MURDER OF PATRICK TANGNEY, NEAR KILLARNEY.

QUESTION. OBSERVATIONS.

THE EARL OF MILLTOWN, in rising to ask, Whether the police have succeeded in arresting the murderers of Patrick Tangney; if not, whether they entertain any reasonable hope of being able to do so; and, whether the Law Officers consider that, in the event of their capture, there is any probability, in the present state of the county of Kerry, of their being prosecuted to conviction before a common jury of that county? The noble Earl commented on the circumstances attending this horrible atrocity, and said the Government seemed to think sufficient had been done by sending police patrols and an Inspector to report upon the matter. As a matter of fact, there was a police patrol within a short distance from the spot where the murder was committed, and it did not appear to have interfered in the slightest degree with the commission of the crime. The fact was that these patrols were carefully watched by the spies of the brigands who committed these murders, and he was told by persons who had the misfortune to live in those parts of Ireland that the police made these patrols on cars. Consequently the sound of the wheels was heard for miles around. The noble Earl yesterday suggested that the state of Kerry had only been unsatisfactory since August last; but, as a matter of fact, the state of certain districts of Kerry had been for years past a scandal to Christendom. He was told by a noble Lord four years ago that the neighbourhood of Castleisland was the worst in all Ireland. Trial before a common jury was a mere farce, and he believed such was the terrorism exercised by the National League that neither the wife nor the daughter of this poor man would dare to give evidence against the perpetrators of the crime. Even if they did so a common jury would not dare to convict. After all, a Government existed in Ireland and was maintained by the taxpayers for the purpose of protecting life and property; but in many parts of Ireland Her Majesty's Government actually neglected both. They took steps to improve the condition of the labouring poor. Was it too much to ask them to protect their lives? To his mind, the piteous cry of these poor women calling upon the Virgin for assistance, and other scenes which had occurred of the same kind, were quite as horrible as those murders in the Phœnix Park, which alone could arouse the Gladstone Government of that day to a sense of their duty.

THE LORD PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL (Earl SPENCER): In answer to the noble Earl's Question, I have to say that no arrest has yet been made for the murder of Patrick Tangney. I do not think it advisable in the interests of justice to state the information in the possession of the Government. The last paragraph of the Question of the noble Earl is entirely a contingent Question, and I do not think I am called upon to express an opinion upon it.

House adjourned at half past Five o'clock, to Thursday next, a quarter past Four o'clock.

## HOUSE OF LORDS,

*Thursday, 10th June, 1886.*

MINUTES.] — PUBLIC BILLS — *Committee* — Electric Lighting Act (1882) Amendment (No. 3) * (148).

*Report*——Post Office Sites * (130); Patents Amendment * (133).

*Third Reading*—Patriotic Fund * (131), and *passed.*

PROVISIONAL ORDER BILL — *First Reading* — Gas (No. 1) * (154).

### DISSOLUTION OF PARLIAMENT.

MINISTERIAL STATEMENT.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA (The Earl of KIMBERLEY): My Lords, I have to acquaint your Lordships that in consequence of the vote in the other House on Monday night Her Majesty has been advised to dissolve this Parliament, and Her Majesty has been pleased to assent to that advice. Steps will be taken to wind up the Business of Parliament with all practicable despatch, with a view to the Dissolution of Parliament on as early a day as possible. I shall propose to move that this House should, at its rising, adjourn to Thursday next, to meet on that day only for formal and unopposed Business, and for receiving any Bill which may come up from the other House. I hope that arrangement, which is the longest adjournment consistent with our intention to wind up the Business of Parliament as quickly as possible that we can give, will be acceptable to the House.

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY: I do not suppose that anybody can take exception to the arrangement which has been proposed by the noble Earl. Of course, the arrangement with respect to the adjournment proposed by him will meet with no opposition on our part. I should not say another word, except that I wish to emphasize the statement which I was glad to hear the noble Earl make that the Dissolution will be brought on as rapidly as it is possible for Her Majesty's Government to do so. It is not very often that a defeat in the House of Commons has been followed by a Dissolution. I think there are only two instances since the great Reform Bill. But one of those was a very notable instance—namely, the instance of 1841, when Sir Robert Peel thought it of so much importance that he declined to accede to the winding up of the Business until a promise of this kind had been made by Lord John Russell; and Lord John Russell quite admitted the Constitutional propriety of the Government promising to make every arrangement that the new Parliament should assemble as rapidly as possible after the defeat. I understand that to be the intention of Her Majesty's Government, and therefore I will not pursue the subject.

THE EARL OF KIMBERLEY: My Lords, I must not be understood to convey anything except the exact meaning of my words. What I said was that the Business of Parliament would be wound up now with a view to a Dissolution at the earliest possible day. Those were exactly my words; but I did not say anything as to the time after the Dissolution when Parliament should assemble. The noble Marquess is perfectly well aware that it is necessary that the other House should obtain certain Supplies, and no doubt there the matter will be duly explained.

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY: I venture to say that the state of Ireland must weigh very heavily upon Her Majesty's Government, and they must feel that the sooner there is a Parliament that can speak with authority the better.

THE EARL OF KIMBERLEY: Excuse my saying one word. I do not wish an inference to be drawn from my words which they will not bear. I do not wish to be supposed to have said anything beyond what I did say; and if the noble Marquess desires further information it had better be given "elsewhere."

## GOVERNMENT OF IRELAND BILL—THE EARL OF CARNARVON AND MR. PARNELL.

### PERSONAL EXPLANATION.

THE EARL OF CARNARVON: My Lords, I trust that your Lordships will indulge me for a very few minutes while I make some personal explanation. It is not my habit to trouble your Lordships unnecessarily, and I assure you that I will make it as briefly as possible. I have no doubt that your Lordships have noticed that a discussion is reported to have occurred in "another place" between Mr. Parnell and my right hon. Friend Sir Michael Hicks-Beach, in which, to summarize very briefly, Mr. Parnell is reported to have stated that a Minister of the Crown of the late Conservative Government had conveyed to him the intention of that Government to offer a Statutory Parliament with power to protect Irish industries. My Lords, I should not have thought of saying one word on this subject had not, a few hours afterwards, a paper of considerable circulation pointedly stated that I was that Minister. I therefore beg to deny, as plainly and as broadly as I can, the statement to which I have just referred as having been made by Mr. Parnell. My Lords, I might, perhaps, pause here, and content myself with this denial; but I have seen the allegation that I was that Minister taken up by several newspapers and stated and restated in the most pointed manner, and accompanied with innuendoes and many of those hints of intimate knowledge of circumstances, all pointing to this—that I was carrying on an attempt at an illicit bargain with Mr. Parnell. Therefore, my Lords, I hope I shall not be wrong if I go a little further into this question, and endeavour, to the best of my power, to sweep away once and for all any grounds of further misapprehension and misrepresentation of the statement which is being made. For my own part, I am not sorry to have this opportunity, because I think that it is very rarely, indeed, that the whole truth does any harm, whereas my experience shows me this—that half-truths are very often mischievous. Now, my Lords, looking at what has been stated in different papers, I wish to inform your Lordships of an incident which by itself and of itself would not have seemed to me worthy of the attention of this House. My Lords, towards the end of last July it was intimated to me that if I were willing Mr. Parnell would also be willing to meet me in conversation. Now, I think no apology whatever is necessary on my part for entering into such a conversation, for I hold that it is the duty of the Viceroy to obtain information where and how he can with regard to the fortunes of the country placed under his charge, I care not from whom the information may come. I can see no reason for making any apology for accepting such information; but if your Lordships will carry yourselves back in mind to the peculiar state of affairs at the moment of which I am speaking you will see there was all the greater reason for the course I then adopted. The political position was, to say the least of it, a very peculiar one. My noble Friend near me (the Marquess of Salisbury) had just formed a Government. I had just gone to Ireland; and I had before me as difficult a task as could well have fallen on the shoulders of any man. Your Lordships will remember that at that moment there was no one who could precisely say what the wishes and the desires of the Irish Parliamentary Party were. There had been singular reticence on their part, and it was impossible really to know what their views or opinions were. There was only one man who was in any way qualified to speak. He was the chosen Leader of the Irish Parliamentary Party, and his power was singularly and exceptionally large. He stood at the head of the Parliamentary Body who had proved their strength by virtually controlling the Business of the House of Commons. It was notorious that when the new Parliament should be elected his strength would be at least doubled. My Lords, when I, therefore, received such an intimation I felt that, on my part at least, I had no option in the matter. It seemed to me to be alike my duty to make myself acquainted with what Mr. Parnell's views and opinions were; and if for fear of being censured, if for fear of what might be said against me, I held back, I should be guilty of the greatest political and moral cowardice. The only point which seemed to me important to bear in mind was, first of all, that I should make no promises, give no assurances, enter into no understandings; and, secondly, that whatever I did I should do it myself, for myself, and entirely apart from my Colleagues. Let me endeavour to say in the plainest language I can command that I was not acting for the Cabinet nor authorized by them; and, though I know well and shall keep in mind that sound and wholesome doctrine that nothing is to be repeated that has passed in the Cabinet without the consent of Her Majesty, I may at least say this of what went on outside the Cabinet—that I had no communication on the subject, no authorization, and that I never communicated to them even that which I had done. Therefore, the responsibility was simply and solely mine; they were not cognizant of my action; and my right hon. Friend Sir Michael Hicks-Beach was perfectly justified, so far as this matter is concerned, in utterly and entirely repudiating all knowledge of it as he did the other night. For this reason I will not incur with my eyes open the possibility of mistake in the future; and if anything was done at all it was I, and I alone, who should bear the responsibility. I hope I make myself explicit and plain to the House. I endeavoured to make myself equally explicit to Mr. Parnell. I explained that the three conditions upon which I could enter into any conversation with him were these. First of all, that, as I say, I was acting of myself, by myself; that all the responsibility was mine; and that the communications were from me alone—that is, from my lips alone. Secondly, that that conversation was with reference to information only, and that it must be understood that there was no agreement or understanding, however shadowy, between us. And, thirdly, that I was there as the Queen's servant, and I would neither hear nor say one word that was inconsistent with the Union of the two countries. My Lords, to those conditions Mr. Parnell assented, and I had the advantage of hearing from him his general opinions and views on Irish matters. This really is the whole case, as I have stated to your Lordships. It was the first, the last, and the only time that I had the pleasure of meeting Mr. Parnell. It was essentially in the nature of a conversation; and had it not been for his Parliamentary position, and the fact that I was Viceroy of Ireland, there would have been nothing, I apprehend, to distinguish it from the many conversations on this subject which take place at all times. He was quite frank and straightforward in all he said. I, on the other hand, had absolutely nothing to conceal, and everything I said I shall be perfectly content to be judged by. Both of us left the room as free as when we entered it. It may be said that this was an unusual course for me to adopt. I submit that, even if it was unusual, it was a common sense and a natural course to be taken in the circumstances. It may be said, perhaps, by some that I committed an error of judgment in the matter. My Lords, it is not for me to argue that matter; but this I will say—that anyhow, and in any circumstances, it is far better that I should state these facts unreservedly and frankly to the House than that I should make myself subject to innuendoes and invidious reports of being suspected of having attempted to make an underhand bargain with Mr. Parnell. I might close anything I have to say with this; but I wish to say one thing more. I understand that, during my absence abroad, my name has been more than once used in connection with this question, and that I have been represented as being favourable to the late scheme, as I must call it, of Her Majesty's Government. My Lords, I say at once that I am not favourable to it. I would gladly see some limited form of self-government, not in any way independent of Imperial control, such as may satisfy real local requirements, and, to some extent, national aspirations. I would gladly see a settlement where, the rights of property and of minorities being on the whole secured, both nations might rest from this long and weary struggle, and steady and Constitutional progress might be patiently and gradually evolved. But I cannot say that this scheme is such a settlement. I would not be in Order to discuss it now; but in one single sentence I may say that I believe it to be financially unsound. I believe that it heals none of the old wounds; that it settles nothing upon a lasting basis; that it leaves open that great question which lies fundamentally at the root of every other question in Ireland, the Agrarian and Land Question; and that it leaves open that burning question of Ulster. Still more—and my last is, perhaps, the gravest complaint against it—by the tumult and the passionate feeling which is evoked by the hopes which it has conjured up, which cannot be gratified, it has virtually postponed to a very distant day that settlement which I so much desire to see. My Lords, it is impossible to have lived in Ireland, and to have held the reins of government there, even for a short time, without taking the deepest interest in the warm-hearted people of that country. They, indeed, have their faults, and those faults have often misled them; but they also have a kindly and a sunny side to their character. I should be very ungrateful to have received so much of their sunshine if I did not frankly and cordially acknowledge it. There are also great and real evils in Ireland, and worst of all is their poverty. One of the wisest of my Predecessors in the Viceroyalty, in the early part of the last century, said that of all the evils from which Ireland suffered poverty was the worst. I subscribe to that doctrine, and I believe that that which was true at the commencement of the 18th century is, unhappily, true at the end of the 19th century. But, my Lords, because I sympathize deeply with Ireland, and I shall always sympathize with her, my sympathy must not be confounded with sympathy for a measure which I am convinced would only have aggravated existing difficulties, and which I believe conscientiously would be as wrong for Ireland as it would be for England.

## IRELAND—THE MINISTERIAL POLICY.

### OBSERVATIONS.

THE DUKE OF ARGYLL: My Lords, I do not rise for the purpose of commenting on the statement which has now been made by my noble Friend. I am sure that every one of your Lordships will feel, and the country will feel, that we may place the utmost reliance upon the personal honour and accuracy of the noble Earl; but, at the same time, I am bound to observe that his statement did not appear to me to be altogether complete. The noble Earl made it clear that the communication made to Mr. Parnell was a purely personal communication; but he omitted to explain to the

House—and I am not sure he did not intend to do so—what the nature of that communication absolutely was. But, as I have said, I do not intend to make any comments upon the speech of my noble Friend. As there is no question properly before the House, and as I wish to put myself in Order, I shall conclude by moving the adjournment of the House. I am very sorry that my noble Friend who usually leads the Government in this House is absent to-night. At the same time, we have the Government represented by two noble Earls of great ability, both of them intimately connected with the administration of Ireland, and one of whom is, perhaps, almost as responsible as is the Prime Minister for the proposals which are bringing this Parliament to an end. I rise to complain of the extreme meagreness of the explanation which has been given to this House. We are in the midst of a great political crisis. It has been raging around this House for weeks and months; but hardly an echo of it has been heard within these walls. But when a Minister of the Crown comes down to tell us that our labours in this Session are to be brought suddenly to a close, and that the Parliament so lately elected is to be dissolved, although we ourselves are not personally interested in the Dissolution of Parliament, as of course our seats are independent of personal election, I think it is scant courtesy to this House that the Government should not utter one word of explanation as to the causes which have led to this serious inconvenience to the course of Public Business. They do not tell us why this Parliament is dissolved. They do not give us even a hint of the question upon which they are going to the country. I think we are fairly entitled to ask—what is the question upon which an appeal is to be made to the constituencies? I do not for a moment question or dispute the right of the Government to advise Her Majesty to dissolve Parliament. I was myself, some years ago, a Member of a Government which took refuge in what may be called a penal Dissolution of Parliament. The Cabinet of Lord Palmerston, in consequence of an adverse vote of the House of Commons on the Chinese Question, suddenly dissolved Parliament in the middle of a Session and appealed to the country; but there was no question what the issue then was. It was whether the Executive Government had or had not committed a great mistake in foreign policy, whether the people would or would not support Lord Palmerston in the energetic action he had taken against the Chinese Government. My Lords, there is no parallel between this case and that. I cannot help feeling that, although there have been no measures before this House, that is no excuse for the total and absolute silence of the Government upon a great Constitutional question. There are three or four questions which the independent Members of this House have a right to put to the Government. I believe the latest definition of the question on which an appeal is to be made to the country is whether or not there shall be "an Irish Parliament for the management of affairs specifically and exclusively Irish." These are the words under which has been last defined the question which has been put to Parliament and is now to be put to the country. I find no meaning in these words by themselves—things "specifically and exclusively Irish." I want to know from the Government what they mean by these words. Is it exclusively an Irish question that every Irishman shall be able to go to his bed without the fear of being dragged out of it and murdered before his family? Is that a matter which is exclusively and peculiarly Irish? I want to know that from the Government. Is it an exclusively Irish question that commercial companies shall be free to trade with all the world and with the subjects of the Queen, and to perform their commercial duties to the community without violent interruption? Is that also an exclusively and peculiarly Irish affair? Then I want to know whether Irish shopkeepers are to be entitled to deal with all classes and ranks of the Irish people? Is that an Irish matter exclusively and peculiarly? Is that a matter of which we are to wash our hands and hand it over to an Irish Parliament? Is that the subject upon which the Government is to appeal to the people of this country, and with regard to which they will have the hearts of the populace with them? Then I want to know if it is peculiarly an Irish question that the Irish Judges and the Irish magistrates shall be able to administer justice without being bought out and bought off by Parliament? Is that also a peculiarly Irish and an exclusively Irish affair? I want to go to the meaning of these words. I want that the people should understand, and we have a right to understand, what the Government mean when they are dissolving Parliament on this question—this enigmatical question. Then, I want to know, further, whether Irish landlords should be secured in rents which have been fixed by an Imperial Court appointed by Parliament under the authority of the Crown? Is it a peculiarly and exclusively Irish affair that honour should be kept with these proprietors after the manner in which their property has been dealt with? Is it an exclusively Irish affair that Irish farmers should be able to sell their cattle and their produce to whom they please, and that they should take land from whom they please—that is to say, provided those persons have the lawful right to dispose of it—and that farmers should go to the Land Court without the Land Court being threatened and the Registrars being threatened? Perhaps the Lord Chancellor will tell us whether these are peculiarly Irish affairs, and whether the honour of the Imperial Parliament is involved in these questions. Well, my Lords, there is another question which I wish to ask with regard to the policy of the Government, which is quite as important as those I have already put. We have been told that it was part of the policy of the Government—and I really believe that this was the origin of their scheme—to restore the efficiency of the British Parliament by excluding the Irish Members. That was the foundation of their scheme; has that provision been dropped? Are you going to the constituencies upon the question whether or not there shall be one Imperial Parliament, or whether there shall be two Parliaments, one essential condition of which is that the British Parliament shall be free from the obstruction of the Irish Members? That is one of the great boons you held out to us to be gained by your scheme. Have you been paltering with the question during the last month, and what is the present condition of your mind in regard to it? Surely the people of this country have the right to know this? How can they answer your appeal in the highest interests of the nation without knowing your answer to this fundamental question? Is it your plan now that the Irish Members shall indeed be excluded, but that they shall be now and then invited to appear as an excursion party is invited to take luncheon in one of your Lordships' parks? Is that your plan? And if it is, is every such invitation to be a matter of debate; and, if it is, will you have disembarrassed the Imperial Parliament of obstruction? Will not the subject provoke Party animosity and Party organization? What is your determination? Nothing can be more important, nothing can be more fundamental than this question, and so far the public are absolutely bamboozled; they know nothing. But I believe they are not more bamboozled than you are yourselves. I do not believe Her Majesty's Government know their own plan, or know what they will do. When this invitation to the Irish Members has been voted, is it your plan that it shall be compulsory? Are the Irish Members to be free to refuse your invitation, or is it to be necessary that they shall accept it? Everything depends upon these questions, but we know nothing whatever about the answer. Are the subjects to be defined upon which the Irish Members are to be invited to vote, or is it to be left haphazard? My Lords, if that is the plan of the Government, it is a plan involved in hopeless confusion; and I say that this House and the constituencies of the country and the people of the Realm have a right to know what the plan is upon which an appeal is now to be made. In short, my Lords, I ask, Is the British Constitution to be torn to pieces, and to be left to the mere chance of being put up again? Nothing less than this is involved in the questions which I now put. Then I have another question to put. We have heard a great deal—and much is to be attributed to my noble Friend the President of the Council—of the opinion of at least some Members of the Government being pledged as a matter of honour that the purchase scheme shall be an inseparable part of the Government scheme. I want to know whether this is still your determination? Are you, or are you not, appealing to the country not having made up your own minds whether it is inseparable or not? Is it possible that after several of the most prominent Members of the Government, including my noble Friend the President of the Council, have distinctly declared that there is an honourable obligation on Parliament, in the event of a separate Legislature being set up in Ireland, to see that those whose property we have good reason to know will be dealt with by that Body shall be offered a purchase by Government—is it possible that that declaration is to be withdrawn because of the position of the Government in certain quarters, and on the pretext that the offer has been made to the proprietors of Ireland, and that they have refused it? Who was entitled to make that offer? No Government; only Parliament. Not even the Prime Minister was entitled to say—"I have made you this offer, and because you do not choose to support me at this moment I will say that I have made an offer and you have refused it." No Prime Minister, no Cabinet, has a right to say that. Such an offer as this cannot be made except by the authority of Queen, Lords, and Commons; and I ask, Has it been made, and will you venture to say that any proprietor in Ireland has had it in his power to accept or refuse it? My Lords, I say the people of this country are entitled to know whether you do or do not appeal to them knowing and avowing that this honourable obligation is one which you are prepared to accept on the responsibility and on the faith of your Government. No answer has been given to this. If you are getting out of your obligation, who is it that has absolved you? I hold it to be an honourable obligation, and I will not believe that the President of the Council, at least, will back out of the declarations that have been made. Then there is another question I would like to ask my noble Friend. We had a short discussion the other night in which he told us—I am afraid only too truly—that the evils of Ireland have arisen mainly from the necessary evils of Party government in this country. I am afraid he was only too near the truth. Are he and his Colleagues not continuing the very worst evils of Party government in the course they have taken, and can they appeal to the country upon the assurance that the evils of violence, of factions, will be less in Ireland under their proposals than they are in the United Parliament of the United Kingdom? Are not events teaching us, even at the present moment, the same lessons that were taught for so long and so sad a number of generations? Is this your policy, my Lords, to wash your hands of all responsibility in regard to the affairs of Ireland, to say, We cannot tell that the parties will not play into each other's hands, and will not make this question a question of Party organization and manœuvre? Samuel Johnson, in a letter to a young man, once said—"If you wish to acquire a purely English style give your days and nights to the pages of Addison." In a like spirit a very enthusiastic and gushing friend of mine, who is in favour of Home Rule, wrote to me some months ago—"If you wish to understand the Irish Question and the duty of this country to Ireland, give your days and nights to the pages of Edmund Burke." Well, that was a very agreeable prescription; I have given myself to the pages of Edmund Burke. Those pages are full of incomparable dignity and wisdom. I have seen many passages of his which I could have cut out and applied either to my own arguments or to those of my opponents; but my conscience always obliged me to confess that by the context of these passages it was perfectly clear that Edmund Burke was thinking and speaking of a condition of things which was absolutely different from that which now exists. He was speaking and thinking of a small Protestant Parliament, with the mass of the nation excluded from representation. He was thinking of the rights of the Irish people to be emancipated and to become Members of their own Legislature. He was thinking of the monstrous iniquities perpetrated by the trading classes of this country in the exclusion of Free Trade from the Irish people. He was not thinking of anything which is comparable to the condition of things with which we have now to deal. But there is one passage, written by him towards the close of his life, which I can confidently recommend to your Lordships' reading as having some reference to the present condition of affairs. Burke was at the time one of those who were in favour of the Parliament of 1782. As an Irishman, he rejoiced at the election of that independent Parliament; but in the year before his death, in a letter to the Rev. Dr. Hussey, he recognized the danger of that which you are now wishing to do—

washing your hands of the responsibility of Irish affairs, by handing them over to an exclusively Irish Parliament. Let me read his impressive words to this House—

> "Ireland has derived some advantage from its independence of the Parliament of this Kingdom, or rather it did derive advantage from the arrangements that were made at the time of the establishment of that independence. But human blessings are mixed, and I cannot but think that even these great blessings were bought dearly enough when, along with the weight of the authority, they have totally lost all benefit from the superintendence of the British Parliament. Our pride of England is succeeded by fear. It is little less than a breach of Order even to mention Ireland in the House of Commons of Great Britain. If the people of Ireland were to be flayed alive by the predominant faction it would be the most critical of all attempts so much as to discuss the subject in any public assembly upon this side of the water. If such a faction should hereafter happen by its folly or its iniquity, or both, to promote disturbances in Ireland, the Force paid by this Kingdom—supposing our own insufficient—would infallibly be employed to redress them. This would be right enough, and, indeed, our duty, if our public Councils at the same time possessed and employed the means of inquiring into the merits of that cause in which their blood and treasure were to be laid out."

Is that the condition of things to which you wish to reduce Ireland by handing over all its affairs to the local Parliament and washing your hands of all responsibility? My Lords, look at the speech delivered the other night in "another place" by Mr. Parnell. He himself said that if terrible abuses arose the power would be in your hands, and, strangely inconsistent with the nonsense that is now talked about coercion, he went on to say that power is the basis of all government, and force the ultimate remedy which, in the case of such abuses, you must resort to. Then there is the last question which I wish to ask, and which pieces on to these observations of Mr. Parnell. Are the Irish people to be left to the coercion of the lawless masses? That is what I want to know. Is this the question upon which the Government are appealing to the people of this country, or are new laws sanctioning this lawless coercion to be sanctioned by the Crown of this country? Is the Land League, with all its vast machinery of cruelty and coercion—that great instrument of coercion—are you going to allow it to be set up by local laws in Ireland? I want to know what are the issues you are to place before the country upon these great questions? It is not a question whether we shall agree to any rational scheme of local government. I should be willing to consider any scheme of local government which is rational in its outlines; but we have no such scheme presented to us. The scheme of the Government was a confessed abortion. If you are to set up a local Legislature in Dublin I should give it liberal powers in respect of all those subjects which come under the denomination of municipal government. I would keep absolutely on the foundation of universal law all those rights of property and of free contract and freedom between man and man which in the Constitution of the United States have been carefully preserved and placed under the high sanction of a great and noble Judicial Body. But as regards the administration of local affairs in the municipal sense of the word, I would give them large powers, and I am not very sure that I would refuse, if they wished it, to give them the power of trying the experiment of protective duties. I firmly believe that the desire for Protection, be it wise or be it delusive, has a strong hold of the Irish people, and it is quite possible that by means of Protection they might be able to begin manufactures which would not otherwise arise. I should not object to see that experiment tried; but I protest against a scheme such as that which the Government proposed, and which involves nothing but utter confusion in all the relations of human life. I deny that the Government are dealing with the people fairly and justly on the subject of local government in Ireland. I deny it altogether; and I maintain that unless they interpret more clearly the vague phrases into which they have been driven for the purpose of cajoling and threatening the present Parliament they cannot say that they are dealing with the constituencies of the country upon a fair and honourable issue.

*Moved*, "That the House do now adjourn."—(*The Duke of Argyll.*)

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA (the Earl of KIMBERLEY): My noble Friend behind me complains that your Lordships have been treated with scant courtesy, and that no reason has been given for the advice tendered to the Queen to dissolve Parliament. That reason has been fully stated; it is known to the country and the House; and it is that the Government was beaten in the House of Commons by a considerable majority on Monday night upon a measure which certainly is not unknown to my noble Friend, because he has discussed it at length, upon a measure which was debated as fully and amply as any measure ever was debated, and upon a measure which, whatever my noble Friend may say, is not a "confessed abortion," because it is one upon which we have had some support in the other House, and still more in the country. ["No, no!"] I am aware that it has not much support in this House; but I hope your Lordships will listen to me while I say a few words in reply to my noble Friend. My noble Friend evidently thinks that this is an opportunity which ought to be seized by Her Majesty's Government, as it has been seized by himself, for making an electoral Manifesto. I doubt whether, when no Bill is before the House, this is the place where an electoral Manifesto ought to be made. My noble Friend has made his Manifesto, and he has made it by discussing a Bill which is not before this House.

THE DUKE OF ARGYLL: I did not discuss the Bill.

THE EARL OF KIMBERLEY: The noble Duke went into detail, and condemned the Bill as a confessed abortion. That being his opinion of it, I wonder he paid so much attention to its provisions. My noble Friend says that there is no issue before the country. I venture to think that there is not one who hears me, and my noble Friend least of all, who does not know what that issue is; but he seeks to obscure it by bringing forward a number of details, and asking—Are you going to do this? are you going to do that? are you going to make this exception? or are you going to abandon this detail? If the explanations given during a debate extending over many days has not satisfied him, I cannot hope to do so by any explanation that I can offer. The issue before the country is a very simple one—it is, whether you will persevere in governing Ireland entirely from this country against the wish of the majority of its inhabitants; or whether you are prepared to abandon your old system and place in the hands of the Irish people the principal portions of the government of that country for their own administration? That is a plain and distinct issue. My noble Friend says that the Government are seeking to cajole Parliament by raising unfair and obscure issues. What can be more unjust—and I do not mean this personally—more absurdly untrue than that statement? Is it an attempt to cajole Parliament when you lay before Parliament a detailed and full scheme? It may be one which you do not approve; that is another matter; but to say that it is an unfair or obscure issue is to say what I must characterize as simply absurd. The measure contained the fullest details; it contained a complete plan. My noble Friend doubts that because the Government indicated that if it came into Committee there were portions of the plan which they were willing to reconsider. I wish to know whether there was any great scheme which ever came before Parliament the details of which a Government was not bound to reconsider. And are we to be told that we submitted no plan? I contend that we submitted a full, distinct, and most intelligible plan, which has been rejected by the House of Commons, and it is because it has been rejected that we are going to appeal to the country to say whether it approves our policy or not. The scheme is before the country, and the country will have to judge whether we are to go back to the old system and to have a certain number of years—an indefinite number of years—of that which the noble Marquess opposite calls "resolute government." I will not put into the noble Marquess's mouth a single phrase which he did not use; but I interpret these words in the only way in which they can be interpreted. The history of the past interprets them. The history of the past tells us what "resolute government" means, and the history of the past tells us that in spite of resolute government you have conspicuously failed. I happened, many years before my noble Friend behind me (Earl Spencer), to hold the position of Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and after I came back from that country I took the opportunity of making some remarks on one of those occasions when measures of coercion had been resorted to on the renewal of the suspension of the Habeas

Corpus Act. I said that the experience I had had during two years of government in that country had convinced me that there was no such great failure on the part of the people of this country as in the government of Ireland, and that I felt strongly that we should never succeed in healing the wounds of that country until we had touched the heart of Irishmen as we never had done, and had brought them into sympathy with the people of this country. Now, whatever you may say of your "resolute" government, there is no possibility of touching the hearts of the people with that. The only way you can do it is by paying respect to the strong feeling of nationality that they possess, a feeling so strong that it overpowers every other in that country. An Englishman has no idea how strong that feeling is in Ireland; and it was not until I had experience of a great many years that I understood it. You have endeavoured to keep that feeling under from year to year. Your system of government by a small minority; your deprivation of Roman Catholics of their franchise; your overwhelming power; the circumstances of the famine; the absence of the ballot, and many other causes, tended to obscure the true state of the Irish national feeling. But from the moment you gave the people the protection of the ballot, and, still more, a full power of voting in the same way as in this country, you had set before you unmistakably what is the true feeling of the country, and that is that there is a national spirit which cannot be satisfied unless you give the people a far greater power of managing their own affairs than Ireland ever had except during the short period of Grattan's Parliament, and that was confined to one religion. That is the issue to be placed before the country. Are you going to prefer your old system—what my noble Friend calls "upholding the law?" I am for upholding the law; but when you strive to do it under the present system the spirit of the people rises against you, and then you take measures which increase the hatred of a large portion of the Queen's subjects in that country to the Queen's subjects in this. Suppose that ages have not diminished the difficulties of governing Ireland; suppose your system of government has been such that Ireland is a source of weakness to the Empire rather than strength; suppose that you are obliged to keep there some 25,000 soldiers and 11,000 armed police, and that in spite of all, Ireland is a constant source of embarrassment, not only in the government of that country, but in the management of the affairs of this—I ask, is it not an intelligible policy to put to the country this issue—"Will you prefer that policy which has conspicuously and continuously for centuries failed, and which has produced calamity upon calamity, or will you rather prefer to resort to another system, to allow Irishmen to govern themselves?" My noble Friend, referring to what Mr. Parnell said in a recent speech, stated that Mr. Parnell contemplated that it might be necessary for the new Irish Government to resort to a new Coercion Act. I suppose no rational man can deny that the Irish Government may have to employ force in the management of their affairs, as every other Government has to do occasionally. But my noble Friend misses the point. The question is, who is to apply that force—is it to be applied by the Irish Government under the influence and consent of the Irish people, or is it to be applied by what they term an alien Government——

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY: By the National League.

THE EARL OF KIMBERLEY: The National League, I apprehend, represents the national feeling. ["No!"] Well, when there is a National Government in Ireland the National League will no longer exist. But however mischievous an association of that kind becomes when in antagonism to English feeling, there is reason to believe that with an Irish Parliament it would cease to exist. All the measures which are taken under the present system against agrarian crime are set down by Irish feeling, not to a proper and just desire on the part of the Government to maintain the law, but to a desire for oppressive measures on the part of an alien people. It is for the purpose of remedying that state of things, and of disconnecting ourselves from it, and it is for the purpose of relieving ourselves from the consequences of maladministration, thinking, as we do, that the Government of the country would be far better conducted by the people themselves, that we have proposed that there should be established a separate Legislature in Dublin. The noble Duke spoke of some of the difficulties in the way of framing a Legislature, and of the reservations necessary to be made. I am not going to undervalue those difficulties. It is certainly not a light matter to reconcile Imperial requirements with local wants, but we think that these questions can be solved. We have made an attempt to solve them in the measure we have put before the House of Commons. We believe that although you may part with some portion of your power, although you may no longer have in your hand all the strings of government in Ireland, yet, in point of fact, Imperial unity may be preserved. The noble Duke also made an appeal to my noble Friend behind me upon the Land Question. My Lords, I do not think it a convenient doctrine that any one Member of the Government should be considered responsible for any part of the policy of the Government. For my part I do not hold that doctrine, and I consider myself as much responsible for that part of the policy of the Government as my noble Friend behind me. With reference to that part of the Question, I suppose it is within the competence of a Government to propose a measure intended to benefit any particular class of Her Majesty's subjects. I am not aware that it was received with any great amount of gratitude by those whom it was intended specially to relieve.

Lord ASHBOURNE: What evidence has the noble Earl of that?

The Earl of KIMBERLEY: My evidence is entirely negative. I never heard of any gratitude on their part; but, of course, I should be delighted to receive some affirmative assurance. At all events, this I do know—that that Bill was an honest attempt to bring about a settlement of a very difficult and a very important question; and I should be extremely sorry to have it supposed that because we may not have been able actually to bring that Bill before Parliament the Government had therefore abandoned all the principles upon which the Bill rests. As yet the matter has never been discussed, and my view is that, while I consider the principles upon which the Bill is based are sound, there is one preliminary question to determine, upon which we ask the decision of the country—namely, is there to be a separate Legislature for Ireland or not? And when we know the answer to that question we shall know how to deal fairly and justly with all classes.

The Marquess of SALISBURY: The noble Earl has referred to some words of mine in which I advocated a continuous and resolute government for Ireland, and he takes great exception to those words and seems to think I recommended something of a very horrible description. Well, I will put this simple test to the noble Earl. Am I to assume that the noble Earl wishes for 20 years of irresolute government? I have no doubt that if the prescriptions of the noble Earl and the Government are followed, that will be the probable result. But a Government must be either irresolute or resolute, and if you cry out so angrily because resolute government, which I should imagine is recognized as a virtue in all countries of the world, is recommended for your adoption, the only conclusion it is possible to draw is that in your mind irresolute government is preferable. The noble Earl has, it appears to me, answered very imperfectly the stringent questions put to him by the noble Duke. He has not at command that wealth of ambiguous language which would have enabled him to appear to answer them without leaving any distinct impression on his hearers' minds, and he is therefore obliged to resort to the more common-place device of ignoring the questions altogether. He was asked to give an account of what is the real state of the mind of the Government in the first place as to the question of the purchase of the landlords' interest in Ireland. Upon that he tells us absolutely nothing, except that he intended to do justice whatever happens. But he did not allude to that statement of the noble Earl the late Viceroy of Ireland, that it would be a mean and cowardly thing to leave the landlords without compensation. We wish to know if the Government are still in that same mind, and if we are to look upon this effort to relieve themselves from the performance of a mean and cowardly action as a part of the policy they recommend to the people of this country? But there is a more important point still. We never have been able to ascertain the state of the mind of the Government with respect to the presence of the Irish Members in the House of Commons; which touches the much larger question, What is the state of the mind of the Government with respect to the amount of supervision which the English Parliament is to exercise in reference to the new Legislature at Dublin? That is a vital question. It concerns deeply the highest Imperial interests; it concerns the integrity of the Empire; and it concerns, above all, the interests of those minorities to whom the noble Earl paid so little attention in his speech; whether the minority in Ireland is treated fairly or not, whether the elementary rights of property are observed, whether contracts are upheld, or whether a new and sinister ascendancy is established. Those things depend entirely on whether you reserve power in the last resort—power, real, practical, efficacious—in the hands of the British Parliament. On that point the noble Earl gave us no indication whatever, and we do not know now whether the Government is going to the country in favour of an Irish Parliament practically independent of that which sits at Westminster, or in favour of an Irish Parliament which will be subordinate to, and controlled by, that which sits at Westminster. The difference is vital and essential; and yet on that most vital and essential point we can obtain no indication of the wishes of the Government, or of the issues they desire to submit to the people. My Lords, that is really a point which excites most keenly and most immediately the interests of the people of this country upon this question. The noble Earl talked again and again of allowing the Irish people to govern themselves. Do you suppose it is because they have a horror of governing themselves that these loud congratulations have been heard from Belfast, Londonderry, and many other towns in the North of Ireland? This phrase "governing yourselves" is a miserable sort of sophistry. To tell a whole population, when their dearest rights are submitted to the absolute control of their hereditary enemies, that they are governing themselves, is to add the deepest insult to the grossest injury. I see no comfort in the argument with which the noble Earl recommended this measure which the Government has failed to pass. The argument he pressed most of all was that the Irish people, or the majority of the Irish people, would have no more of the system which exists now, and that they insisted on change. Well, then, carry your minds a few years forward. See the precautions and safeguards which are intended to protect the minority at work. See the discontent, the resistance, the rebellion they will raise in the minds of the majority, and then the noble Earl's argument will apply again, and because you will still be unable to govern Ireland without the application of force, again the Government of the day will, according to the precedent of the noble Earl's argument, come down to Parliament and ask that even these small and poor precautions and guarantees should be abandoned. You must make up your minds on this point. Is there anywhere you mean to stand? Have you renounced the exercise of your Imperial power altogether? Are you merely prepared to stand on that which the Irish people are prepared to tolerate? Or is there anything which, in the supreme interests of justice and good faith, and of the claims that have been made especially upon you by those who have fought your cause—is there anything for which you are prepared at all hazards to contend, no matter how bitter the opposition from the majority of the Irish people? That is the real issue you have to determine, and when the noble Earl tells us that what he wishes to bring into existence is a national form of government, if it could be a national form of government in which all classes could heartily concur, and if there was every ground for believing that they would preserve towards each other consideration and goodwill, there might be much to say for his contention. But the national form of government will be what the national form of government has hitherto been. The national form of government will have that one-sidedness and hardness, that contempt of legal rights, that recollection of hereditary feuds which characterize the form of government the National League has been carrying on in Ireland; and the real issue that the Government is submitting to the people of this country is—Shall the Imperial Government try to fulfil its task, its allotted task, of governing Ireland, and insuring justice between man and man, or shall it abandon the minority of the people in that country to be governed in obedience to the instigation of hereditary animosity upon the methods which the dominant Party in Ireland have up to this time shown themselves only too ready to adopt? That is the issue which the people have to decide, and until, by the exercise of British power, and by that continuous and resolute government which the noble Earl so much despises, this terrible wound shall have been healed, and this divided people brought more closely together, it will be hopeless for you to expect that the methods which have answered with a homogeneous people such as we have in this country will restore peace and happiness to Ireland.

THE LORD PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL (Earl SPENCER): The noble Duke behind me has asked what is the policy of the Government with regard to land in Ireland. I have always held that one of the most important parts of the Irish difficulty was that connected with the land. I have always felt that without settling the Land Question you could not hope to settle the Irish Question. Various attempts have been made to settle the Land Question, but without success. I attribute their failure, to a great extent, to the fact that they were not supported by the general sentiment of the people. I do not say that the measures which have been passed have been abortive; they have removed some of the grievances; but they have not effected a complete settlement. I maintain the views I have always held as to the great importance of settling the Land Question. We now, no doubt, shall approach the whole subject of English policy in Ireland from a different standpoint in consequence of the decision given in "another place" with reference to the scheme for local government. But I do not think that the Land Question will disappear; it will still remain an important, perhaps the most important, question to be settled. Until it is settled in one way or another, it must be difficult to establish peace and order in Ireland. The noble Marquess referred in a pointed manner, while the noble Earl near me was speaking, to the National League, and implied that the future Government of Ireland would be the National League. I have been brought frequently in contact with the League, and I have not been favourable or friendly to it, and I know that as a political organization it has done great evil. But I deny that if the policy of the Government were agreed to the government of Ireland would pass into the hands of the League. By making the people of Ireland responsible for the government of their country, you would make them responsible for law and order. The main object of the National League was to procure self-government; it was not created to maintain law and order. Its object was the very contrary of that; and I believe that if you throw upon the people the responsibility of maintaining law and order they will maintain them like all other nations, and the League will then disappear. The noble Marquess seems to suppose that we were ready to give up all our guarantees for the protection of the minority; but we never contemplated withdrawing the provisions in the Bill which contained those guarantees, and we were quite ready to listen to suggestions for strengthening and altering them if they should be thought insufficient. The policy of the Government was, no doubt, such as to throw upon them very serious responsibility. We quite acknowledge that responsibility; we quite acknowledge that the social condition of Ireland is not satisfactory; but it was because we felt it to be impossible to continue in the same groove that we decided to adopt this new policy. We were convinced that the old lines of policy must be left, and that in order to restore social order in Ireland and to unite her people firmly to this country it was necessary to take a new departure. We believe that the best thing to do was to give the Irish people the responsibility of the management of their own affairs. Our policy has been negatived in "another place;" but we confidently look forward to the time when it will be adopted by the people of this country as the only safe and certain policy by which to unite Ireland permanently to Engand.

LORD ASHBOURNE: The noble Lords who have, on behalf of the Government, answered the noble Duke have not had a very easy task. Mr. Gladstone, we know, has explained himself seven times, and yet he has left everybody still in the dark as to his intentions; but some points have been raised as to which there should be plain speaking and plain meaning. The position taken up by the Government with reference to the Land Purchase Scheme affects the honour and public character of the noble Earl who spoke last. Some Members of the Government are more directly and personally responsible than others for certain measures; and all the explanations that could be made by his Colleagues cannot divest the noble Earl from personal obligation in connection with this particular matter. It was supposed, apparently, that the "separate Parliament," as it has been called, could not be trusted to deal fairly and equitably with the landed interest in Ireland. That idea underlay every part of the Government of Ireland Bill, and Mr. Gladstone announced that it was an inseparable part of his policy to deal with the Land Question concurrently with the other matters to which his Bills referred. Now, if the noble Earl had not publicly and ostentatiously given the sanction of his name and experience to this measure for the government of Ireland, it would have been absolutely impossible for the Prime Minister to obtain a discussion for it. Therefore, the responsibility of the noble Earl is certainly greater than that of his Colleagues, and I have a right to ask—"Does he still think that it is an inseparable part of the Government plan to deal adequately, and without delay, with the question of land purchase in Ireland?" I think the nation has a right to have a plain answer, yes or no, to this question. The noble Earl said that this Irish Land Question ought to be settled. What is the meaning of that? When and how is it to be settled? I have the Prime Minister's statement founding his whole position largely on the authority of the noble Earl that the way to settle this Land Question was, at all events, not to intrust the Irish Parliament with its settlement. Mr. Gladstone pledged himself about a month ago that it was a question of policy and a dictate of honour to deal with this question. I ask, is it still regarded by the Government as a question of honour to settle it, or has it since then vanished into the region of ever-shifting political expediency? The noble Earl the Lord President in his remarkable speech at Leeds explained the provisions of the Land Purchase Bill, demonstrated, as he thought, its fairness, and proved, from his own point of view, that the method adopted by the Government was the method required by honour towards the landowners of Ireland. To-night he says that until the Land Question is settled it is impossible to obtain peace and order in Ireland. Am I to understand that the settlement of the Land Question is to be a necessary condition precedent to any attempt to grapple with the setting up of a separate Parliament in Ireland? I have presented the matter fairly, and I hope plainly, to the Government, and I think we are entitled to something like a plain answer. I pass on to another point. The noble Earl spoke of trusting the Irish people and governing them by their own consent. What is the meaning of these vague and flimsy phrases? What do you mean by the Irish people? Who are the Irish people? Why, more than one-half of them are of English blood, a great many of them are of Scotch blood; there is great intermixture of races in Ireland; and to speak of the Irish people, and the consent of the Irish people, as of something that is one and indivisible, is perfectly absurd in regard to this legislation. When you talk of trusting the Irish people you mean that you are able to trust a certain portion of them—who have returned 85 Representatives to the other House—to govern themselves as they please, and to govern the rest of the Irish people as the rest of the Irish people do not please. When you talk of governing the Irish people with the consent of the Irish people, you mean that you will hand over Belfast, with its rich and growing community, and the most thriving parts of Ireland, to be swayed not by their own consent or their own voice, but in a way that would prevent their own consent having any potency, and would silence their own voice. The events that are happening in Ulster are regarded by us all with pain, and must be regarded by every Member of the Government who does not desire to blind himself to facts with grave and anxious forebodings. And must not the Government entertain serious anticipations as to what might occur if some of the things which they dignify by the grand term of governing the Irish people by their own consent were worked out? To find the noble Earl the Lord President of the Council the apologist, the expounder, the explainer, must I add the eulogist, of the National League, and speaking of its future, is certainly a very startling and novel position of affairs. The noble Earl said they had found the men connected with the League bad in the past, and therefore they should have confidence that they would do good in the future.

EARL SPENCER: What I said was that if the Government Bill had been carried the National League would have been at once dissolved.

A noble LORD: What ground has the noble Earl for that statement?

LORD ASHBOURNE: I was aware that the noble Earl spoke for the Government; but it seems he has authority to speak also for the National League. It has been remarked in the course of the discussion that the Bill would hand over the government of Ireland to the National League, and the sentiment was adopted by the noble Earl the Secretary of State.

THE EARL OF KIMBERLEY: I deny that I adopted the sentiment. I said that the National League, which, to a certain extent, represented the Irish people, would be replaced by a National Government.

LORD ASHBOURNE: I readily listen to anything that falls from noble Lords, especially in the way of personal explanation. I did think that the Lord President of the Council was the explainer, or an expounder, or an excuser, or an extenuator, or, at all events, a prophet in reference to the National League. I wish to ask whether the Irish Members are to be summoned to the Imperial Parliament and to take part in its deliberations at all times and on all Business, and whether their presence there is to be the outward and visible sign of the unity of the Empire? That is a plain Question. Because if they are not this Parliament will be a kind of mongrel Body such as never existed before. If the Irish Members are only to be invited to come if they please, if they do not choose to come and their presence is necessary to the transaction of Business for which they are invited, what is to happen? It is said that the proposed Irish Parliament is to be a subordinate Parliament; but if you hand over to it almost all the principal functions of Parliament in reference to Ireland that is a matter of Constitutional compact, and the compact will make the subordinate Parliament practically supreme in reference to those functions. I am not speaking of the mere technical effects; but do you mean to retain the supremacy of the Imperial Parliament by having always present in it for all purposes some Representatives from Ireland? That is a fair and reasonable Question to put; and I trust that as this debate has been inaugurated some Member of the Government will yet be found to give it some direct answer.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR (Lord HERSCHELL): The noble and learned Lord who has just sat down has alluded to a few matters on which I desire to say a few words. I do not, of course, wish to repeat what has been said by my noble Friends who have already spoken. My noble and learned Friend touched upon the disturbances in Ulster, which we all deeply deplore, and he put the blame of those disturbances solely and entirely upon the introduction of the measure which has been discussed and defeated "elsewhere."

LORD ASHBOURNE: I expressed my deep regret in regard to them.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR: Yes, the noble and learned Lord expressed regret; but let me say that if there is a responsibility on the part of those who introduce a measure that may excite people there is no less a responsibility on the part of those who oppose and endeavour to defeat that measure for the language which they use. And language has been used in opposition to the measure which has been calculated to arouse and excite passion and which has served, I do not say to encourage violence, but to encourage men to think that there are occasions on which violence is not only excusable but justifiable. I say that such language is dangerous. I have never myself uttered language —and I trust I never shall—without reflecting upon what use may be made of my language afterwards; because this is a matter upon which not a single word can be uttered without incurring responsibility; and we may do the most serious mischief even if for the purpose of defeating a measure to which we are strongly opposed we employ language which may be turned to purposes which we entirely condemn. Therefore, I think I shall have the sympathy of all your Lordships when I say that those who deal with this question, from whatever point of view they regard it, should weigh well the words they are using and remember that however sanguine they may be as to the issue to be hereafter determined no man should use words in relation to it without having in view either result. To use language such as is used with regard to this measure or any measure like it would have the most grievous and the most dangerous results. An appeal has been made to me by the noble Duke as to whether I consider that a defiance of law and order on the other side of the Channel was a matter which has been left to them as concerning them alone, and as to which we could wash our hands and take no manner of interest in it. I understood, I confess with astonishment, the noble Duke to quote with apparent approval the words of Mr. Burke—words which struck me as strange—suggesting that with a separate Legislature in the Sister Island the people in this part of the United Kingdom would view with complete indifference the flaying alive of their brethren on the other side of the Channel, and that the question could not be discussed in any public Assembly on this side of the Channel. Those were strange words to be written by Mr. Burke, even in his later years, and it is strange to us to find that they meet with the approval of the noble Duke. He seems to think, even at this time of day, touched as we are with the electric shock of sympathy, that we should be indifferent, with a separate Legislative Body in Dublin, and unless there was complete legislative union between the two countries, as to what happened to the weal or the woe of the people there. I trust and I believe that that would never be the case, whether the complete legislative union which exists continues or whether it ceases to exist. I am certain that it is impossible to be indifferent to such a state of things if it were to arise. The noble Duke asks whether it is no concern of this country whether the law is to be defied or not? Undoubtedly it is the concern of this country; but this defiance of the law of which he speaks has come into existence, has been seen to flourish, and it has been impossible to arrest it under the existence of the institutions which it is now suggested may be capable of some amendment. What moral does the noble Duke draw from the fact? He suggests that that state of things might exist if you had a separate Legislature in Ireland; but it exists now, and we have not been able to prevent its existence with all our efforts and with all our repressive measures. What is the moral that has been drawn by those who desire a change? It is that, notwithstanding all our efforts, we have failed to bring the people of Ireland into harmony and sympathy with law and order, and to some extent to enforce the law and make it respected. We might be right or we might be wrong as to whether some such change as is proposed would improve matters in that respect; but surely it is not an argument against it to say that now under the existing laws and institutions the law is not respected and the people do not sympathize with it. But it is asked if it is not the first duty of a Government to enforce the law and make it respected? Certainly it is the first duty of a Government to make the law respected; but is it the only duty? Suppose you can suppress all outward manifestations of disorder, suppose you can limit the extent and the area of crime, but supposing you did it in such a manner as to make the people of the country you were governing hate you more and more—suppose you make them suffer, it may be mistakenly, suppose you affect their moral nature in such a way that, instead of sympathizing with the detection of crime, they sympathize with crime itself—would you be performing all your duties as the Governors of the country, would you be satisfied to say—"We have done all we could for the happiness and the contentment of the people, and their respect for the laws, or their sympathy with them, is a matter of absolute indifference to us; we wash our hands of these things; let us have legislation to repress crime and outrage?" That is not the sole and exclusive duty of a Government; they have a duty beyond that, perhaps of a higher character than that. Both those duties the Government must endeavour to perform, but oftentimes the duty is performed with the utmost difficulty. My noble and learned Friend has referred to certain matters in regard to the proposals of the Government, and he desired some information. If the Government or any other persons, desiring to introduce, as they believe, a change for the better in the mode of making and administering the laws in Ireland, were to profess to have introduced a scheme which had completely solved the problem, which should not be open to such criticisms as would allow it to be amended by the assistance and the association of those who endeavoured with them to make it better, they would not be worthy the name of a Government; they would be a set of obstinate pedants who would shut their ears to the criticisms and their hearts to the assistance which they would have a right to expect from all interested in the legislation of the country. It seems to me the most unwise thing for a Government on such a grave question to introduce a measure and say—"These are our ideas; nothing else than these will be sanctioned." It is surely the wiser course to say—"We propose a scheme; we are ready to accept the assistance of all who believe the end to be a desirable one, and in any way capable of accomplishment; help us to make this scheme better, remove its difficulties, and bring it into a more satisfactory and acceptable position." That is the course which the Government have taken, and it is consistent with the introduction of the scheme by themselves. It is the wisest course to put forward their scheme as the scheme to work upon, and at the same time to accept the assistance of others to make it complete. As to the extent to which it is expedient that such a scheme should be altered, and the necessity for retaining the Irish Members in the Parliament here, it seems to me that it is ridiculous to speak of that as a point on which it was possible for any Government to go to the country with a definite plan which they were going to say they would adhere to and not alter. It is a difficult question. I do not say that it is impossible of solution that for some purposes you should have Irish representation in the Imperial Parliament; but for all purposes, and to say to what extent, is a matter, I maintain, which is not vital to any scheme which is suggested by the Government for consideration to Parliament. The truth is that there has been hitherto, I suppose until to-night, between many a complete gulf—those who believe that a considerable change is needed to be made, and might safely be made, and those who thought that the union of the two countries for legislative purposes should remain as at present. I confess that we have seen a striking change. I should not have dreamt a short time ago of hearing the noble Duke who introduced this discussion get up and speak of a Legislative Body in Dublin for municipal purposes of a wide and extensive kind, giving it even the power, beyond all municipal power, of imposing protective duties upon their manufactures. A great step has been taken when the noble Duke, who maintains that no change should be made in the Legislative Union between the two countries, is prepared to yield so much as that. The great bulk of those opposed to the Government who defeated them in the other House a few nights ago have expressed themselves as not opposed to all change in the Legislative Union which now exists; and that, it seems to me, is a plain and clear issue. The extent, the degree, and the details are matters which necessarily must be left; but will they be left whenever this question is taken up for consideration? In reference to the Land Purchase Bill, my noble and learned Friend asked—"Will you undertake to introduce it concurrently with the proposal giving legislative powers to Ireland?" That is a Question which the noble and learned Lord can hardly expect to receive an answer to, or, indeed, can hardly think that he has a right to an answer.

LORD ASHBOURNE: Why not? The Prime Minister said the two schemes were inseparable.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR: Because, if they are inseparable, it does not follow that it would be wise to introduce the Land Bill concurrently or consecutively. For my own part, I have never for a moment concealed the view which I entertain of the enormous importance of a settlement of the Land Question, whether you are going to give legislative powers to Ireland or whether you are going to withhold them. I do not believe in either case that you can hope for anything like a peaceful condition of that country until you have arrived at some settlement of the Land Question apart from giving legislative powers to Ireland. But I believe that the giving of legislative powers makes it easier for the settlement to be carried out. I do not think any Member of the Government has ever withdrawn any statement or speech he made on the subject. I would remind my noble and learned Friend of the use which is being made, not by Radical, but by Conservative orators, of the Land Purchase Bill. My noble and learned Friend expresses a doubt as to whether that Bill had not been accepted by those who were supposed to be opposed to it. I have not seen any symptom of it. I have seen that those who one would have supposed considered it was a step in the right direction, whether you had an Irish Government Bill or not, have used the Land Bill for the purpose of defeating the Government of Ireland Bill. They have not discussed it on its merits; they have tried to exaggerate its dangers. The time may come, whether an Irish Government Bill be carried or no, that they may have cause to regret the course they have taken. They have tried to exaggerate dangers and also the burden it would be likely to cast upon the people of this country; they have trid to frighten them and to suggest that a tremendous sum of money would have to be given to the landlords at the expense of the people of this country; and they have thus tried to make it difficult to arrive at a settlement of the Land Question. It would well become not only noble Lords but others who take an interest in this question to weigh well the words they use. A Land Bill may be a useful weapon to fight a Government of Ireland Bill with; but it is a dangerous use to make of it; and the time may come when, a Government of Ireland Bill having been passed, those who have so used a Land Bill may bitterly regret having taken a course which may make the settlement of the question more difficult. Noble Lords will understand what I mean when I urge this consideration, which I do as one most desirous to see the Land Question settled on a fair basis. It is not only a landlord's question, but it is one which affects the peace, the order, and the contentment of the country. I have ventured to trouble your Lordships with these observations in consequence of what has been said, and I have endeavoured to express to you, so far as I could, the views of the Government.

**Lord HALSBURY**: I concur with the Lord Chancellor in the remark he made with reference to the extreme care and caution with which one should guard one's utterances in discussing questions which excite men's feelings. If you apply the word coercion to laws for the suppression of crime, and directed against murder and outrage, what do you expect the persons against whom these laws are directed to say of them? I should have thought it was the interest of all to recognize murder, robbery, cruelty, and wrong as things which it was the duty of the community to suppress, and not to regard the legislation against them as coercion any more than the laws under which prisoners are tried at the Assizes. The noble and learned Lord appeared to misunderstand the Question which was addressed to him. It was not what would the Bill of the Government be; but it was, what in the opinion of the Government is the issue to be submitted to the country? That is a totally different Question. Then, is it the intention of the Government, if they have a majority in the next House of Commons, to introduce a Bill establishing a Legislature in Ireland, with respect to which the Government themselves feel that the Land Question cannot be left to them to settle? These are Questions to which, so far, no answer has been given. Vague expressions of a wish that the Land Question should be settled mean nothing. The Government may have found that a proposal to spend from £50,000,000 to £200,000,000 may have a bad effect on the constituencies, and, therefore, they will not say what they will do, and will neither admit nor deny that this is still part of their scheme. Surely, when the people are appealed to, it is not unreasonable to ask what is the general line of policy adopted by the Government. Is it the fact that you are still committed to a scheme of government in Ireland establishing an independent Legislature, to which you dare not, as a matter of justice, intrust the settlement of the Land Question, and is it to be settled by the Imperial Legislature at a cost of from £50,000,000 to £200,000,000? This is one of the Questions lying on the surface, and it is a Question to which we have the right to expect a plain answer from Her Majesty's Government.

**Earl STANHOPE** appealed to the Government to say whether the Irish Parliament was to be subordinate to the Imperial Parliament? He also asked what ground there was for asserting that the Land League would disappear as soon as an Irish Parliament was established? It could not be put down by a stroke of the pen, but some of its proceedings could be made illegal. None of the Prime Minister's legislation for Ireland had produced the results that had been expected from it; but had been distinct failures. If he received no answer to his inquiry, it must be assumed that no Member of the Cabinet could give a reply except the Prime Minister, and that the Bill was the proposal only of the "one man power."

On Question? *Resolved* in the *negative.*

## CROFTERS (SCOTLAND) (No. 2) BILL.

### CONSIDERATION OF COMMONS AMENDMENT TO LORDS AMENDMENTS.

Commons Amendment to Lords Amendments *considered* (according to order), and *agreed to.*

THE SECRETARY FOR SCOTLAND (The Earl of DALHOUSIE) said, that the following were the names of the Commissioners under the Bill:—Mr. David Brand, advocate, Sheriff of Ayrshire; Mr. William Hosack, of Oban, Argyllshire; and Mr. Peter M'Intyre, Mains of Findon, Ross-shire.

### PRIVATE AND PROVISIONAL ORDER CONFIRMATION BILLS.

Ordered, That Standing Orders Nos. 92. and 93. be suspended; and that the time for depositing petitions praying to be heard against Private and Provisional Order Confirmation Bills, which would otherwise expire during the adjournment of the House at Whitsuntide, be extended to the first day on which the House shall sit after the recess.

House adjourned at Seven o'clock,
to Thursday next, a quarter
past Four o'clock.

## HOUSE OF COMMONS,

*Thursday, 10th June, 1886.*

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MINUTES.]—SELECT COMMITTEE—*Report*—Parliamentary Procedure [No. 186].

SUPPLY—*considered in Committee*—NAVY ESTIMATES.

PRIVATE BILL (*by Order*) — *Withdrawn* — Gravesend and Northfleet Docks and Railways.*

PUBLIC BILLS—*Resolution in Committee*—Peterhead Harbour of Refuge [Expenses, &c.]

*Resolution* [June 4] *reported*—*Ordered*—East India Railways (Loans).

*Resolution in Committee* — *Ordered* — *First Reading*—Customs * [276].

*Ordered* — *First Reading* — Merchant Shipping (Fishing Boats) Acts Amendment * [274]; Glebe Lands (No. 2) * [275].

*First Reading*—Contagious Diseases (Animals) * [268]; Sea Fishing Boats (Scotland) * [270]; Patriotic Fund * [271].

*Second Reading* — Municipal Corporations (Scheme Confirmation) * [247]; Turnpike Roads (South Wales) [260].

*Committee*—Poor Law Loans and Relief (Scotland) * [252]—R.P.; Peterhead Harbour of Refuge (*re-comm.*) * [266]—R.P.; Tithe Rent-Charge (Extraordinary) Redemption (*re-comm.*) [264]—R.P.

*Committee*—*Report*—Medical Acts Amendment * [163]; Conveyancing (Scotland) Acts Amendment * [251]; Land Tax Commissioners' Names * [113].

*Considered as amended*—Parliamentary Elections (Returning Officers) Act (1875) Amendment [241], *debate adjourned.*

*Withdrawn*—Railway and Canal Traffic * [138]; Sale and Purchase of Land (Ireland) * [193]; Public Parks and Works (Metropolis) * [227]; Burgh Police and Health (Scotland) * [194]; Quarries Regulation * [250]; Unclaimed Deposits * [77]; Assizes Relief * [257]; Owners of Dogs Liability * [258]; Rates (Dublin) * [21]; Poor Law Guardians (Ireland) * [5]; Oaths * [64]; Land Law (Ireland) Act (1881) Amendment * [1]; Parliamentary Franchise (Extension to Women) * [70]; Parliamentary Elections (Returning Officers' Expenses) (Ireland) * [8]; National School Teachers (Ireland) * [12]; Fairs and Markets (Tolls) (Ireland) * [36]; Solicitors' Annual Certificate Duty * [133]; Municipal Boundaries (Dublin) * [20]; County Government (Ireland) * [2]; Salmon Fisheries (Ireland) * [15]; Port and Harbour Authorities * [40].

PROVISIONAL ORDER BILLS — *Ordered* — *First Reading*—Local Government (No. 10) * [269].

*First Reading*—Elementary Education Confirmation (Birmingham) * [272]; Elementary Education Confirmation (London) * [273].

*Report* — Local Government (No. 3) * [223]; Local Government (No. 4) * [224]; Local Government (No. 5) * [237]; Local Government (Poor Law) (No. 7) * [236]; Local Government (County Divisions) * [225]; Local Government (Highways) * [235]; Local Government (Ireland) (Fermoy) * [226]; Local Government (Ireland) (Public Health Act) * [239].

*Third Reading* — Gas (No. 1) * [196], and *passed.*

## *QUESTIONS.*

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### IMPERIAL TAXATION ON REAL AND REALIZED PERSONAL PROPERTY—THE RETURN.

SIR RICHARD PAGET (Somerset, Wells) asked the Secretary to the Treasury, If he will be good enough to state when the Return on "Imperial Taxation on Real and Realised Personal Property," presented 10th August 1885, and ordered by the House to be printed on 12th August 1885, will be printed and circulated?

THE SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY (Mr. HENRY H. FOWLER) (Wolverhampton, E.): It has been found, in the preparation of this Return, that some parts of it must necessarily be of an extremely conjectural character. I therefore thought it right, before the issue of the Return, to consult the right hon. Baronet the Member for Hampstead (Sir Henry Holland), who, as Secretary to the Treasury, signed the Return to the Order of the House, as to any reservations which he might think it desirable to make as to the value of the portions to which I have referred. We are reprinting the Return, and I shall be happy to show the hon. Member a proof, if he wishes it, before it is circulated.

### LAW AND JUSTICE—THE POOLE PERJURY CASE.

MR. SHIRLEY (Yorkshire, W.R., Doncaster) asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether he will cause inquiry to be made into the merits of what has been called "the Poole Perjury Case," in which a detective named Williams was sentenced to seven years' penal servitude; and, whether he is aware that considerable doubt exists in the minds of a large number of persons (including many members of the legal profession) as to whether Williams ought to have been convicted?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. CHILDERS) (Edinburgh, S.): In reply to my hon. Friend, I have to say that I presume, from the quantity of applications that have been addressed to the Home Office in this prisoner's behalf, that a considerable number of persons are of opinion that he has been improperly convicted. However, after a most careful inquiry into the merits of the case, I can find no reason which would justify me in departing from the decision arrived at by my two Predecessors in Office—namely, that this was not a case in which to advise any interference with the sentence.

### MARRIAGES (HOURS OF SOLEMNIZATION) ACT, 1886.

MR. CARVELL WILLIAMS (Nottingham, S.) asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether he has seen the following Letter, appearing in *The Birmingham Daily Post* of 31st May:—

> "Diocesan Registry, Lichfield,
> "May 29, 1886.
>
> "Marriage Hours Extension.
>
> "Dear Sir,—The Bishop does not propose altering the hours in the Marriage Licences until the Canon Law is altered by Convocation, so as to bring it into harmony with the Statute Law.
>
> "Yours faithfully,
> "Herbert C. Hodson;"

whether the same Canon which requires that all marriages shall take place between eight and twelve o'clock in the forenoon also prohibits the solemnization of marriages without banns or licence, and order that they shall be solemnized in time of Divine Service; whether marriages can now legally take place on the production of a registrar's certificate, without banns or licence, and habitually take place at other times than those of Divine Service; whether any inconvenience has resulted from the fact that the Canon has not been altered; and, whether, if the Bishop of Lichfield is acting illegally in refusing to afford facilities for marriages in accordance with the Marriage Act, 1886, steps will be taken to give effect in the diocese of Lichfield to the intentions of the Legislature?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. CHILDERS) (Edinburgh, S.): I have been in communication with the Bishop of Lichfield on this question, and I am happy to say that the supposed difficulty has entirely arisen out of a mistake on the part of a clerk in the Bishop's Registry. The letter recited in the Question is one of several which contained words to the effect that, although the printed form of licence would not be altered until the canon was amended, marriages under such licence might take place between 12 and 3. This sentence was accidentally omitted in the letter quoted by my hon. Friend. The Bishop tells me that he has addressed a special letter to his clergy with a view to remove any misapprehension which might possibly exist as to his hearty approval of the extension of the hours for marriage, and his perfect willingness that the clergy should avail themselves of the permission given them by the recent Act. I may say that as soon as my hon. Friend's Bill was read a second time I consulted the Law Officers; and, in accordance with their advice, the Queen has directed letters of business to be addressed to the two Convocations, authorizing them to amend the canon so as to make it agree with the provisions of the Act. As to the necessity for celebrating marriages during the time of Divine Service, I am afraid that if this obsolete requirement were enforced the greater part of the clergy would be deprived of their benefices for three years. But the old rule has long gone into absolute desuetude, and I do not think that any legislation on the subject is necessary.

### LAW AND JUSTICE (SCOTLAND)—DUTIES OF PROCURATORS FISCAL — BANKRUPT ESTATES.

MR. MACFARLANE (Argyll) asked the Lord Advocate, If a procurator fiscal, his partner or assistant, can, consistently with the public interests, act as trustee for a bankrupt estate?

THE LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. B. BALFOUR) (Clackmannan, &c.): I do not consider it consistent with the public interest that a Procurator Fiscal should act as a trustee on a bankrupt estate, because, in the course of his investigation as the trustee, questions of fraudulent bankruptcy or the like might arise, with which it would be his duty to deal in his separate capacity of Fiscal; and it appears to me that the ends of justice would be better served if the trustee was a distinct person, who could report the matter to the Fiscal, to be dealt with by him independently. The same considerations would not apply so directly if his partner or assistant was the trustee; but I cannot say that they would be altogether absent.

### LAW AND JUSTICE (SCOTLAND)—LAW OF SUMMONS OF REMOVAL—"VIOLENT PROFITS."

MR. MACFARLANE (Argyll) asked the Lord Advocate, If his attention has been called to the hardships entailed upon tenants under summons of removal, by their having, under certain circumstances, to find caution for "violent profits;" and, if he contemplates proposing any change in the Law?

THE LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. B. BALFOUR) (Clackmannan, &c.): I cannot say that this matter has been brought under my notice; but if the hon. Member knows of any case where the existing law has been productive of hardship, and will furnish me with the particulars of it, I shall be glad to consider whether there appears to be a case for legislation.

### LOSS OF LIFE AT SEA—REGULATIONS OF THE UNITED STATES.

MR. HOWARD VINCENT (Sheffield, Central) asked the President of the Board of Trade, If passenger vessels entering American ports have to conform to the regulations of the United States for the better prevention of loss of life at sea; if the S.S. *Oregon* had, in consequence, sufficient life belts in accessible places for all on board; if it is a fact that the good order which prevailed among the passengers when she was sinking, and which enabled all to be saved, was largely due to their being provided with life belts; and, when Her Majesty's Government propose to enforce similar obvious precautions on all British ships?

THE SECRETARY (Mr. C. T. D. ACLAND) (Cornwall, Launceston) (who replied): In reply to the first two Questions of the hon. Member, it is the case that passenger vessels entering American ports have to conform to the Regulations of the United States for the prevention of loss of life at sea, and we believe that the *Oregon* did carry sufficient life belts for all on board. The Report of the inquiry into the loss of the vessel does not enable me to state more than that good order prevailed. In reply to the last Question, the Board of Trade can only enforce the precautions laid down by Act of Parliament. As it has been repeatedly stated, a Committee of experts is inquiring into the question of boats, rafts, and life-saving apparatus carried by sea-going merchant ships, and when the inquiry is completed will report to me and to the Royal Commission on Loss of Life at Sea.

### RICHMOND PARK—TRICYCLES AND BICYCLES.

MR. KIMBER (Wandsworth) asked the honourable Member for North West Staffordshire, What causes or objections exist to the enjoyment of Richmond Park by riders of tricycles and bicycles, in common with other vehicles; and, whether he will be good enough to take such steps, in accordance with the requests which have been made to him, as may be necessary to procure permission of such enjoyment?

MR. LEVESON GOWER (A LORD of the TREASURY) (Stafford, N.W.): The First Commissioner has consulted His Royal Highness, the Ranger, on this subject. Any additional traffic, if it requires supervision, means additional expense, and very considerable expense would be incurred by necessary additions to the staff of constables now employed in Richmond Park, if meets or assemblies of cyclists were allowed. They would also seriously interfere with the enjoyment of the Park by other persons. If, however, all that is desired is that individual cyclists should be allowed the same privilege of passing through the Park that other carriages enjoy, the expense might be materially reduced, especially if Cyclist Clubs would render some assistance in enforcing the Regulations. If the First Commissioner received satisfactory evidence that a desire for such opportunities existed, he would undertake to prepare the necessary alterations of the Rules of the Park; but it should be clearly understood that if the Regulations were not observed the staff in the Park must be increased, or the privileges withdrawn.

## NORTH SEA FISHERIES CONVENTION —THE PROTECTING CRUISERS.

SIR EDWARD BIRKBECK (Norfolk, E.) asked the Secretary to the Admiralty, Whether, taking into consideration the fact that the class of cruisers hitherto used for the protection of the fisheries on the East Coast of England are quite unsuitable for the work upon which they are employed, owing to their being old and obsolete vessels, which renders them quite useless to enforce the provisions of the North Sea Fisheries Convention during the autumn and winter months, he will, without further delay, have these vessels replaced by modern ones which are superior, and at least equal to, those vessels in seagoing capabilities whose interests they have to maintain?

THE SECRETARY TO THE ADMIRALTY (Mr. HIBBERT) (Oldham): The *Hearty*, a powerful vessel and well adapted for the service, is now being fitted for the protection of the fisheries on the East Coast. I hope the hon. Member will consider this a satisfactory answer to his Question.

## EXCISE—DUTY ON BEER—THE FARMERS.

MR. STANLEY LEIGHTON (Shropshire, Oswestry) asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Whether he can give any hopes of relieving farmers from the payment of Duty on the Beer which they brew for the use of their own labourers, such beer being a part of the working expenses of their farms?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT) (Derby), in reply, said, that as the beer given by farmers to their labourers was in the nature of a payment in kind, it was practically a sale of beer. Under those circumstances, he could hold out no hope of the duty being taken off.

## METROPOLIS — CORPORATE BODIES — THE CITY FELLOWSHIP OF PORTERS.

MR. HOBHOUSE (Somerset, E.) asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether he is aware that, notwithstanding the answer given by his predecessor in office on the 30th of July 1885, no steps have yet been taken by the Corporation of the City of London to remedy or prevent the great defects shown to exist in connection with the fellowship of Free Porters of the City of London; whether he is aware that through the neglect of the Corporation the funds of the Society are rapidly dwindling owing to the expenditure annually exceeding the income by a large amount; and, whether he will take steps for causing a full and public inquiry to be made into the case?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. CHILDERS) (Edinburgh, S.): I have been in communication with the City authorities on the subject to which my hon. Friend's Question refers; and I am informed by them that the Committee, to which my Predecessor referred, in July last, as then inquiring into the expenses and resources of the Fellowship had stopped proceedings on account of an action having been brought by certain members of the Fellowship, in which the right of the Corporation to interfere with the funds of the Fellowship, or to issue rules for their administration, was called in question. This action was decided favourably to the Corporation in March last, and the suspended Committee has, I am informed, now resumed its sittings, and will spare no effort in trying to place the affairs of the Society on a better footing. I have no power to order a public inquiry, such as my hon. Friend suggests; but I will write to the Lord Mayor, and ask him to give his attention to the distress which undoubtedly prevails among the members of this Fellowship.

## THE COMMISSIONERS OF IRISH LIGHTS — PUBLIC COMPETITION—SIR JAMES DOUGLASS'S PATENTS.

Mr. FITZGERALD (Cambridge) asked the President of the Board of Trade, Whether the Commissioners of Irish Lights have refused to receive a tender from an Irish firm for the burners of Fanad Point Lighthouse, on the ground that they are prevented from seeking for tenders by public competition for such burners because three English firms only are licensed to make them; whether the burners specified are those patented by Sir James Douglass, Engineer in Chief to the Trinity House; whether the three firms referred to pay a sum of money for this licence to a Company who are the owners of Sir James Douglass's patent; whether Sir James Douglass is a shareholder or has any pecuniary interest in the Company; whether it is the second Company that he has formed for trading in his burners; whether he participates in the profit derived by the Company from the sale of these burners; whether this is a violation of the statement, that the use of these burners was to be given free to Lighthouse authorities; whether the Elder Brethren of the Trinity House state in their Report on the experiments with Lighthouse illuminants at South Foreland, that they were assisted by Sir James Douglass in carrying them on, and in preparing their Report; and, whether this Report concludes by strongly commending the patented burners of Sir James Douglass?

The SECRETARY (Mr. C. T. D. Acland) (Cornwall, Launceston) (who replied) said: The Commissioners of Irish Lights inform me that they recently received a communication from a Dublin firm requesting permission to tender for the manufacture of the burners for the improved light in course of erection at Fanad Point; but the request was not complied with, inasmuch as the burners are the patented invention of Sir James Douglass, the Commissioners being permitted to use them free of the payment of any fine or royalty. I have received from the Trinity House the following communication:—

> "The Elder Brethren are assured by Sir James Douglass that he has granted no formal licence to any firm; only to the General Lighthouse Board and the Board of Trade. That five English firms have been permitted to make his burners, and he is quite ready to grant the same permission for lighthouse burners on application to any other competent firm—English, Scotch, or Irish. That no royalty is payable by any of these permitted firms in respect of business supplied to the English, Scotch, or Irish Lighthouse authorities. That the first Company being wound up and a second Company formed, Sir James Douglass has taken a few shares for the purpose of handing them over to those who had *bonâ fide* interests in the old Company, but has nothing to do with its formation or management. Whatever profit may in any case come to him will be in respect of burners other than those for British Lighthouse service. The Elder Brethren were assisted by Sir James Douglass in carrying out the experiments at South Foreland, but not in preparing their Report. In fact, Sir James Douglass was absent from England for several months in Canada and at Minicoy in the Indian Ocean during the time that his burners were under trial. A reference to the Report will show that the candle-power of the Douglass burner, for which it is commended, was determined quite independently of Sir James Douglass's opinion or assistance.

## INSPECTOR OF MINES (SOUTH WALES).

Mr. KENYON (Denbigh, &c.) asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether it is true that Mr. Martin, of Prestwich, has been appointed Inspector of Mines for South Wales; and, if so, whether that gentleman is well acquainted with the Welsh language?

The SECRETARY of STATE (Mr. Childers) (Edinburgh, S.): I will answer this and the following Question of my hon. and learned Friend the Member for South Glamorgan (Mr. A. Williams) at the same time. I will first explain to the House that the Inspectors of Mines, 14 in number, are appointed by promotion from the office of Assistant Inspectors, of whom there are 19. Recently an Inspector of Mines stationed in South Wales, who could not speak Welsh, died. He had under him two Assistant Inspectors, both of whom speak Welsh. It became necessary to select a successor; but while there were three efficient Assistant Inspectors of 13 years' standing, who were fully competent for the post, the senior Assistant Inspector, who speaks Welsh, had only three years' service, and had not had sufficient service for promotion. I was, therefore, unable to make him an Inspector over the heads of efficient men so much senior to him; and I appointed Mr. Martin, who had 13 years' experience as Assistant Inspector. I am of opinion that, where it is practicable and fair to promote a Welsh-speaking Assistant Inspector to a Welsh district it should be done; but power to speak Welsh, especially when the two Assistants can do so, is not the most important qualification for an Inspectorship. The South Wales district is the most dangerous of all, and requires for its supervision great experience; and my consideration for the safety of the miners prevailed over my desire to satisfy the very natural wish for a native Inspector. I may be allowed to repeat that Mr. Martin will have under him two Welsh-speaking Assistants; so there need be nothing to prevent those colliers who cannot speak English from making known to the authorities any complaints or suggestions that they may have to make. The late Inspector, who discharged his duties most efficiently and, I believe, to the satisfaction of all, did not, as I have said, speak Welsh. I may also say that I propose to consider the advisability of appointing a Welsh Assistant Inspector in the place of Mr. Martin, so that a sufficient supply of Welsh-speaking officers may be kept up for future promotion.

Mr. KENYON: May I ask the right hon. Gentleman, whether he will take steps to see that Mr. Martin may pass an examination in Welsh in six months' time?

Mr. WILLIAM ABRAHAM (Glamorgan, Rhondda) asked, Whether it was not the fact that within the last few days the right hon. Gentleman had received Resolutions from various bodies of Welsh colliers, representing from 1,000 to 12,000 or 13,000 workmen, protesting against the appointment of a gentleman to the Chief Inspectorship of Mines in South Wales who was not conversant with the Welsh language, and who for that reason they considered to be unable to fulfil efficiently the duties of an Inspector of Mines in Wales; whether 15 out of 16 Members of that House, being Representatives of Welsh mining constituencies, had also, during the same time, protested against the same thing, and had memorialized the right hon. Gentleman with a view of trying to get him to reconsider the appointment and to cancel the same; and, whether, in view of the deep feeling of regret and disappointment now existing in the Principality respecting that appointment, he would endeavour to meet the wishes of the people and of their Representatives by cancelling the late appointment, and appointing instead some gentleman who was conversant with the language of the great bulk of the Welsh colliers?

Mr. CHILDERS: I do not think my hon. Friend could have heard my answer. I distinctly said that I thought it desirable, where it was possible, to appoint a Welsh-speaking Inspector to a Welsh district, but that other considerations were important—namely, the safety of the men, and that I could not undertake the responsibility of appointing to the most dangerous district in the Kingdom a gentleman of three years' experience over the head of a gentleman of 13 years' experience. I can only say that I abide by my answer.

## ISLANDS OF THE WESTERN PACIFIC —THE NEW HEBRIDES.

In reply to Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett,

The UNDER SECRETARY of STATE for FOREIGN AFFAIRS (Mr. Bryce) (Aberdeen, S.): Her Majesty's Government have heard from Sydney of the reported departure of two French vessels, a man-of-war and a transport, from Noumea for the New Hebrides. The French Ambassador yesterday informed the Secretary of State that he knew nothing of the report, which he did not believe, that those vessels had gone to land troops in the New Hebrides, and possibly to establish a station there. All that His Excellency had heard from his Government was that, in consequence of the murder of a French citizen or citizens, two small vessels had been sent to the New Hebrides. Her Majesty's Ambassador at Paris was directed by telegraph to call the attention of the French Government to the report as being calculated to cause great excitement in England and Australia. Her Majesty's Government cannot doubt that the engagement entered into in 1878, and confirmed in 1883 by the two countries to respect the independence of the New Hebrides, will be loyally observed by the French Government.

## STATE OF IRELAND—THE RIOTS IN ULSTER.

MR. SEXTON (Sligo, S.): I wish to ask the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant a Question of which I have given him private Notice, with reference to the apprehension of continued disturbances in Belfast. I wish now, having regard to the extremely grave condition of affairs, to ask the right hon. Gentleman, Whether he can give to the House a full statement of the causes of the origin and continuance of the riots; whether they were due to any action on the part of the Nationalist population; how many persons have been killed and wounded, and what were the particular circumstances attended by loss of life; what is the present condition as to public order of Belfast, Armagh, Lurgan, and Monaghan; and whether the Government consider that adequate measures have been taken for the restoration of order?

THE CHIEF SECRETARY (Mr. JOHN MORLEY) (Newcastle-on-Tyne): I am sorry to say, in reference to the state of Belfast, that I am not able to give very full and precise particulars of the origin of the very lamentable occurrence last night; but I will, by permission of the House, read the substance of a telegram which I received about 3 o'clock this afternoon. It comes from the Resident Magistrate in charge at Belfast—

> "Until 8 o'clock last night matters at Shankhill were quiet. After that a very hostile feeling set in against the constabulary. They were assailed in the most determined and violent manner with stones, and had to return to their barracks, which were immediately attacked, and every window in front of the house was broken and several men were wounded. The Riot Act was then read, and the police fired with fatal effect. Two women and four men were killed, and some were wounded. The men had to remain in barracks until relief came of 240 military."

I have, therefore, no information as to the circumstances which are alleged in the newspapers to have exasperated the mob against the police. The telegram goes on to say—

> "There are now 1,075 constabulary on duty."

I may say that since that that force has been reinforced by 300 further constabulary, so that there are now in Belfast 1,375 Royal Irish Constabulary—

> "The military force available for duty numbers about 400. The Mayor and the magistrates are now engaged in making arrangements for tonight, and a requisition has been signed by the General here to have a reinforcement of military. The constabulary were all posted by half-past 5 last night, and if we except the riot at Shankhill the rest of the town remained perfectly quiet. About 100 military have this day been sent to the Shankhill Barracks at the request of the Mayor. I will send further particulars later on."

As to the general origin of the disturbances in Belfast, the information is already, I should have supposed, in the possession of the House. The attack by the shipbuilders upon the navvies on Castleisland has already been described in the House. On Saturday last the funeral of the boy who was drowned took place, and the Catholic party made a demonstration and attended to the number of 12,000. Everything passed quietly till a place called the Brickfields was reached, where a large number of Protestants were assembled. The funeral party then began to throw stones, and made a determined attempt to close with their opponents; but that the police were able to prevent. At another place called Broadway, the Protestant party attacked the processionists, but were attacked by the police and driven back. On returning from the funeral the processionists attacked a small body of police, who charged with batons, and dispersed them. On Saturday evening the town was quiet. On Sunday the rioting was renewed, but was quickly suppressed. On Monday everything remained quiet. On Tuesday, about a quarter-past 11 in the evening, serious rioting set in, and the Town Inspector was injured and rendered unfit for duty, and one of the Resident Magistrates was also struck and disabled. There are now, besides the Divisional Magistrates, seven Resident Magistrates in Belfast—that is, five more than the regular number. As far as other parts of the North are concerned, at Lurgan, as the House is aware, there was a disturbance on Friday last, and a man was shot dead by firearms from a window. A man is now under arrest on the charge of having fired the shot which killed the man. Since then all has been comparatively quiet. This afternoon the man who was shot is to be buried, and it is apprehended that there may be some disturbance. A large body of police has been sent into Lurgan, and we hope they will be able to grapple with any circumstances which may arise. I do not think I have any intelligence from Monaghan or Armagh which is worth communicating to the House.

Mr. SEXTON: I wish to ask the right hon. Gentleman whether, considering the accounts which have appeared in the newspapers, the Government have any information that the serious riots resulting in loss of life which have occurred from Tuesday night forward were entirely due to the action of those who assembled to celebrate the defeat of the Government of Ireland Bill?

Mr. JOHN MORLEY: Our information is that the celebration of the defeat of the Government of Ireland Bill was the origin of the assembling of the crowd.

Major SAUNDERSON (Armagh, N.): Was not the man shot at Lurgan a Protestant, and was he not shot by the other Party?

Mr. T. M. HEALY (Londonderry, S.): Before that Question is answered, may I ask whether the two men shot at Monaghan were not shot by the Orange Party?

Mr. JOHN MORLEY: Yes, Sir; I believe it is proved that the man Gallagher, who was shot at Lurgan, did belong to the Protestant Party, and that the two men shot at Monaghan belonged to the National Party.

Mr. W. O'BRIEN (Tyrone, S.): I should like to ask whether any proceedings will be taken against the men whose speeches have incited to violence by telling the rioters that Ulster would fight and Ulster would be right?

Mr. JOHN MORLEY: That is a Question which will require some consideration.

## LAW AND POLICE (SCOTLAND)—DESTRUCTION OF THE BATHING SCREEN AT INNELLAN.

Mr MACFARLANE (Argyll) wished to ask the Lord Advocate a Question of which he had given him private Notice, Whether his attention had been called to the destruction of the bathing-screen erected by public funds at Innellan; and, whether he proposed to direct a criminal prosecution against the guilty parties?

The LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. B. Balfour) (Clackmannan, &c.), in reply, said, he yesterday received a letter containing a newspaper account of an indignation meeting with regard to this matter, and he at once sent down instructions for inquiry to be made into it.

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## PARLIAMENT—THE DISSOLUTION.

### MINISTERIAL STATEMENT.

The FIRST LORD of the TREASURY (Mr. W. E. Gladstone) (Edinburgh, Mid Lothian): Sir, I think the House will expect to hear from me what steps the Government have taken, or propose to take, in consequence of the division which occurred on Monday night, involving the defeat of the Bill for the Better Government of Ireland. Her Majesty's servants met on Tuesday and humbly advised Her Majesty to dissolve the present Parliament without delay. Her Majesty was pleased graciously to assent to that advice, and we shall accordingly ask the House to wind up the Business of the Session with all practicable despatch. Perhaps it will be for the convenience of the House that I should refer to the particular proceedings that will, as is usual on such occasions, be necessary in order to give proper effect to the resolution that I have stated on the part of the Crown. In the first place, Sir, with respect to Private Business, it will be requisite, in conformity with precedent, to pass a Resolution for the purpose of putting Private Bills in the new Parliament upon the footing of the stage which they may have reached in the present Parliament before its Dissolution. Next, I will give to-day Notice of a Motion to be made to-morrow that the Government shall have precedence upon all days for Financial Business, and Financial Business alone. Then, Sir, there is the question—not a very large one, but still one which will have to be considered—of the Recess of a few days at Whitsuntide, which it is difficult altogether to dispense with, particularly on account of the fact that Whit Monday, which would be the most convenient day for the purpose of putting forward the Business of the Government, is a Bank Holiday, and a day of general relaxation for the population. What we propose is that we should sit to-morrow, and at the close of to-morrow's Business that we should move the adjournment of the House until Wednesday in next week, thus giving Monday and Tuesday as Whitsun Holidays. With regard to legislation, our disposition and intention generally will be to drop Bills that are in our own charge, and can be considered of a contentious character. I am not able to-day to state with regard to every Bill in the hands of my hon. and right hon. Friends near me what will be done; but with respect to the more important Bills, and especially in regard to two of them, perhaps I may at once state that the Railway and Canal Traffic Bill is of a magnitude which renders it impossible for us to prosecute it compatibly with the intention of winding up rapidly the Business of the Session. On the other hand, with respect to the Medical Acts Amendment Bill, that Bill has been before Parliament for a number of times, almost countless, and has now reached a most favourable position, as I understand. There is hardly any point remaining for settlement, and no point of a seriously contested character. Therefore, we do not at all abandon, but we confidently cherish, the hope that that Bill, not being the subject of contest between Parties in this House, may pass into law. So much for legislation. Then with respect to Supply, what we propose is that to-night we should go forward with the Votes in the Navy Estimates precisely as had been intended, having reference to the amount of money that these Votes will produce and place at the disposal of the Government. There is, of course, another method of procedure, and that is, to take a Vote on Account for the Navy and Army Estimates, as is commonly done with the Civil Service Estimates. But that has not been the usual practice. It has been generally deemed objectionable to proceed by Votes on Account in connection with the Navy and Army Estimates; but I am not now speaking of it as a matter of great certainty. A great deal may depend on the amount of importance attached to the rule; but it may be more conveniently discussed on another occasion, if necessary, when the Votes are proposed. In determining to follow the usual course, the Government to-morrow propose to take the Votes for the Army on the same principle as those for the Navy will be taken to-day.

Sir MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH (Bristol, W.): That only applies to the Army and Navy Estimates.

Mr. W. E. GLADSTONE: Yes, that applies only to the Army and Navy Estimates. We shall then propose a Vote on Account for the Civil Services, which we think might conveniently be taken so as to enable the Departments to proceed, if necessary, as late as October the 31st. Then, Sir, that proceeding will enable us to take the Report of Supply, and to bring forward the Appropriation Bill for a first reading on Wednesday next. That, the House will observe, is the most expeditious mode of proceeding that it is in our power and duty to adopt. Then, Sir, there are just two other subjects which I ought to notice. We have considered the case of the Education Vote. It is evident that it would not be convenient, or advantageous, or according to precedent, to pursue a special and separate course with regard to the Vote of money for the purpose of education. So far, therefore, as the voting of money is concerned, we propose to include the Education Vote simply in the general Vote on Account. On the other hand, as it has been the custom of the House, and I think the invariable custom of the House, to make the Education Vote an occasion for an annual Statement reviewing the subject of education, I think it will be convenient that that course should not be departed from. Our proposal, therefore, is that if we are able to take the second reading of the Appropriation Bill on Thursday next, that it should be made the occasion of the usual Education Statement. That I think would be a regular proceeding, and we think it would be for the convenience of the House. And then, Sir, further, there is the Indian Budget, which will enjoy this year the advantage of being proposed at a considerably earlier period of the year than usual; though I am afraid it will be late if we reckon it by the probable expiration of the Session. We have arranged to take the Indian Budget on Monday week. I am not aware that there is any other matter which it is necessary for me, at this time, to mention. I may add that to-morrow I shall make a Motion asking for precedence for Financial Bills, and we shall likewise ask for a Vote on Account. I shall be glad to give any further explanation which the House may deem it necessary to require.

## ADJOURNMENT OF THE HOUSE—THE MINISTERIAL STATEMENT.

Sir MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH (Bristol, W.): Sir, there was an omission of so remarkable a character from the statement of the right hon. Gentleman that I am anxious to address some observations to the House upon it. And as these observations may give rise to debate, I think I may as well take the ordinary course of asking the leave of the House to move the adjournment of the House in order to call attention to a definite subject of urgent public importance—namely, the statement of the First Lord of the Treasury as to the course proposed by Her Majesty's Government in consequence of the vote of the House on Monday last.

Mr. SPEAKER: The right hon. Gentleman proposes to ask the leave of the House to move the adjournment of the House, in order to call attention to a definite subject of urgent public importance—namely, the statement of the First Lord of the Treasury as to the course proposed by Her Majesty's Goverment in consequence of the vote of the House on Monday last. The Question I have to put is that the leave of the House be so given.

The pleasure of the House not having been signified,

Mr. SPEAKER called on those Members of the House who supported the Motion to rise in their places, and not less than 40 Members having accordingly risen in their places:—

Mr. SPEAKER: I call upon Sir Michael Hicks-Beach.

Sir MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH (Bristol, W.): Sir, I am rather surprised that any hon. Member should have thought it necessary to object to grant me leave for this purpose. But, perhaps, it was to some extent my own fault for not having previously explained that the observations I desire to address to the House are rather in the nature of an inquiry than of a controversial character. The right hon. Gentleman has informed the House of the advice which, on their responsibility, Her Majesty's Ministers have addressed to the Queen. That, Sir, I do not propose to discuss, even it were right to do so. The responsibility rests with them; and I will merely say that we, at any rate, do not shrink from the appeal to the country which the right hon. Gentleman proposes to make. But, Sir, having given that advice, it is perfectly clear, I think, that, in the first place, it should be acted upon without unnecessary delay. I understand from the statement of the right hon. Gentleman that, so far as Her Majesty's Government are concerned, no action on their part will be spared to effect that object. But the right hon. Gentleman did not state the exact date on which he anticipated that Parliament will be dissolved, and possibly he may be able to supplement his statement on that point. With regard to legislation, Sir, of course, I imagine it will be universally admitted that in a Parliament whose days are numbered nothing like opposed legislation could be properly dealt with, and the only Bill of importance, so far as I understand the statement of the right hon. Gentleman, which Her Majesty's Government intend to ask the House to prosecute is the Medical Acts Amendment Bill. I am not prepared at the present moment to say how far that may be considered to be of a controversial character or not; but I understand, at least, the right hon. Gentleman fully admits this, that if it be controversial, or any other Bill on the Paper be controversial, those Bills will not be attempted to be prosecuted by Her Majesty's Government. We are asked to give to the Government certain necessary Votes in the Army, Navy, and Education Estimates, and also a Vote on Account for the Miscellaneous Services, which will place the Government in funds up to October 31st next. Now, I wish to draw the attention of the House to the precedents in this matter. I have no fault whatever to find with the proposal that Votes of this nature should be passed, and that a Vote on Account should be given so far as may be necessary for the Public Service during the time required, in order to bring about, in the first place, a Dissolution of Parliament, and, secondly, the election of a new Parliament. But, Sir, when we are asked to pass a Vote on Account for a period extending very far beyond that necessity, I think a question arises which deserves the very grave consideration of the House of Commons. Now, when Lord Melbourne's Government was defeated in the House of Commons in 1841 by a majority of one only, instead of 30, the Ministers of the day advised Her Majesty to dissolve. Lord John Russell, who represented that Government in this House, informed the House of Commons that it was the intention of the Government, in giving that advice to the Queen, to ask the House for a Vote on Account for six months from April the 1st, sufficient to supply the immediate wants of the Budget and prevent inconvenience to individuals and to the Public Offices. The Vote having been given early in June—the 7th of June, I think—that practically was a Vote on Account only for four months. Now, what was Sir Robert Peel's reply? Sir Robert Peel said—and I wish specially to ask the attention of the House to his words, because all will admit his high authority, including, I am sure, the right hon. Gentleman himself — Sir Robert Peel said—

> "His opinion was simply this, that, leaving the responsibility exclusively with the Advisers of the Crown—if they were determined to assume that responsibility, and to advise the exercise of the unquestioned prerogative of dissolving the Parliament, that responsibility ought to be assumed, and that prerogative ought to be exercised, with the least possible delay."—(3 *Hansard*, [58] 1269.)

He dwelt on the reasons for the second most important requirement—the necessity for quieting the public mind, which, surely, if it existed then, exists to the full now, when, as we know, the urgent and imperative necessity of restoring social order in Ireland has induced Her Majesty's Government to adopt a great policy, which has been rejected by the House of Commons, and when we have evidences—I am sorry to say very painful evidences—of the embittered state of feeling in the country, and know the risks that it is running from the utter absence of security and certainty as to the future, until the day arrives when not only the result of the General Election is known, but also the policy of the Government that may be maintained by the House in power after that Election. Well, Sir, I have quoted the opinion expressed by Sir Robert Peel. Sir Robert Peel stated that he had no desire whatever, as I have no desire, to interfere with or decline anything necessary for the proper conduct of the Public Service. But he went on to ask this most important question. He asked Lord John Russell "to declare his intention that the new Parliament should be called together with the least possible delay after the elections were over." He stated—I quote his words—

> "According to all analogy, and according to precedent under all former circumstances, when Parliaments had been so dissolved, the succeeding Parliament had been at once summoned. The noble Lord (Lord John Russell) would, no doubt, recollect that in the year 1784, after Mr. Pitt dissolved the Parliament, as short an interval as possible was permitted to elapse before the succeeding Parliament was summoned. In 1807, after the Parliament of the day was dissolved, the succeeding Parliament was also called as soon possible, and in 1831 . . . . the Dissolution was immediate, and the convocation of a new Parliament was also immediate."—(*Ibid.* 1271.)

He went on to say—

> "These were the three instances most analogous to the present in which that course was pursued. He thought, therefore, the House had a fair right to expect from Her Majesty's Ministers that the new Parliament, if a new Parliament was to be called, should be assembled at as early a period as possible."—(*Ibid.*)

Sir Robert Peel added—

> "If the noble Lord should think it consistent with his duty to make, on the part of Her Majesty's Government, a public declaration that that was the advice which would be given by Her Majesty's servants to the Crown, he would say that a declaration of that description from the noble Lord would be satisfactory to him."—(*Ibid.*)

He went on to say—

> "The noble Lord would find there was no Constitutional objection to his making such a declaration; because . . . . in 1807 the Crown distinctly notified to the Parliament that was about to be dissolved that its successor would be immediately called. . . . . In 1820, on the demise of King George III., the same course was pursued . . . . and in 1831, the last instance . . . . in the Speech from the Throne, it was announced in these terms—'I have observed with satisfaction your desire to introduce strict economy into every branch of the Public Service. I trust the efforts of the new Parliament, which I shall forthwith direct to be called, will be applied to the prosecution of the same object.'"—(*Ibid.* 1272.)

Sir Robert Peel concluded thus—

> "He hoped he had now shown first, that on four occasions—namely, on the occasion of 1784, and on the occasions of 1807, of 1820, and of 1831, the Crown did not object formally to notify to

the Parliament, then sitting, that its successor would be immediately assembled."—(*Ibid.*)

Therefore, Sir, he pressed Lord John Russell as to his intentions in this matter; and immediately he had sat down, Lord John Russell rose, and said—

> "I cannot have any hesitation in saying that the advice which we shall give to the Crown will be that no time should be lost in dissolving the present Parliament and in summoning a new one."—(*Ibid.* 1274.)

Now, Sir, that is the question which I address to the right hon. Gentleman. Will he give us the pledge that was asked for, on the reasons I have quoted, by Sir Robert Peel in 1841, which was supported by him, with all his Constitutional authority, by arguments which I do not believe can possibly be refuted, which applies, to my mind, more strongly now than then, and which I will venture to say is a pledge that ought to be insisted upon by the House of Commons? Sir Robert Peel, immediately on receiving the reply, which I have quoted, from Lord John Russell, accepted it as satisfying him fully in the matter. The application of the Government of the day for a Vote on Account was complied with, and Parliament was summoned to meet on August the 19th, the events I have related having taken place early in June. Well, Sir, that pledge would perfectly satisfy me now. Some people may say that the House of Commons has no right to vote sufficient sums on account to make the Government of the day, who are obliged to appeal from the verdict of the House of Commons to the country, independent of Parliament. But I am quite content, if the right hon. Gentleman will give the pledge I have quoted—I am quite content to accept that as fully satisfying anything I desire to ask. But I am bound to say that I think nothing less than that ought to satisfy us; and for myself, and I believe for my Friends near me, I fully adopt and endorse the statement of Sir Robert Peel, that if Lord John Russell could not give the pledges asked for, he (Sir Robert Peel)

> "Could not be a party to a vote which would imply an opinion on his part that the Parliament might be dissolved, and its successor not be immediately assembled."—(*Ibid.* 1273.)

Sir, I think I have kept my promise to the House that what I would say would be in the nature rather of a friendly inquiry than of a controversial character. I cannot but believe that the right hon. Gentleman, having before him the precedents I have quoted, seeing the grave Constitutional objections which exist to any other course, will comply with my request, and that we shall be informed not only that the Dissolution will take place at as early a date as possible, but also that the new Parliament will be summoned together without any delay in order that it may be able to pronounce an opinion on the conduct of the Government which sits on that Bench. I beg to move that the House do now adjourn.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That this House do now adjourn."—(*Sir Michael Hicks-Beach.*)

THE FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY (Mr. W. E. GLADSTONE) (Edinburgh, Mid Lothian): Mr. Speaker, the right hon. Gentleman has asked me whether I can give distinct information to the House with regard to the date of the Dissolution of Parliament? I cannot give any positive information to the House, because there is a portion of the proceedings necessary to bring about a Dissolution requiring the intervention of the other branches of the Legislature, and which is not so much within our control as we hope the proceedings to be taken in this House will usually be found to be. Still, I can say to the right hon. Gentleman that I hope, undoubtedly, that the Dissolution may take place before the close of the month, and that if we are fortunate in the steps we are about to take, it may be effected within the week that ends, I think, upon Saturday, the 26th. The next Question of the right hon. Gentleman is in respect to the Bills now before the House. Let me say, in the first place, that I have not deemed it any part of my duty to make any intimation on the part of the Government with respect to Bills not under our control. But that must be by the mode of persuasion, and not by the direct method of proceeding which may be exercised in regard to our own Bills. With regard to our own Bills, I said I was not in a position to give a pledge; but with regard to two of them, I could give an intimation of our intention on account of their importance, and that our rule would be not to prosecute legislation that is generally held and understood to be of a controversial character—what we call contested legislation. But now I do not want to put myself exactly in this position—that because some Gentleman rises in his place and says he objects to a Bill, that Bill is thereupon and thereby to be put down as a contested Bill. I think there is among us a sufficient amount of understanding as to what is meant by contested legislation to exempt me from all unnecessary or serious danger in laying down that general rule, and the particular application of it. I think I may say that possibly, as to some Bills, to-day, but certainly not later than to-morrow, we shall be able to give pretty definite answers. We have gone over the list of Government Bills, and I do not think there will be much difficulty in the matter. The right hon. Gentleman put a question of considerable interest and importance. He commenced by intimating that he had been taken by surprise that I had not made an intimation on the subject of the date when the new Parliament will be called together. Now, Sir, I am very reluctant indeed to say at the outset, although I intend to comment fairly on what the right hon. Gentleman has said—I am very reluctant to make this a subject of contest between the two sides of the House. I think it would not be expedient; and I should greatly desire to take some course, upon consideration, which would obviate any risk of that kind. But I must say that the statement of the right hon. Gentleman by no means exhausts the case. It is a matter of course that one vital element is the period of the Session at which Dissolution takes place. The right hon. Gentleman has quoted, for example, the Dissolution advised by Lord Grey in the year 1831. Yes, Sir; but that Dissolution occurred at the very commencement of the Session; and it was a matter of course that Parliament should be convened at once to resume its ordinary labours in the consideration of Public Business. The right hon. Gentleman did not mention the precise date in 1817, nor do I recollect the date in 1821; but it was not at a late period; still it was a somewhat advanced period. But this I wish to point out to the right hon. Gentleman. He has stated with perfect accuracy what took place in 1841. But I am not prepared to admit that this is a parallel case. That was not a case where the Government, upon its own independent action, found it necessary upon a great question of policy to appeal from the House to the country. That was a case where the House had taken the matter into its own hands, and had pronounced sentence of condemnation upon the Government. [*A laugh.*] Well, Sir, from that part and quarter of the House the standard of knowledge and the regard for history are of a character that I would rather not take any notice of; and I pass by what is intimated or suggested in that peculiar latitude. This is the fact—that after a long and arduous series of conflicts, with gradually diminishing majorities on the part of the Liberal Government of the day, in 1841 a Resolution was moved by Sir Robert Peel to the effect that the Government ought to quit Office. But the House of Commons, as I have said, took the matter into its own hands, and the Government had no option at all in the case. The case where the Government appeals to the country from the House of Commons is a totally different case, and I am not ready to admit that the same considerations apply to it. I believe I am correct in saying, and here again I beg that no inference may be drawn from what I am about to state, because I do not wish, if it can be avoided, that this matter should become a contest between the two sides of the House—I believe I am correct in stating that in no case since the Dissolution of 1841 has any Government been dismissed, in the first place, by a Vote of Confidence. I believe I am also correct in saying that at no Dissolution since that year has the Government been called upon before the Dissolution to make a declaration with regard to the immediate calling together of Parliament after the Election. There are two cases which I may mention, and which the noble Lord who sits opposite (Lord John Manners) will recollect, seeing that the noble Lord was himself a party to the advising of a Dissolution. I am aware that in 1859 there was a pledge given by the Government which advised the Dissolution, and the Dissolution was early in the Session; and then it was a matter of course that Parliament should meet immediately. In 1852 the Government of which the noble Lord (Lord John Manners) was a Member advised a Dissolution of Parliament, admitting itself distinctly to be in a minority; but the Government claimed the right of appeal to the country, and advised a Dissolution, which took place, I think, in the latter part of July. No pledge was asked as to the date at which the new Parliament should re-assemble, and if I am not mistaken it re-assembled in the middle of November. Such was the case in 1852, regulated and conducted by the Party opposite, one of whose distinguished Members — the noble Lord—I rejoice to see, after a long career, still exists to assist and guide the Councils of the House, and long may he. Then comes the case of 1868, which was likewise a remarkable one. The right hon. Gentleman seems to think that a majority of 30 is very remarkable and magnificent, and that anybody ought to be happy to form one of that majority in whatever way that majority was composed, however much it may resemble what in popular geology is called plum-pudding rock. If the right hon. Gentleman will go back to 1868 he will find that the Government of the day was defeated not upon a proposal which was defined by those who made it to save the essence of the Legislative Union, but on a proposal which they admitted destroyed the only Article of the Legislative Union that in the Act of Union itself is stated to be vital and fundamental. That decision was arrived at, not by a majority of 30, for there was a majority of more than 60; but, nevertheless, that Government remained in Office for about six months, and it retired from Office at a time, the date of which I happen to recollect, for I was called upon to give advice on the 2nd of December following the vote of the House of Commons, which was given in the month of March. No pledge with regard to the assembling of the new Parliament was either obtained or even asked for; and it is rather a curious fact, considering the high Constitutional knowledge the right hon. Gentleman has exhibited on this occasion and of which I do not complain, that he has omitted all reference to the remarkable cases which occurred in 1852 and 1868, in both of which cases unnecessary delay was interposed by the Party of which the right hon. Gentleman is a Member. All I have said shows how imperfect the Constitutional researches of the right hon. Gentleman have been; but I have other matters to consider. I must observe, first, that I am not quite sure what is the meaning of the right hon. Gentleman when he asks that Parliament should be forthwith called together. I am desirous to know that meaning with exactitude, because there is a distinction which I think it material to draw. I do not think it would be reasonable on more grounds than one, supposing the new Parliament, which I hope will contain a very large proportion of the Members of this Parliament, although not quite the whole of them—I do not think it would be reasonable to ask a great body of Gentlemen, the bulk of whom will have been engaged from November last down to the end of July, either in the agreeable occupations of the Session, or the still more agreeable diversion of two hotly-contested General Elections—to ask Parliament to recommence the labours of the Session, involving the further treatment of measures based upon the measures of the present Government with respect to their Irish policy. That, you may say, is begging the question of the results of the General Election; but I do not mean to beg it at all. Whatever the labours of the coming Session may be, I am by no means sure that if another Government came in with another policy they would not find them still more arduous. Whatever they may be, I do not think that the months of August and September ought to be devoted to those labours, and I must ask that those labours should not be resumed without some reasonable intermission. I assume that the right hon. Gentleman is not thinking of that. I see that the right hon. Gentleman assents to what I say. Then I understand his question to mean —"Will you undertake that Parliament will be called together at as early a day as possible for the purpose of determining who are to be the Government and what is to be the policy?" I have shown that that has not been the course pursued on the occasions which have occurred of a defeat of the Ministry since 1841. But, at the same time, I am disposed to think that there is a good deal of weight in some of the suggestions of the right hon. Gentleman. It may be that Dissolution may have results so unequivocal that they may speak for themselves. It may be, on the other hand, that they are of a more equivocal character. I am disposed to make this admission on my own responsibility. It is highly probable that it may be the proper course that Parliament should meet for the purpose of determining this great question of policy at the very earliest moment. I think it quite certain it ought to meet at an early period. About that I have no doubt whatever. The state of Ireland and the Irish Question, whatever view we take of them, undoubtedly require so much as that; and I feel, although I have had no opportunity of consulting my Colleagues on the point—I feel to that extent that I am perfectly safe, and that I shall be borne out by them. If the right hon. Gentleman wishes to go further than that, and to require from me, under the existing circumstances, a more positive pledge than that, I do not think I can give it without the authority of my Colleagues; but in that case I would undoubtedly undertake to consult them, and to place myself in a position to inform him by to-morrow. This I may point out — the proposal made is to fix October the 31st as the date down to which we should take Votes on Account. The right hon. Gentleman quotes the term of six months given in 1841. The period now proposed would be about four months; and in the other case, the promise having been given and Parliament dissolved, I think it was a period of three months. I refer to that contested matter very reluctantly. I have stated what I feel very strongly—that the country ought not to be allowed to remain in uncertainty after the General Election as to the policy likely to be pursued with respect to Ireland. That, I think, is a question of principle, and that pledge I can give in the most distinct and positive manner. If the right hon. Gentleman finds it necessary to press me further, then I must ask him to allow me to consult my Colleagues before giving an answer, and I must ask that he will put his Question down in writing for to-morrow, so as to enable me to reply exactly.

SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH (Bristol, W.): I cannot precisely answer the question of the right hon. Gentleman, without an opportunity for the consideration of what he has said, and of consulting with others; but much of what he has said has given me great satisfaction, and I therefore ask the leave of the House to withdraw the Motion for Adjournment.

MR. T. M. HEALY (Londonderry, S.): As Her Majesty's Government have now determined to dissolve, may I ask whether the ordinary protection afforded to Members by a Resolution of the House may be relied on? That Resolution affirms it to be a high contempt of the Privileges of this House for any Peer of the Upper House to intermeddle in the election of any Member of this House. That Resolution, up to the present moment, has remained a mere formal matter. Year after year the House of Commons has assented to its passing without having taken the slightest steps whatever to enforce it, although we all know that the most gross contempt of the terms and spirit of the Resolution has been perpetrated again and again by a large expenditure of money, by interference on platforms, and in a thousand other ways, on the part of persons belonging to the Upper House of the Legislature. Indeed, the intermeddling of the Peers in the election of Members of the House of Commons has been carried to such an extent as to become a public scandal. I, therefore, ask the Government to make provision that the ordinary protection afforded by this Resolution shall be fully enforced in the coming General Election.

MR. CARVELL WILLIAMS (Nottingham, S.): I should be glad to learn from the Prime Minister whether the Government propose to take any steps with regard to Bills which have passed this House, and are now before the other House? I put this question in the interest of persons who have a special concern in certain measures which have not yet been dealt with in "another place."

THE FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY (Mr. W. E. GLADSTONE) (Mid Lothian): I am not aware of any particular difficulty as regards the Bills now before the House of Lords. Of course, we shall do all that we can to secure, as far as possible, that the fruits and labours of the Session shall not be lost.

MR. W. H. SMITH (Strand, Westminster): I wish to ask a Question of the Chancellor of the Exchequer in regard to a particular Vote in Supply—namely, whether the Vote for the building of the new Admiralty and War Office will be pressed forward? There is also another question upon which I am anxious to have some statement from the right hon. Gentleman—namely, whether his attention and the attention of the Secretary of State for the Home Department have been called to the very serious condition of Westminster Abbey, and to the fact that there exists no fund whatever which can be used for the purpose of preserving the Abbey? Communications have, I believe, been taking place between the right hon. Gentleman and the Dean and Chapter of Westminster, with the view of bringing forward some measure to provide funds for the preservation of this important building; and I wish to know, in regard to the power at present proposed by the Government, what steps may be necessary to prevent, for a time at least, any disaster arising to Westminster Abbey from the absence of any fund sufficient to effect the object desired?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT) (Derby): With regard to the question of the hon. and learned Member for South Londonderry (Mr. T. M. Healy), he will be aware that the Resolution passed by the House of Commons is a Resolution in the hands of the House, and is not a matter of which the Government have any special cognizance. I have not the smallest doubt that Members of the House of Lords will pay that attention to the Resolution which it ought to receive. That is the only answer I can give to the hon. and learned Gentleman on that point. As to the question of the right hon. Gentleman opposite (Mr. W. H. Smith), as Chancellor of the Exchequer, I have, as the right hon. Gentleman knows, no cognizance of any matter relating to Westminster Abbey. No doubt, we are all extremely anxious that measures should be taken at once for the preservation of that edifice. The intention has been, and still is, to enable the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, as I understand, to advance any funds that may be required for the purpose; and my right hon. Friend the Home Secretary, who has the matter in hand, is considering what can be done, and if it is not possible to do something even within what remains of the Session. It would not be desirable for the Treasury

*Mr. W. H. Smith*

to interfere in the matter, as it is not in any way a public Vote; but, pending the action of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, they will consider what is to be done in the interval. As regards the Admiralty and War Office building, nothing will be done until Parliament has been consulted.

MR. LABOUCHERE (Northampton): If the Government propose to take any Vote for Westminster Abbey, it will certainly be treated as a controversial matter. There are four Canons of Westminster with £1,000 a-year each, representing a capital of something like £100,000, and many hon. Members think that the expenses should be met out of those funds.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE HOME DEPARTMENT (Mr. CHILDERS) (Edinburgh, S.): I think the hon. Member has misunderstood the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who said that no Vote would be asked for, but that it was desirable to make some arrangement with the Ecclesiastical Commissioners by which they will be induced to advance something in order to prevent the Abbey from tumbling down.

MR. HENEAGE (Great Grimsby): I wish to ask the Secretary to the Board of Trade if it is the intention of the Government to go forward with a short Bill to amend the provisions of the Merchant Shipping (Fishing Boats) Act of 1883? ["No!"] It is a very short Act, and one which is not likely to raise any controversial matter.

THE SECRETARY TO THE BOARD OF TRADE (Mr. C. T. D. ACLAND) (Cornwall, Launceston): I am obliged to the hon. Member for putting the Question. I have not yet had an opportunity of consulting the Board of Trade on the matter; but I had intended to ask the House to allow me to introduce this Bill, and I have already given Notice of it this evening. The measure is simply intended to effect a small reform in reference to fishing boats, and I do not expect any opposition to it.

MR. BUCHANAN (Edinburgh, W.): I would like to put a Question to my right hon. and learned Friend the Lord Advocate as to the course of procedure this evening. There are no less than six or eight Bills on the Paper relating to Scotland; and I wish to know which of them the right hon. and learned Gentleman proposes to go on with to-night, which of them he contemplates abandoning altogether, and the order in which he proposes to proceed with those which are to be prosecuted?

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL (Kirkcaldy, &c.): I trust the Government will make some general statement as to the course of procedure to-night. I should be glad to learn what will be taken to-night if Supply is disposed of before half-past 12?

THE FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY (Mr. W. E. GLADSTONE) (Edinburgh, Mid Lothian): The Medical Acts Amendment Bill.

MR. GREGORY (Sussex, East Grinstead): Is the Secretary to the Treasury able to say when the Customs Bill will be introduced?

MR. MARK STEWART (Kirkcudbright): Is it intended to go on with the Burgh Police and Health (Scotland) Bill?

THE LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. B. BALFOUR) (Clackmannan, &c.): I think it is quite plain that the Burgh Police and Health (Scotland) Bill must be dropped. That is perfectly clear. There are one or two smaller Bills, to which I do not expect any opposition, which may be proceeded with. I propose to introduce into the Returning Officers Charges Bill certain Amendments which are intended to give effect to the resolutions arrived at at a meeting of Scotch Members a few days ago.

SIR RICHARD WEBSTER (Isle of Wight): May I ask my hon. and learned Friend the Attorney General when he proposes to proceed with the Revising Barristers Appointment Bill?

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir CHARLES RUSSELL) (Hackney, S.): That is a Bill which must be proceeded with; but it has not yet been printed. I propose, however, to take the second reading on Thursday next.

MR. PULESTON (Devonport): It will be convenient to a good many Members of the House if the Prime Minister will state whether Members whose names have been drawn to sit on Private Bill Committees the week after next will have to remain in town?

THE FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY (Mr. W. E. GLADSTONE) (Edinburgh, Mid Lothian): Certainly not.

SIR JULIAN GOLDSMID (St. Pancras, S.): Do the Government propose to proceed with the Parks Transfer Bill?

THE SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY (Mr. HENRY H. FOWLER) (Wolverhampton, E.): The Customs Bill will be introduced this evening, so far as it relates to the Wine Duties, as that is a non-contentious matter. The other parts of the Bill, which may give rise to controversy, will stand over until the Autumn Session. With regard to the Parks Transfer Bill, I am afraid that that must be considered as a controversial matter.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR (Donegal, E.): I wish to put a Question to the right hon. Gentleman the Home Secretary in reference to his intentions in regard to the Coal Mines Regulation Act Amendment Bill. Two Bills upon the same subject were introduced early in the Session, one of them by the right hon. Gentleman the late Home Secretary (Sir R. Assheton Cross). Both of them were deferred in order to enable the Government to bring in the Bill which is now on the Table. I presume, after what the Prime Minister has said, that the Government have abandoned all idea of proceeding with that measure. Therefore, I would ask the right hon. Gentleman if he will afford facilities for proceeding with the two minor Bills which have been withheld in order that the Government might be enabled to bring in their measure?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE HOME DEPARTMENT (Mr. CHILDERS) (Edinburgh, S.): The Coal Mines Regulation Bill contains, I am afraid, a good deal of contentious matter; and, therefore, we cannot undertake to go on with it. Under the circumstances, I think the best course would be to withdraw all three Bills.

SIR JOSEPH M'KENNA (Monaghan, S.): Is it intended to go on with the National Teachers Bill?

[No reply.]

Motion, by leave, *withdrawn.*

## *ORDERS OF THE DAY.*

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### SUPPLY—NAVY ESTIMATES.

SUPPLY—*considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

(1.) £203,400, Admiralty Office.

(2.) Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £1,729,500, be granted to Her Majesty, to defray the Expenses of the Dockyards and Naval Yards at Home and Abroad, which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1887."

SIR JOHN GORST (Chatham): I have a Motion on the Paper, Mr. Courtney, to move the reduction of the Vote by £3,000, the amount of the salaries of the Civil Assistants to the Superintendents of Her Majesty's Dockyards. These Civil Assistants have been appointed in the three great Dockyards of Portsmouth, Devonport, and Chatham. I make the Motion for the purpose of eliciting from the Admiralty some explanation in regard to the Report of the Committee on Dockyard Management, and obtaining information as to the general policy of the Admiralty in reference to Dockyard organization. That Committee, I am sorry to say, has taken upon itself the duty of making very general and sweeping charges against a particular class of persons—the *employés* in Her Majesty's Dockyards. The Committee which took upon itself that function consisted of gentlemen who were very admirable naval officers, but who had no particular experience of Dockyard administration, and were not gentlemen who ought to have taken upon themselves so very obnoxious a task as that of censuring the Dockyard *employés.* The Committee consisted of Vice Admiral Graham, who had never had any experience in connection with an English Dockyard, and whose only Dockyard experience was gained at Malta; Mr. Main, who was principal clerk of the Accountant General's Department; Mr. Stainer, Constructor and Assistant Surveyor of Dockyards, all Admiralty officers; and Mr. Gordon Miller, of the Transport Department, who acted as Secretary, and whose experience had been derived chiefly from the Transport Department at Portsmouth in connection with the large troopships which carry troops to and from India. The evidence taken by the Committee was confined almost entirely to what went on at Portsmouth, and that in connection with the troopships there; and it will be found that a good deal of the complaint relates to alleged irregularities and inconveniences experienced in Portsmouth Dockyard in the management of these troopships. The Committee obtained a number of statements from the various witnesses by putting leading questions to them, and then they rashly generalized the evidence thus obtained from one particular class of one particular branch of one particular Dockyard, and preferred wholesale charges against all the *employés* in all the Dockyards. No member of the Committee in any way represented the Dockyard workmen. No witness was called from the Dockyards to make any statement on their behalf; but, nevertheless, this Committee, on which the men were not represented, made most general charges against them. They said that—

"Idleness and incompetence in Dockyards are practically unchecked. We have confirmed this evidence by an exhaustive personal inspection."

"An exhaustive personal inspection!" When, in another part of their Report, they state that their inquiry has been confined entirely to Portsmouth Dockyard. They go on to say—

"In fact, any visitor to a Dockyard must be struck with the purposeless manner in which numbers of men are constantly wandering about all parts of the Yard, even where no work is going on."

Now, if any visitor saw a number of men wandering about a Dockyard, for purposes of which he did not happen to be aware, is that any proof that extensive idleness exists in the Dockyards generally? I think I shall be able to show the Committee some of the purposes for which men have been wandering about the Dockyards, and they are purposes which are not altogether creditable to the Admiralty itself. The Committee go on to say—

"As to the question of degree, we are of opinion that idleness exists to a grave extent; and that, as no attempt appears to have been made to deal with it seriously, we have every reason to believe that it is increasing. We do not wish to say that idleness is habitual with all workmen. It would be unjust not to recognize the fact that the Dockyards possess many efficient workmen who conscientiously do a fair day's work; but waste of time is habitual and extensive. So far has this been reduced to a system that men are, we believe, deputed to watch the approach of the Superintendent, or of their own immediate officers."

That is the statement of the Committee; but I have full information on the subject, and I believe that the statement contained in this Report is altogether inaccurate; that there is not the slightest foundation for it; and that no men have ever been employed to watch the approach of the Superintendent or their own immediate officers. It is very much to be regretted that these charges against a large body of workmen should have been made. I think myself that it is always a mistake to make general charges against a mass of people. As a matter of fact, men are very much alike, and when you set down an entire class of men as guilty of idleness or vice the charges are almost sure to be untrue. One would have supposed that charges of this grave and wholesale character would have been based on some evidence; but when you come to look at the evidence given before the Committee, you will find that there is no ground whatever for this charge of idleness. There are some statements made by naval officers who were not called before the Committee, but appear to have sent in written statements. I regret to find one from an officer so deservedly respected as Admiral Hornby. Admiral Hornby gives utterance to opinions very much the same as those of the Committee; but he does not adduce a single fact in support of those opinions. He talks about seeing people

> "walking about at a pace which is marvellous for its slowness."

But as to whether the men of whom he speaks were in the discharge of their duty or not he says nothing. I am certainly astonished that an officer of Admiral Hornby's experience should have jumped to the conclusion that, because he saw men walking at a pace which was not rapid, they were therefore idling away their time. Commodore Fitzroy was asked if he had noticed any cases of idleness, and, if so, to what extent; and in his reply he mentions, as an instance, that nearly two years before the date on which he was writing he saw two workmen who were supposed to be repairing the *Sultan's* hawse pipes either reading a newspaper or asleep. He adds—"I saw this myself from the *Hercules* stern-walk." Now here is an officer asked to give evidence of idleness in a Naval Dockyard on the part of the workmen, and he is only able to mention a case which occurred two years before relating to two individuals. And even in that case he could not know that the men were culpable. It was impossible for him to know whether they were not waiting for stores or some important apparatus which was not ready at the time, and therefore rendered it impossible for them to continue their proper task. During the hour and a-half of which Commodore Fitzroy speaks, the idleness of the men may not have been caused by their own fault, but by the fault of those who ought to have supplied them with the means of going on with their work. Then there is the evidence of Captain Johnstone, who says—

> "No cases of idleness which I could positively identify as such have recently come under my notice; but, from information which I have every reason to believe reliable, it appears that there are still cases in which a deliberate cessation of work during working hours occurs."

Thus you have Commodore Fitzroy referring to a case which occurred two years before, and then Captain Johnstone stating that when he has exhausted his recollection he cannot remember a single case of idleness which he can confirm. That is all the evidence there is against the men; but I should like to call the attention of the Committee to the evidence there is on the other side. First of all, let me remind the Secretary to the Admiralty and the Committee of the evidence of Mr. Barnes. Mr. Barnes is the Surveyor of Dockyards, and he is an official of the Admiralty whose special duty it is to inform himself as to the truth or falsehood of these charges, and his evidence is as clear and definite as any evidence can well be. He is asked this question—

> "Are you aware that idling goes on to a serious extent in the Dockyards now?"

Mr. Barnes says—

> "I should like to know where idling does not go on."

Well, personally, I am afraid that idling goes on even in the House of Commons, and I dare say it goes on at the Admiralty. Mr. Barnes continues—

> "I have been about in contract yards a good deal; I was located in one three or four years. I have seen idling in the Dockyards, and I have seen idling in private establishments, and I think that the idling in both places is about the same; that is my opinion."

Then we have the evidence of Mr. Barnaby, the Senior Constructor at Portsmouth. He is asked—

> "Do Dockyard workmen, as a rule, work as industriously, and are they equally skilled with those of private yards?"

His reply is—

> "They are better skilled as a rule, and they work, I may say generally, as industriously as private men."

Then we have the evidence of Mr. Huddy, also an official of the Admiralty at Portsmouth. Mr. Huddy is asked—

> "Do Dockyard workmen, as a rule, work as industriously, and are they equally skilled with those in private yards?"

His answer is—

> "I think they work quite as industriously, and you may look upon them as even more skilled in the Dockyards than in private yards."

Then you have the evidence of Mr. Warren, who was lately the Chief Constructor at Chatham. He gives an important illustration in regard to a ship which was turned out at Chatham Dockyard, the *Hero*, and which was built with great expedition. The Admiralty sent in their plans in good time, and provided all the stores and materials required by the workmen, so that the work was proceeded with without delay. In answer to a question Mr. Warren said—

> "I would like to add that while this ship, the *Hero*, will be turned out in a very short time, and very complete up to the point of putting the machinery in, she has been produced most economically."

I think no better illustration is needed to show that the labour in the Dockyards, when reduced to a money test, is as efficient and as cheap as the labour in private yards. Then I say that when we have all this evidence on one side, and no other evidence on the other except prejudice and mere general opinions, I think it is very unfortunate that the Committee should have disfigured their Report by making wholesale charges unsupported by evidence against a very worthy and very industrious body of men. I say again that if the Committee were desirous, or had any intention, of introducing into their Report an animadversion of this kind, according to all the rules of fair play some of the men ought to have been called, and some opportunity ought to have been given to them of stating what the facts were. As it was, the men were condemned unrepresented, unheard, and really without evidence. I should like to ask what is the good of making this sort of wholesale charge? Even if the charges are true; if they are supported by evidence; and if it is a fact that the men employed in Her Majesty's Dockyards have a double dose of original sin, and are not as industrious and as good a set of workmen as the average, then the Admiralty are themselves to blame for not obtaining and employing better men. If, however, the men who work in the Dockyards are just as good as any other class of workmen, and the evil is to be traced to the want of proper organization on the part of the Board of Admiralty, and of those conditions which are necessary in order to secure cheap and efficient labour, then I think it is greatly to be regretted that these charges were ever introduced into the Report. I admit to the full that it is most important that improved management should be introduced into the Dockyards. Since I have had the honour of a seat in this House as the Representative of a Dockyard constituency I have always endeavoured to assist every successive Board of Admiralty by such suggestions and criticisms as I could make with the view of providing that the work in the Dockyards should be more economical and more efficient. I think that the country must, at any cost, keep up the Dockyards, and that their maintenance does not depend on the cheapness of Dockyard labour as compared with labour in private yards. It is absolutely essential that we should have Dockyards, because in time of war there must be places where ships can be repaired and refitted under the protection of guns. But it is most desirable that the work in the Dockyards should be as economical, as efficient, and as good as the Regulations of the Service can possibly make it; and if the Secretary to the Admiralty will allow me, I will give him such advice as my experience enables me with a view of improving the existing state of things in the Dockyards. A great deal of what I am about to say I have said before; but I am afraid that my advice has not been attended to. As the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Admiralty is new to the Office, I will venture to repeat over again what I have said to some of his Predecessors. Now, I think that the first thing to do is to get rid altogether of the idea that in the Dockyard there is any special propensity to be idle. If you treat the persons employed in your Dockyards as judiciously as private employers treat their workmen, you may depend upon it that you will get just as good and just as cheap work from them; or perhaps you may expect to get a little better and a little cheaper work than private employers can, because the Government, being a very large and regular employer, can readily get the pick of the labour market, and can select men a little more skilful and somewhat better than any private employer of labour can command; but if you do not treat your workmen properly, and with the same skill, consideration, and ability as private employers, you have no right to complain of the consequences of your own folly, nor to cry out that your men are so perverse that they will not work as well as other people. You may depend upon it that if you get worse work in the Dockyards the fault must be looked for, not in the men, but in the management and organization applied to them. The second piece of advice I should like to give the Admiralty is that they should remedy the causes which interrupt the regular work in the Dockyards, and which demoralize the men by enforcing idleness upon them. Although the Committee have not called attention to the shortcomings of the Admiralty as plainly as to the alleged idleness of the workmen, this Report is full of instances which show that the organization of the Dockyards is so defective as to interrupt the proper work. In the first place, it is a very common practice in the Dockyards to take men from the regular work of shipbuilding, for urgent pressing work in connection with the putting of ships in commission. I do not say that that can be avoided altogether. It may be a necessary evil; but whenever it does occur, and the regular programme of shipbuilding and ship-repairing is thrown out for some great emergency, you derange the regular work, and, to a certain extent, demoralize the men. Now, the next point I desire to mention is certainly one that can be easily remedied. It is that in the Dockyards you have not a proper supply of labour-saving machinery. That, I suppose, is owing to the want of means—perhaps to the desire to reduce the Estimates to the lowest possible farthing, under the benevolent criticism of my hon. Friends the Members for Burnley (Mr. Rylands) and Bradford (Mr. Illingworth). But I believe that even the senior Member for Bradford (Mr. Illingworth) will be prepared to tell the Admiralty that the want in the Dockyards of a proper supply of labour-saving apparatus is really not an economy but an extravagance. I should like, on this subject, to ask the Committee to forgive me if I quote the words of others instead of asking them to take my statement. I find that Mr. Warren, the late Chief Constructor at Chatham, speaks about the want of labour-saving machinery, and tells a little story. He is asked—

> "Is any of your machinery obsolete?"

And he answers—

> "I am sorry to say that we have a lot of very old machinery, and I may, I think, say too, without any breach of confidence, that two years ago, when the Admiralty Board visited Chatham, a Lord of the Admiralty was directed to look specially at the machinery upon a statement made that a lot of it was obsolete and almost unfit for use, and he made this statement openly—that a private person would not keep it in his yard. He made this statement to the Board—that a lot of the machinery that we had was totally unfit for its work, and that we should save by turning it out and getting new machinery."

Now, it seems to me a very extraordinary thing that one of the Lords of the Admiralty should, two years ago, actually form an opinion that a lot of the machinery in the Dockyards was of such a character that no private person would keep it in his yard, and that, if not the whole, at any rate some portion of it, is there yet. The next cause of defective labour is that even of this obsolete machinery there is not enough, and you have constantly to supplement it by manual labour at a greatly increased cost. You are continually employing manual labour to do work which ought to be done by machinery. I do not know anything more calculated to demoralize the workmen than that. They know well enough the mistake which is made; they can tell very well, when they are told off to do certain work, that it could be done much more cheaply and effectively by machinery, and the consequence is that the men themselves become greatly demoralized. Another cause of inefficient labour is that the progress of work is continually kept waiting for plans and decisions from the Board of Admiralty, particularly in reference to fittings and armaments. When the men in this way are kept waiting owing to the want of plans and the absence of fittings they have to be put on unprofitable work. Here, again, I quote Mr. Warren, who says—

> "As a general thing, there is a great deal of time lost in obtaining materials for the building of our ships. Then the other causes of delay are having to wait for armament fittings, consisting of arrangements for big guns, and for shell guns, and for torpedos, and all that kind of work; we find that the decision takes so long to arrive at that a great deal of time is necessarily lost in the building of ships."

He is then asked—

> "Does all this involve waste of labour in any way, or do you always have profitable work in hand?"

And his reply is—

> "No; we often have not profitable work upon which the men can be placed, and therefore there is necessarily a waste of time and money."

Now, when work is stopped and men are taken away from their proper employment, and put upon unprofitable work, and when they know that a waste of money is going on, I ask the Committee whether we do not demoralize the labour in our Dockyards? Another great cause of unprofitable work is the way in which the men are constantly kept waiting for stores. Here, again, the matter was very fully set before the Committee, both by Mr. Barnaby, the Chief Constructor at Portsmouth, and by Mr. Warren, the Chief Constructor at Chatham. Both of these gentlemen say exactly the same thing. Mr. Barnaby points out that the existing system involves much loss of labour in the process of getting the stores. Both of these gentlemen say that the Rules and Regulations in reference to the issue of stores are most inconvenient. Instead of the stores being under the charge of some person connected with the shipbuilding, they are usually kept in storehouses at a considerable distance from the place where the shipbuilding goes on, and the men, of course, are kept waiting when stores are required, and have to be sent for. I think that circumstance may account for a good deal of the purposeless wandering about the Dockyards with which the Departmental Committee think that visitors to the Dockyards must be so much struck. The case is put very graphically by Mr. Warren, who gives this account of the way in which its own business is transacted by a great commercial nation like Great Britain. I would like the Committee to listen to this. Mr. Warren is asked—

> "Is the local supply of stores for the building and repair of ships in your opinion of a satisfactory nature—that is to say, as between you and the storekeeper?"

He says—

> "No; I think that the proper working relation between the Chief Constructor and the storekeeper should be this—that as soon as the Chief Constructor wants material he should be able to get it without any difficulty from the stores; that is not the case now. In the first place, we have to make out a demand note, and it has to go to the storekeeping officers, and between certain times you can get stores. With the new system of storekeeping you have to go all over the Dockyard wherever the stores are to get this thing and that thing, so that you have people running all over the place for a pound of candles or a pound of nails; there is no present use supply store, as formerly, where these things should be kept together and supplied readily. Then, again, we have not a sufficient supply of stores in every-day use in the yard. We are put to every kind of inconvenience in sending to this and that yard, and having sent to us by train things that ought always to be kept in a large establishment like a Dockyard. I should be ashamed almost to say what trifling things we frequently run short of in the yard; sometimes we have to send out into the town and purchase them; at other times we must wait for a supply from another yard, or until the contractor can send in some little thing, and that is entirely due to what we call in the Dockyards 'starving the stores.' We do not have a proper supply of every-day stores in the Dockyard, and consequently we have often to wait when we have anything special to do. The other day we wanted some blocks and some screws and other things for the torpedo nets for a ship that had to go to sea at once, and we had to telegraph all over the Kingdom to get a few screws, so that time is lost in that way."

I presume that that is a correct picture, because I find that it is exactly the same in the other Dockyards. The Chief Constructor of Portsmouth gives almost precisely the same description as the Chief Constructor at Chatham; and if it is a true description of the state of things which exists in regard to the stores, is it astonishing that any visitor to the Dockyards should see a number of men walking purposelessly about? The visitor may not know where they are going, but probably they are going to obtain a few screws, or a pound of nails, or a pound of candles, or something that is necessary from a distant store for the immediate purpose of their work. Another cause of the inefficiency and the unprofitable character of the work is that the men are constantly kept waiting for stores from the constructors, and especially for armour plates, in consequence of which, instead of the work going on systematically, there is obliged to be a great delay. Finally, the Committee, or rather the House, is to some extent to blame, because so anxious are Members of Parliament to obtain accounts in connection with the Dockyards, and formal Returns, which I do not suppose anyone in the House of Commons ever takes the trouble to examine, that the Chief Constructor, the Chief Engineer, and the other officers of the Dockyards, instead of rendering valuable services in their legitimate sphere, are perpetually kept at their desks in the office making out formal accounts when they ought to be about the Yards superintending the actual work that is going on. I ask the Admiralty to take into consideration some of these reasons which account for work in the Dockyard being costly as compared with private Yards. I think that the Secretary to the Admiralty will admit that they have been fairly stated by me, and that they are the principal causes which have led to the want of efficiency. Let me now give a third piece of advice. Let me recommend the Admiralty to set up a better organization of the labour in the Dockyards; and I ask them to take into their confidence someone who understands the wishes, feelings, and desires of the workmen. I believe that if they would consent to do so they might easily arrive at a settlement of the question. There are many of us who have been long connected with the Dockyard workmen. We know what it is they want; we know where they think the shoe pinches; and we feel quite certain that if the Admiralty, instead of settling the matter by the appointment of mere Departmental Committees consisting of Admiralty officials and naval officers, would make themselves acquainted with the feelings and wishes and even the prejudices of the workmen connected with the Dockyard, and would secure a representative of the Dockyard men upon the next Committee they appoint, they would be much more likely to arrive at a settlement of the question. What is wanted first of all is a better, a fairer, and a more just classification. Men ought to be rated and ought to receive wages and pensions really in proportion to the work that they do. Anyone who has had anything to do with Dockyard management knows very well that the reality is as far from that ideal as possible. You may have half-a-dozen men doing exactly the same work; but you will find that they are all rated differently; that they are all receiving different pay, and are all earning different pensions, and nearly all under entirely different circumstances. In fact, it is quite the exception instead of the rule that a man is rated and paid according to the work he is actually employed to do. I remember an instance which was brought under the consideration of a Predecessor of the present Secretary to the Admiralty of a man who occupied a certain position in Chatham Dockyard, but was rated as something entirely different; whereas the man who was rated for the work the substitute was actually doing was employed in an entirely different capacity in Portsmouth Dockyard, and had never been in Chatham Dockyard in his life, although he was rated to an office there. All this sort of classification—where a man is rated for work he is not doing—causes dissatisfaction. Then, in the next place, there is another thing you ought to get rid of, and that is the distinction between hired and established men. I see some of the old Admiralty officials smile; but I have long been of opinion that hired men shall be employed only on probation for extraordinary work. It is monstrous to have two sets of men employed permanently in the Dockyards under entirely different conditions. They are naturally apt to consider themselves unjustly treated. If you have an Establishment at all, you ought to have all the regular men in your employment upon the Establishment. There can be no objection, of course, to maintaining men as hired men on probation until you satisfy yourselves that they are steady, and the sort of men you can take on permanently in the Dockyards. But the probation ought not to be too long. There have been men kept on probation for 12, 14, and 16 years, which is altogether unreasonable. If a man is kept on probation for two or three years, surely by that time you ought to have found out whether he is fit to be permanently employed in the Dockyards or not; and if he is, you ought to put him, then and there, on the Establishment. The other class of hired men I except is that which is employed when there is extraordinary work to be done. If any scare takes place in consequence of the country declaring that the naval preparations of the Admiralty for years past have been inefficient, and a great impetus is accordingly given to the work of shipbuilding, then, of course, it is necessary to take on extra hands for the extraordinary work. But what I maintain is that the regular staff of men employed in the Dockyards ought not to be divided, as at present, into two distinct classes; but they should be all men connected with the Establishment. Another thing that the workmen ask is that instead of the present system of superannuation you should have an honest and intelligible system of deferred pay. The present system is a tontine—a compulsory tontine—by which the men forego 2*s*. or 3*s*. of their wages per week, on the understanding that they will be entitled to pensions on retirement. The man who foregoes 3*s*. a-week wages if he lives to retire, and lives for a reasonable time after retirement to enjoy his superannuation, no doubt gets back the value of the 3*s*. a-week he has foregone; but all the men who die before they are superannuated, and all the men who are superannuated in ill-health, in many instances with a certainty of not surviving their superannuation for more than a very few months, feel that they have lost the 3*s*. a-week which they have for so many years foregone. It seems to me that it would be a much more reasonable plan to carry the 3*s*. a-week to a deferred pay account, to an account in regard to which a man would forfeit his right if he left before the end of the period for which his service had been secured by the State; but if he dies, or remains until the end of his time, and is discharged, let that deferred pay be honestly accounted for to him, or his representatives. If, at the time of his retirement, he chooses to take it in the shape of an annuity until the end of his life, let it be given to him in that form; or, if he dies, let it be given in the shape of an annuity to his widow, or other representative. All I ask is that, whatever the amount of the deferred pay may be, it should be carried to a clear account, so that every man may be convinced that he gets the full value of the sum of money he has foregone in wages. I have talked to a large number of Dockyard workmen, and I do not find that there is any desire on their part to sponge upon the State. All they desire is to receive fair wages for the work they do, and they are perfectly ready to receive, either the full amount of their wages paid weekly, or to leave part of their earnings in the hand of the State as security for the continuance of their services. All they ask is that the sums of money thus left in the hands of the State should be accounted for to them when they leave the Service; and that they should not be compelled to go into a compulsory tontine, which may result in the loss of all they have contributed. So much with regard to the organization of labour in the Dockyards. I come finally—and here I shall be very short—to my objection to the particular item of which I have given Notice to move the rejection. I have given Notice rather with a view of eliciting the intentions of the Admiralty in regard to the new officers —the Civil Assistants—than with a desire to press the Motion to a division, if the explanations of the Secretary to the Admiralty are satisfactory. I object *primâ facie* to any new officers being employed by the Admiralty, which may have the effect of entailing an extra burden upon Dockyard expenditure. The employment of every additional officer tends to enhance the apparent price of Dockyard work as compared with the price of work performed in private yards. It is one of the difficulties which the Dockyards have at present to contend with that there is so much paid for supervision. There are so many highly paid officers employed to supervize the workmen that the price of the Dockyard work is necessarily enhanced as contrasted with that which is turned out in the private yards. Therefore, anyone who studies the interests of the Dockyards is anxious that the cost of supervision should not be unnecessarily high. It certainly seems, at first sight, that £1,000 per annum is a considerable sum to pay for an official in each of the great Yards who, as far as I can judge from the instructions, is to act as a sort of policeman, to walk about the Yard and look out for persons who may be neglecting their work. But the Civil Assistant does not seem to have any power of punishing delinquents himself; he can only report them to the Admiral Superintendent, or some other superior officer. I certainly do not see the use of this officer; but I should not move the rejection of the Vote because I am personally unable to see the necessity for appointing an officer of this kind. But I have looked carefully into the evidence before the Committee on Admiralty Organization and Expenditure to see what the experience of the Dockyard Superintendents has been. The first thing which struck me when I examined the Report was that Admiral Watson, who was at that time the experienced Superintendent of Chatham Dockyard, from which position he has only recently retired, although appointed upon the Committee which was to draft the instructions to the Civil Assistants to the Admiral Superintendents, does not seem to have signed the Report at all. Not only did Admiral Watson not sign it, but he has appended to the Report a Note or Minute, which looks very much as if Admiral Watson totally disapproved of the Report. I should like to ask the Secretary to the Admiralty how that really was?

THE SECRETARY TO THE ADMIRALTY (Mr. HIBBERT) (Oldham): The Note appended by Admiral Watson simply relates to the question of punishments.

SIR JOHN GORST: I am quite aware that the signed Note relates to punishments; but I should like to ask whether Admiral Watson did, or did not, approve of the appointment of these new officers, and if he did, what is the explanation of the strange circumstance that he did not sign the Report? Not only is the signature of Admiral Watson wanting, but I find also that Admiral Herbert, who was the equally experienced Superintendent at Portsmouth Dockyard, has not signed the Report. There is a statement made in the Report itself that Admiral Herbert was unable to be present at the Committee meeting at which the subject was discussed in consequence of illness. That, however, would not have prevented him from signing the Report if he had been disposed to do so. Admiral Herbert was examined before the Committee, and when I turn to his evidence I find that he strongly protested against the appointment of any such officers, on the ground that they would be utterly useless. I am not able to give the view of Admiral Watson, because that officer was not examined, and his opinions are not to be found in this Book; but those of Admiral Herbert were given, and will be found at page 81 of the Report. Admiral Herbert was asked—

> "The Captain Superintendent of Pembroke Yard has stated with regard to the supervision of labour—'The supervision of labour in the Yards is not as complete as it should be, and I would propose that a competent professional officer be attached to the Superintendent's staff in the large Yards who would have no charge, but would be constantly about the Yard looking after the work, and would also be professional adviser to the Admiral Superintendent.' Do you concur in the desirability of such an appointment as that?"

The reply of Admiral Herbert was—

> "No, as it would be sure to lead to unnecessary interference and friction; I should be afraid of its creating jealousy between the Chief Constructor and the officer so appointed. I should prefer to see the Chief Constructor on such terms with the Admiral Superintendent that he should work with him, and if you introduced anyone between them you would be likely to cause a feeling of jealousy."

Having formed in my own mind a notion that the appointment of such an officer would be a mistake, having looked in vain for the guidance and direction of Admiral Watson, and having found that Admiral Herbert was opposed to it, I turned in despair to the third great Dockyard—namely, Devonport—and I find that Admiral Curme, who had been the Admiral Superintendent of Devonport Dockyard, condemns these appointments in just as strong terms as Admiral Herbert. He says at page 119 of the Report—

> "I really do not think, if he had been offered to me at Devonport, that I should have accepted such an officer, taking everything into consideration. My intercourse with the Chief Constructor and Chief Engineer was of such a nature that I did not feel the want of such a man. I am inclined to think that such an officer would do more harm than good, unless he was a very extraordinary man. I think that, when proper relations exist between the Captain of the Reserve and the Superintendent, there is little to be wished for in the shape of assistance."

I think the Committee will feel that when we find all the Superintendents of the three great Dockyards, to whom these officials are given as assistants, of the same opinion, that they are not necessary, I think the Committee will agree with me that the circumstance, at all events, requires some explanation before we consent to grant this additional expenditure. The hon. Gentleman the senior Member for Bradford (Mr. Illingworth) always supposes that the Representatives of Dockyard constituencies are in favour of any proposal to increase the Navy Estimates; but here is a case in which I, as a Dockyard Representative, propose a reduction of the Estimates. I propose to reduce the sum for the expenses of the Dockyards and Naval Yards at Home and Abroad by the sum of £3,000, my principal object being to elicit from Her Majesty's Government and from the Board of Admiralty what is the particular purpose they have in view in the appointment of these officers. I feel that I ought to apologize to the Committee for the great length at which I have been obliged to address them. But, seeing that the Dockyard workmen have been condemned in the Report of the Committee in a wholesale and unjust manner, those who have been sent here to represent them would, I think, be wanting in their duty if they did not say what ought to be said in their behalf.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That the Item A, Salaries and Allowances, be reduced by £3,000, for the Salaries of Civil Assistants to the Superintendent of Her Majesty's Dockyard."—(*Sir John Gorst.*)

Sir WILLIAM CROSSMAN (Portsmouth): I have listened with great interest to the remarks of the hon. and learned Member for Chatham (Sir John Gorst), and I agree almost entirely with everything he has said. I regret very much that the Committee which sat last year to inquire into the Admiralty and Dockyard Administration and Expenditure should have made such sweeping and general charges against the Dockyard workmen. I have received letters from some of my constituents protesting in the strongest terms against the charges which the Committee have made against them—of general idleness and incompetence. From what I know of them I believe them to be a very worthy, intelligent, and hard-working class of men. I must say that in the Dockyards there seems to be a considerable amount of mismanagement in regard to the rates of pay given to the various classes of *employés.* Almost every class appears to have a grievance. The men themselves appear to be paid indiscriminately; one man working alongside of another, and doing the same or even more important work, receives a different, and not unfrequently a less, amount of pay. I do not think the men ever will be satisfied until the House of Commons or the Admiralty appoint a Committee to go carefully into the whole question and to regulate the rates of pay. The shipwrights and the skilled artizans have for a long period ventilated their grievances, but as yet have obtained no redress. I believe that my right hon. Friend the Secretary to the Admiralty has had before him many complaints from the various grades of Dockyard workmen; and I sincerely hope that he, or whoever may be acting in his place, will take their claims into consideration. No class of men can be expected to do their work satisfactorily unless they are properly and justly treated. As regards the appointment of Civil Assistants to the Admiralty Superintendents in the Dockyards, I am afraid I cannot agree with the hon. and learned Member opposite. I believe that the Admiralty Superintendents in the Dockyards are a necessity, and that they ought to be retained so long as there are ships there and a considerable number of naval officers and men to be looked after. But although it is necessary to have a naval officer to superintend each Dockyard, such naval officers cannot be expected to know exactly what the civil work is. It is, therefore, of the utmost importance, if the Dockyard work is to be properly controlled, that he should have a responsible civil officer upon whom he can depend for assistance. I do not feel myself competent to deal with that part of the Vote which relates to shipbuilding, and I will only express a hope that steps may be taken to dispense with obsolete machinery, which certainly ought to have been got rid of long ago.

Mr. KNATCHBULL-HUGESSEN (Kent, Faversham): I desire to say a few words upon the charge of idleness which has been brought somewhat indiscriminately against all the workmen in Her Majesty's Dockyards. The question has been fully dealt with by the hon. and learned Member for Chatham (Sir John Gorst), so that it is not necessary that I should say much upon it; but I wish, in the most distinct terms, to repudiate the charge on behalf of my constituents — the Dockyard men at Sheerness. They have made representations to me, in which they resent, in the strongest terms, the imputation cast upon them in the Report of the Committee upon Admiralty and Dockyard Administration and Expenditure. In a Memorial to me they bitterly resent, as a gross libel upon them, those portions of the Report which endeavours to make it appear that idleness is the general rule among the Dockyard workmen. They give special reasons for their dissatisfaction with the Report. They point out, what I think is apparent from the Report itself, that the evidence on which the conclusions of the Committee are founded was taken from one Dockyard only—namely, that of Portsmouth, and that upon that evidence the Committee have based an indiscriminate charge of idleness, and applied it to all the *employés* in the whole of the Dockyards of the country. They say that, whatever may be the case at Portsmouth, they must repudiate in strong terms any such charge in connection with Sheerness. They also complain, and I think with some reason, of that part of the Report which is founded upon the evidence of naval officers, who, however competent they may be, and doubtless are, to give evidence in regard to matters of seamanship, are altogether incompetent to give as competent testimony on matters of Dockyard management as experts who have been connected with Dockyard work for a great number of years. Any hon. Member who examines the Report will see that that amount of professional evidence was not forthcoming which the Dockyard men had a right to expect. It is further pointed out in this Memorial that, had the evidence been fairly taken, it is highly probable that a very different result would have been arrived at. There is another matter to which they wish me to give an emphatic denial, and that is the existence of a system of watching know as "the crow," by which a man is employed as a spy to give notice to the workmen of the approach of any officer, so that if they are idling they may at once resume their work. I do not know how this is in other Dockyards; but I am told that it is altogether incorrect in reference to Sheerness. I hope that the Board of Admiralty will be able to give their attention to the whole of these matters, and that they will be able to say that the inquiry of the Committee was imperfectly conducted, and that the charges contained in their Report are indiscriminately made. There is one other matter, to which, if I am not out of Order, I should like to call the attention of the Committee. It has reference to the dissatisfaction which exists as to the payment of some of the classes of Dockyard men. There is one deserving class, called an apprentice class, of Dockyard writers. There were certain writers appointed in 1869 to fill up vacancies as they might occur. They began at 4*s*. a-day; but many of them have to wait for 12 or 13 years before they get promoted to the maximum rate of 8*s*. per day. As I have said, they begin at 4*s*. a-day, and they have then to wait for two years before they get an increase of 1*s*. per day; a further period of two years before they reach 6*s*. per day, and until they get 8*s*. a-day they have absolutely 13 years to serve. In addition to this, they are invariably called upon to perform two or three hours' work additional per day for which they receive no pay at all. The treatment which they receive gives rise to great dissatisfaction, and I trust that the complaints of this very able, meritorious, and deserving body of men will be fully inquired into. Certainly, something ought to be done to enable the men to reach the maximum rate of pay by a shorter term of service than 13 years, and to receive payment for extra work on such occasions as they are required to perform it. I sincerely trust that their case will receive the attention of the Secretary to the Admiralty, and that he will be able to do something for them.

SIR THOMAS BRASSEY (Hastings): My hon. and learned Friend the Member for Chatham (Sir John Gorst), with his usual ability, has pleaded the cause of an influential section of his constituents, and has called in question the accuracy of certain criticisms which have been put forth by the Committee upon Dockyard and Admiralty Expenditure over which Admiral Graham presided. I will not enter into the questions of the greater or less degree of idleness which may have been observed by the Dockyard workmen; but I would express a confident opinion that the remedy which has been proposed is incomplete. It has been proposed to remedy the idleness of the Dockyard workmen by the appointment of Civil Assistants to the Admiral Superintendents, officers who are to receive salaries of £1,000 a-year. I am sure that Parliament would not grudge the payment of liberal salaries for the performance of highly responsible and difficult duties. But, however necessary the appointment of these officers may be, and however valuable the services they may render, it is quite clear that the creation of a certain limited number of highly paid appointments does not go to the root of the evil to which Admiral Graham's Committee has called attention. Why is it that the workmen in the Dockyards, or, at any rate, some of the workmen in the Dockyards, are wanting in diligence? It is because nothing is done to encourage special exertion. The Dockyard men are largely employed in the completion of ships of a complicated character, differing in many important particulars one from another, and in the execution of repairs. In regard to this work, it is not possible to adopt any other system for the payment of labour than the system of payment by time. Well, Sir, the payment by time and at a uniform scale, where there are large bodies of workmen, would have a very deadening effect on the exertions of the men. I believe it is the fact that it was pointed out by Admiral Graham's Committee that there are some thousands of shipwrights in the Dockyards, every one of whom receive a uniform rate of pay. It is quite obvious that that is not calculated to increase their exertions. Admiral Graham's Committee recommended that a system should be adopted under which the workmen should be classified and paid at different rates according to their merits and ability. I most certainly hope that that recommendation of Admiral Graham's Committee will be adopted. As in the case of the workmen, so it must be in the case of those who are appointed to superintend the work. The absence of any pecuniary reward for special exertions tends very much to cripple the administration of the Dockyards; and Admiral Graham's Committee earnestly recommended that whenever special exertions were made by officers employed in the Dockyards they should be recognized, and that a suitable pecuniary reward should be given. Speaking from my own experience at the Admiralty, I would venture to urge that that recommendation of Admiral Graham's Committee should be adopted. Perhaps the Committee will allow me to give an illustration. Some years ago the *Iron Duke*, the flag-ship on the China Station, grounded on an Island on the North Coast of Japan, and sustained serious injury. She was brought to Hong Kong and docked, and, after examination, it was the general opinion of the responsible officers on the Station that the injury was of such a character that it could not be repaired at Hong Kong, and that, therefore, the ship should be ordered home. But the foreman of the Yard at Hong Kong was of a different opinion, and he begged earnestly to be allowed to undertake the repair of the ship. He was allowed to have his way, and by immense personal exertion he carried out the work successfully, the consequence of which was that the ship remained on the Station and completed her commission. If it had not been possible to do the repairs at Hong Kong the ship must have been sent home, and it would have been necessary to send out another ship to replace her. The saving to the country by the spirited efforts of the foreman of the Yard at Hong Kong may be put at tens of thousands of pounds; but no reward being permitted under the Regulations, none was paid to this deserving officer, because the Regulations did not permit it. But by the recommendations of Admiral Graham's Committee, when special exertions have been made, there will be some means at the discretion of the Admiralty by which suitable rewards will be given for increased efficiency in the Dockyard Service. My own opinion is that the Admiralty should have more discretionary power in rewarding exceptional services. The same principle should be applicable to the workmen, and the best remedy consists in stimulating men to exertion by the motive of self-interest. For this purpose payment by results could be extended as far as practicable. Much work will, however, still remain to be done which must be paid for upon the basis of time. In order to encourage and to reward diligence upon the part of the men employed, Admiral Graham's Committee recommend that they should be classified according to ability. I hope that this recommendation may be adopted. In the engineers' branch men are paid at widely varying rates. Some elasticity is required in the payment of the thousands of men employed under the shipbuilding officers, and now receiving one uniform rate of wages, quite irrespective of wide differences in individual merit.

MR. PULESTON (Devonport): I am very glad that my hon. and learned Friend (Sir John Gorst) has brought this question before the Committee. At the same time I quite agree with my hon. Friend who has just sat down that a great deal of difficulty which may attend these appointments would be got over if gentlemen of practical experience could be had to fill them. Very much of the success of the new system will depend upon the men who may be appointed, and a good deal upon the character of the Admiral who may be the Admiral Superintendent of the Dockyard. A good deal of friction, however, will, no doubt, arise from these appointments, especially on the part of the Admiral Superintendents, who may be induced to believe that the new officers are intended to some extent to supersede them, and certainly, to some extent, the duties which the Civil Assistants will have to perform may detract from the responsibility of the Admiral Superintendent and Chief Constructors, and consequently give them less power in the Yard over those with whom they are necessarily brought in contact. The men, too, will regard this as a system of espionage, which casts an undeserved slur upon them. A great deal of the difficulty in connection with the management of the Dockyards hitherto has been—and it is a question which for some years I have brought before the House—the want of uniformity and the very great inequalities which prevail. These have been the causes which have led to the Memorials which have been constantly presented to the Admiralty from one class or the other for an increase of pay. It is a hard thing that one man working side by side with another should receive a widely different rate of pay for doing precisely the same kind of work. I hope the day may never arrive when Members of this House will be paid for the services they render; but it is quite certain that if one Member were paid £500 and another £1,000 a-year for doing the same thing the man who was paid at the lower rate would naturally ask why the difference should exist. I know that the unequal principle upon which the Dockyard workmen are now paid is felt very much as a grievance, and not only is it the case in regard to work of a similar character, but there have been some conspicuous cases, as my hon. and learned Friend the Member for Chatham (Sir John Gorst) is fully aware, where one man who had performed less important work than another has received 2*d.* or 3*d.* more a-day. Such discrepancies and inequalities have been productive of serious discontent; and I am very sorry to say that the Admiralty have rarely evinced a desire to pay the slightest attention to the Memorials which have been presented to them on the subject. The men have been invited to memorialize the Admiralty; they have been told that they must not use political influence, and that any Memorials they may present will always receive respectful consideration. But, as a matter of fact, the Memorials, when sent in, have never received attention at all. I am quite aware that a good deal of the difficulty arises from the constant changes in the constitution of the Board of Admiralty. During the last six years we have had six Secretaries to the Admiralty, and such changes are, of course, inherent in the present constitution of the Board of Admiralty; and so long as we are liable to have these changes the grievances of the workmen will never receive proper attention or redress. Speaking for myself as a Dockyard Member, I am able to say that no sooner do I get attached to a particular Civil Lord or Secretary to the Admiralty than one or the other is pitchforked into another post—perhaps sent off to Ireland, or even to some less important position. What I maintain is that the persons appointed to look after the affairs of the Admiralty should occupy a more permanent position. I think it goes almost without saying that it takes some little time to serve an apprenticeship and to acquire a thorough knowledge of all the intricacies and complications which enter into the management of our great Dockyards. I must say that I think it would be far more satisfactory to have a permanent Assistant to the First Lord of the Admiralty than to send down a Civil Assistant to each Dockyard to assist the Admiral Superintendent. There are radical evils in the system itself which require reformation. My hon. and learned Friend the Member for Chatham (Sir John Gorst) has referred to a conspicuous case—namely, the question of the hired men. The hired men in the Dockyards are a very large and important body of men, and they form an important element in the Dockyard administration. It is almost impossible to defend a system which permits men to be retained in the Dockyards for 20 years, and then at the end of that time allows them to be turned away with a very small bonus, which is scarcely equal to a single instalment of the annual pension of other men who have done exactly the same work and no other, but have had the special advantage of being on the Establishment. My own opinion is that it would be a great deal better to provide some system of deferred pay and an enlargement of the Establishment, so that the services of all of the men should be on the same footing. The men are much indebted to the noble Lord the Member for the Ealing Division of Middlesex (Lord George Hamilton) and the late Secretary to the Admiralty (Mr. Ritchie) for the manner in which they had extended the time of the hired men from 60 to 65 years of age. I believe that my right hon. Friend who now represents the Admiralty in this House (Mr. Hibbert) would have been prepared to do the same thing if it had not been done already, although it has been very difficult to induce the Admiralty to take such a step in previous years. Nothing can be more reasonable than to provide that a man who has reached 60 years of age, who has been 20 years in the Service, and who is too old to start anew, but who has all the physique of a capable workman, and all his faculties about him, should be retained in the Public Service. He must certainly be a much better workman for Dockyard employment than an entirely new hand, to say nothing of the injustice of getting rid of him when he has spent the best years of his life in your employment. I am glad that the late First Lord recognized the hardship of the case, and I can assure him that the decision which the Admiralty arrived at has given great satisfaction to the Dockyard men, who regard it as no inconsiderable boon to be allowed, where there is no physical incapacity, to extend their service for another five years. I have only mentioned the circumstance to show the enormous difficulty that is experienced in getting any claim of the kind considered and granted by the Board of Admiralty, because it is well known that the request for this extension of time was made for years before it was acceded to. It was a very simple matter, and I have never been able to understand why it should have taken previous First Lords and Secretaries to the Admiralty so long a time to make up their minds about it. It is a concession which is obviously in the interests of the Service, and it is one which is also obviously just to the men themselves. No private firm would think of discharging a man who had been 20 or 30 years in their service because he had reached 60 years of age, and merely for the pleasure of supplying his place by a new hand. No doubt he is an old man; but if he is not physically incapable of doing the work of the Yard there must be advantage to the public in the experience he has gained. Of course, on these occasions, we always have the question raised of Dockyard *versus* private yard management, and the mode of conducting business in the Royal Dockyards is invariably condemned. I am not at all surprised at the charge of idleness which has been brought against the men by the Committee on Admiralty and Dockyard Organization and Management. If any hon. Member will take the trouble to visit one of our great Dockyards he will not be long before he is able to find some of the men walking about doing nothing. But the fault does not rest with the men. They are prevented from doing the important work on which they ought to be engaged by the necessity of running about from pillar to post for a few screws or a pound of nails. The so-called idleness that becomes necessary in consequence is not the fault of the men, but entirely the fault of the system. The men employed in the Dockyards are not responsible for the system under which they are employed, and it is impossible to dispute that if a better system were in vogue and the inequalities in the treatment of the men were got rid of, the men, whether employed as shipwrights, wheelwrights, joiners, or in any other branch of Dockyard work would not be quite as efficient, even if not more so, than the men employed in private yards. Great complaints are made by the men of the interruption of their work. Every man would prefer to go on with regular work rather than have that regular work interrupted by the absence of proper tools and machinery. It is frequently a matter of necessity that they should remain idle, or be put to some other kind of work. It is unfair, however, and unjust, because this happens to be the condition of things in the Dockyards, that the men should have a wholesale charge of idleness preferred against them. I maintain that it is a gross insult to the men employed in Her Majesty's Dockyards. I know that the Representatives of the Dockyard constituencies are often charged with trying in this House to bolster up the shortcomings of the Board of Admiralty. My hon. Friend the Member for Burnley (Mr. Rylands) often attacks us. He is not present to-night, being engaged, I believe, in very important work elsewhere. But my hon. Friend the senior Member for Bradford (Mr. Illingworth) is present. He very often takes part in these discussions, and invariably accuses the Dockyard Members of being actuated by a desire to obtain as large an expenditure upon the Dockyards as possible, so that the money may find its way into the pockets of their constituents, and he charges us also with being in favour of paying more wages to everybody. I maintain that such a charge is a slander. There is one thing of which we have every right to be proud, and that is that we on all occasions have, as Dockyard Representatives, endeavoured to secure that the work of the country should be properly done. We have done all in our power to enforce the necessity of increasing and strengthening the Navy, and placing the Dockyards upon a more satisfactory footing, in order that the Navy may be kept in a state of efficiency. There can be no doubt that an imperfect system of supervision, combined with parsimony and want of proper consideration for the Dockyard workmen, has unduly weakened the Navy. Hon. Members now see the mistakes which have been made, and all admit the important fact that if they had been recognized sooner millions of money might have been saved to the country. On the other hand, the system of expenditure we have adopted has been wasteful in the highest degree. We have spent our money by fits and starts. We set to work in the building of some enormous vessel which is to cost an unknown sum. I am not going to enter into the question of large ships now; but this large expenditure, and the constant delay which takes place, always come back to the workmen in the Dockyards. They are invariably accused of being the cause of all the extra expenditure, whereas they have nothing whatever to with it. I feel with them that it would be much more satisfactory, when once work is commenced, to go on with it regularly, instead of having it interrupted by the absence of proper tools, of labour-saving machinery, and by taking the men from regular jobs for other urgent and pressing work. Hon. Members have already had their attention called to the fact that, instead of the Dockyards being supplied with machinery comprising all the modern improvements, the materials and tools supplied to the workmen are almost as primitive as those which were employed in the earliest days of shipbuilding. I think it would be much easier and more satisfactory to go on with the work in hand regularly and rapidly, and not to do it by fits and starts. Nor is the intermittent way in which you recognize the claims of the workmen at all satisfactory. And it does no good in the end. You receive a Memorial from a certain class of Dockyard *employés* for an increase of wages, and after long delay you grant the prayer of some of the Memorialists. That very instant another body of men equally deserving ask that their case shall be considered; and so the demands upon you go on, and after a few years you have to begin all over again. I fail to see where it is to end. It is a policy in which there is no continuity. It is absolutely useless to jerk a new man into office to-day—to make a new office to-day and a fresh one to-morrow. You only lessen the responsibility of the Chief Constructor, and do away altogether with the responsibility of other officers, unless you are prepared to take the Dockyards as a whole, and thoroughly re-organize the system under which they are managed and controlled. It is only due to every man employed in the Dockyards that this should be done as speedily as possible. I have ventured once or twice to submit a scheme to the House which I believe would give great contentment to everybody connected with the Dockyards as far as I have been able to gather, and I certainly took pains to ascertain the views of the various classes concerned before I submitted my plan. I may add that, although my scheme would give satisfaction, it is astonishing how little extra money it would cost to carry it out. The case of the engineers has never been practically disposed of, and I am glad that even so much has been done, although there are certainly one or two points which will still have to be considered. I recollect that the case of the engineers was reported upon by a Departmental Committee some years ago, and that there was a refusal to comply with the request of the men, because it was said that it would cost something like £12,000 a-year. But the Report of this Departmental Committee recommended changes which, if carried out, would have cost £40,000 a-year. Consequently, nothing was done, and the engineers were driven back again to the old system of complaining, and memorializing the Admiralty for a redress of their grievances. It was only the other day that the question of the engineers was disposed of. I may add that it is not the custom for the Dockyard men to combine for the purpose of agitating in any unworthy way. They are always gratified and thankful when the Secretary to the Admiralty and the First Lord will go down to the Dockyards personally and inquire into their case. They are then able to state their grievances in their own way. There is every reason for having more skilled labour in the Dockyards, from the very nature of things, than can be had in private yards. In that I quite agree with my hon. Friend (Sir John Gorst), and if the men remain in the Dockyards they will gain experience. There is another subject I wish to refer to, and that is the discharges of men which are constantly taking place, and which is rather a sore point between my hon. Friend opposite (Mr. Hibbert) and some of us. Of course, if there is no work at the Dockyards on which the men can be employed, there is practically no alternative but to discharge them; but it is most unfortunate that hundreds of men should be discharged at Devonport, for instance, at the most inopportune times. These notices of the wholesale discharge of men are grievous errors. In one case lately 400 men were thrown out of employment without the slightest notice, and you must remember that this does not represent the whole case, for there are the families of these men to be considered. It is, of course, quite understood by the men on engagement that they may be discharged; but it is the same with Dockyard employment as with employment elsewhere; and although it is well known that many workmen are engaged temporarily, yet it is known that these men are kept on; others, therefore, expect to be treated in the same way, and we can hardly blame them if, when they are discharged, they express dissatisfaction. But it is not for want of work that the men are discharged, because much of the work undertaken by the Admiralty is absolutely not put in hand in a way which would afford employment for these men. As I pointed out the other day, vessels which might have been repaired in a few weeks were lying outside the Dockyard for months; and it is that system which is the cause of all the delay complained of, and of these inopportune discharges of men. Finally, Sir, I trust that we may avoid these constantly recurring discharges, and that we shall in future make more head-way in the management of our Dockyards.

MR. JACKS (Leith, &c.): I take this opportunity of complaining of the inadequate form in which these Estimates are put before us; and I think I am justified in so doing, because they utterly fail to afford any explanation of things which seem to be extraordinary and unintelligible anomalies. On a former occasion, when I referred to this, the Secretary to the Treasury said that if I had a little more time in which to examine them I should get the information I required. I can assure the hon. Gentleman that I have examined these Estimates with great attention; and yet, after all this labour, I am very much in the same position—being just as wise as I was before. I hope the Secretary to the Admiralty will give his attention to the following figures. I take the two first vessels on the list, the *Camperdown* and the *Edinburgh.* The first has a displacement of 10,000 tons, and her weight is 6,640 tons; the second vessel has a displacement of 9,150 tons, and her weight is 6,150 tons. There is a gross difference of nearly 10 per cent between these figures; and, making due allowance for extra cost on a smaller vessel, I find that the *Edinburgh* ought to have cost

£40,000, or £30,000 less than the *Camperdown.* But what do we find? We find that instead of costing that sum less her cost is actually £29,000 more. And so we come to this extraordinary experience—that, whereas the *Camperdown* costs £50 per ton on the displacement, the *Edinburgh* costs £58·42 per ton, or close upon £59 per ton. With regard to weight, we find that the *Camperdown* costs £75·42, or £75 8*s*., while the *Edinburgh* costs £87·66, or £87 13*s*., per ton. Well, Sir, what is the explanation of these extraordinary anomalies? Here is another. In the last published accounts of the Admiralty we find that between the years 1869 and 1874 the price per ton varies from £53 to £87 14*s*. 7*d*. What was the price of material in those years? I find it was about double what it is now, while the cost now is in inverse ratio—it has largely increased, whereas during the same time the price of merchant vessels has receded about 30 or 40 per cent. I take the liberty of suggesting a plan which I think would enable the House of Commons to check the figures in these Estimates; and with regard to that I shall have something to say presently. But what are the proposals made to deal with this question? A right hon. Gentleman opposite said he thought the proper plan would be to appoint another Committee to see how the money was spent. Now, I have great respect for that practice; but I think that any hon. Member who proposes the appointment of a Committee on any question should give his word of honour that he has gone through the Reports of all the Commissions appointed before to investigate the subject, because we have Reports of Commissions which, I am bound to say, will hold their own with the Reports on any subject in any country. I have read over all the Reports on this subject from 1812 downwards, and I find that the Report of 1847 says that the quality of work for the price produced by the Government Dockyards is inferior to the standard of work produced by private yards. In 1859 Admiral Smart produced his Report, of which the present Report is simply an echo; I have taken the opportunity to go through it, marking some of the suggestions contained, and shall be glad to show it to any hon. Member wishing for information on the subject. But I was most gratified to find on page 2 of the Report precisely the recommendation which I was bold enough to suggest on a previous occasion. Admiral Smart's Committee drew out a form showing with regard to each ship in columns the price of materials—iron beams, wood work, wages, &c.; and there was at the end space for the purpose of giving an explanation of any anomalies there might be. Instead of having new Commissions it would be much better to have accounts of this kind, because it would enable us to check the figures, and, by bringing *esprit de corps* into the Dockyard Service, would excite managers to do their best. In the expenditure on the *Camperdown*, as compared with the *Edinburgh*, the price of materials is about £4,000 less than what it ought to be, considering her size; while with regard to the *Edinburgh* the wages are in her case actually £42,000 more than in the case of the *Camperdown.*

MR. RITCHIE (Tower Hamlets, St. George's): They are ships of different types.

MR. JACKS: Precisely; different types, and, for aught I know, they were built in different Dockyards; but I wish to bring home to the official mind that we ought to be able to know how these differences occur. Is the smaller expenditure in the case of the *Camperdown* due to superior management on the part of persons in charge of particular ships? Because, if so, we ought to encourage those persons, and get rid of those who built the *Edinburgh.* Although the hon. Gentleman opposite (Mr. Ritchie) says they are ships of entirely different types, there is nothing in this list to show that they are not in the same category; and I again put it to the right hon. Gentleman that every information of the kind described should be given in the accounts, and express a hope that we shall have it in future Returns.

ADMIRAL FIELD (Sussex, Eastbourne): As I think that, in the course of this discussion, some hon. Members have rather digressed, I shall be very careful not to wander from the point before the Committee. These discussions upon Dockyard management are very interesting; but I think they are also very technical, and relate to matters of which this House can scarcely take cognizance. The hon. Member for Leith (Mr. Jacks) has drawn our attention to the very valuable Report of the Committee over which Admiral Smart presided, a Report which has been lost sight of for a long time. I am glad to find myself in accord with the hon. Gentleman the Member for Hastings (Sir Thomas Brassey) as to improving the condition of the workmen in the Dockyards. Everyone who is acquainted with the Dockyards is aware of the number of men employed, and knows that they do not work at full steam on all occasions. I recollect that the hon. Member for Hastings, at an earlier period, was pleased to draw attention to what he called the idleness in the Dockyards. The hon. Gentleman said that in passing Woolwich Dockyard in his yacht he observed several workmen standing still and watching, and then he went into particulars. But these men, I suggest, were not idle; they were simply watching and criticizing the hon. Gentleman's yacht, which was going on a voyage round the world. It was also stated that at a particular time some men were observed reading newspapers in the hawse-pipes of the *Sultan*. But that I think was most excusable, because the attention of the country was at that time directed to the mismanagement of affairs in Egypt by Her Majesty's Government. But I pass over that, and repeat that it is impossible that every man in the Yards can be working at full steam; it is possible that you may sometimes see men who are not working so hard as others; but I venture to say that the work done in our Dockyards will compare favourably with the work done in any Dockyards in the country. But I admit that some supervision is necessary. It is unfortunate that I, as a naval officer, sitting on this side of the House, should feel it my duty to challenge the Report before us, and to take exception to the action of the late Board of Admiralty. And I may also say that naval opinion in this matter is entitled to a respectful hearing. The first fault I find is with the constitution of the Committee itself, and the hon. and learned Member for Chatham (Sir John Gorst) has drawn attention to this. Had these appointments been made by the late First Lord of the Admiralty in consultation with his Colleagues, such is the loyalty of naval men that we should have accepted the decision at once, although we might not have approved it; but I beg to tell the Secretary to the Admiralty under the late Government that what we object to is the Committee constituted as it was. It is most injurious to the Service that it was so constituted. One of its members was a distinguished officer; one a junior constructor who had not had the charge of a Dockyard; and the third a clerk in the Accountant General's Department; there were two civilians and one Admiral; and on the recommendation of those three men this immense change was carried out. Moreover, I beg to state to this Committee that the Committee in question was appointed for a different purpose. If hon. Members will look at the first Order of Reference, they will see that it was appointed to inquire into the method of keeping the Dockyard Accounts of Expenditure, and that they afterwards asked to have the Order enlarged, in order that they might go into other questions. I suppose that they found wise support in the Secretary to the Admiralty under the late Government, and that he adopted their view, because we find that the Order was enlarged, and that a communication was addressed to the Board of Admiralty to this effect—

> "In obedience to your Lordships' wishes we place the evidence we have obtained and our remarks thereon upon record, and in such a form that action can be taken without delay, if necessary."

We find that this extraordinary Report was sent in on the 24th of October, and it seems to me, from the manner in which the Report was drawn up, and the investigation which took place and ended in a proposal for the reconstruction of the Constructive Department of the Admiralty, that the Committee went altogether beyond their instructions. But why were they in so great a hurry? I do not know. If I were an opponent of the late Government sitting on the other side of the House, I should probably make the remark that there was at the time great excitement in the country, and that it was a wise thing to have certain men standing before the country as able naval reformers; but I do not sit on that side of the House—I sit here, and so I must suppose that hon. Members on this side had no thought of a General Election at the time alluded to. I have not here the names of the members of Admiral Smart's Committee, which was a very different one from this. If you wanted to go into the whole question of superintendence, Dockyard management, and expenditure, you required the Report of a competent Committee composed of competent men, and not of a Committee like this, whose Report, I am bound to say, is looked upon in the Service with contempt. There should be Admiralty representation on it. It is true that Admiral Graham, who was a member of this Committee, is an able officer; but he has not had experience of Dockyards in England, and, therefore, I hold that he was not the man best fitted for the appointment. There were several able and competent Admirals who might have been appointed; but their opinions were not even asked; besides Admiral Brandreth, the late Controller of the Navy, and Sir Houston Stewart, and many other officers, any one of whom would have been able to carry on the inquiry; but, as I have said, the complaint is that the Committee was constituted as I have described. The Report, therefore, does not commend itself to the Service, and never will; while, at the same time, it has excited a great deal of feeling among naval men, who, without repeating their remarks, speak of it in a manner which is not flattering. Again, I ask whether, before acting upon this Report, the opinion of any competent man was taken, so that mistakes might be avoided? We have many men in our Service whose opinion would have been of great value, and amongst them I would ask if Sir Cooper Key, Admiral Luard, or Admiral Codrington were consulted; and, further, I should like to hear from the Secretary to the late Board of Admiralty whether his own Board were unanimous in the matter? But this rash step has been taken, the change has been carried out, and the country is asked to pay £3,000 a-year for the salaries of the three Civil Assistants. I do not think it is a nice thing to pay civilians to assist an Admiral, who, if he were asked, might say that he required assistance of another kind. In England, of course, a large amount of labour is employed in the Dockyards. In Boston and New York there are a Commodore, Commander, and two Lieutenants working in the Yards, and the same thing goes on in Russia and France. What we want is more supervision; it is perfectly clear from the evidence that the weak point was in the supervision of labour, as the hon. Member for Hastings has pointed out. And how do hon. Members suppose that this Committee attempted to remedy this? One would naturally have thought they would have increased the number of Inspectors; but they did nothing of the kind, and the Inspectors, instead of having to look after 20 men, have now to look after 25. I can only say that the way the difficulty has been attempted to be met excites a smile—the weak point is shown to be the want of more Inspectors and foremen, and the Committee appoint just the sort of person who is not wanted—that is to say, a Civil Assistant. An hon. Member states that the Admiral wanted professional assistants; but the hon. Member who made that remark could not have known anything about the working of our Dockyards, or he would have known that the Admiral Superintendent has already two professional assistants—the Chief Constructor and the Chief Engineer. In their evidence these men complain of being overworked. They say they have no time to go round the Yards, because they are so pressed with drawings, &c. The poor men naturally thought that they would have assistants sent in to assist them; but, instead of that, they found that new men were put in between them and their Admiral Superintendent. Instructions are drawn up for the Civil Assistant's guidance. He is not to have an office; but, as far as I can see, he is to be the eyes and ears of the Admiral Superintendent, because he is overworked. Instead of giving the poor Chief Constructor and Chief Engineer assistants who should have had assistance, they were insulted by having these Civil Assistants put over them. Then there is another thing which I have to call attention to, and that is that it is a rule of the Service that juniors shall never be allowed to judge their seniors; but here we have two juniors put on to this Committee to inquire into matters connected with their seniors; and there, again, we have a fresh shuffling of the cards. All I can say is this—that the Service would have accepted these appointments loyally if they had been made direct by the Admiralty after consultation with their Naval Colleagues; but they do object to their being made upon the Report of two young civilians presided over by one Admiral. Furthermore, I must say this—you have a number of naval officers—able officers, who are now wasting their lives—retired at 50 on half-pay, and I say that you can obtain any number of these men who for a small increase of pay, and not in uniform, would make admirable civil supervisors of the Dockyards. But instead of using what we have on hand, we go and make three new offices like these, to satisfy the ambition of three young civilians; and that is what I say is really the meaning of this Report. I am sorry that I found myself bound to say what I think of the conduct of the late Board in this matter. There are one or two capable naval men who, I know, approve of these new appointments; but I have asked some whether they have read the evidence which was given before this Committee. They all replied that they had not; and, therefore, I have said to them—"Read that first." I also ask the Committee to read that evidence, and if they do they will find that what I have stated is not exaggerated and is not untrue.

Mr. VANDERBYL (Portsmouth): I must protest against the imputations of idleness contained in the Blue Book about Dockyard administration. I know that at Portsmouth the system of "crowing," to give notice to men that a superior officer is coming, has never been practised, and I know the men are indignant at the remarks made about them. The leading men of painters, three in number, have to superintend 189 men—that is, 63 men to each foreman—who have to go about and see that the men do their work properly, and only get 4*d.* per day more than the ordinary workmen, while other foremen get much higher wages. It is quite possible that a stranger may think that these foremen are idling when they are really superintending the work. There are many *bonâ fide* grievances existing in the Dockyards, and almost every class has its own special grievance. Most of the grievances arise from defective organization, which allows of an inequality of payment for similar services. All men dislike these invidious distinctions, and a Committee should be appointed to make equitable arrangements for all the Dockyards. The system of hired men should also be largely modified. Twenty years is far too long to be kept as a hired man, with the prospect of getting only one week's pay for every year after 20 years, and the Union in the distance. The hired man should be established after 10 years, and should get at least one month's bonus. At present he gets, after 20 years' service, only £36 bonus; and the established man, under the same conditions, gets £31 4*s.* annually. I hold in my hand a list of the men, 15 in number, who, during the past three years, have been unable to complete their 20 years' service on account of their age, and have, consequently, been discharged without receiving any bonus. That is a great hardship, as some of these men have actually been serving in the Dockyard for more than 18 years. The number of established men should be increased by reducing the time of hired men to 10 years to qualify them for being established.

Captain PRICE (Devonport): I cannot help thinking that my hon. and gallant Friend below the Gangway (Admiral Field) has been a little hard upon the Committee which sat upon this question, and upon the Board of Admiralty which adopted their Report. For my part, I take it that these Gentlemen were appointed not to settle this question, but rather to take evidence, and especially in regard to these appointments. I do not say that I agree with everything that they have reported on this matter, and I am not at all sure that this is the best way in which the matter ought to have been carried out. The matter, however, is under trial; but I hope, at all events, that we are to look upon it as a tentative and experimental arrangement, and not as a permanent one. I think that the whole matter is very concisely put in an answer to a question put to Admiral Curme, who says that he does not agree on the whole with such appointments, and when he is asked why, says he thinks it would be very difficult to find the proper men. If, however, the proper men can be found, then he thinks the appointments might be very useful to the Admiral Superintendent; but he has much doubt as to the thing working well. Now, I think the whole pith of the question is in that. As to friction between the Admiral and the Civil Assistant, if you get a good man, a man of great tact and even temper, and if the Admiral is a man of similar mind and disposition, then there is no reason why they should not work very well together. At all events, as the appointments have now been made, we can try it for a year; and if it does not work well, there is no reason why we should continue it. I quite see what my hon. and gallant Friend says about appointing naval men as advisers; but surely there is the Captain of the Steam Reserve, whom the Admiral can consult if he wishes. Another thing I want to suggest is that frequent changes should not take place in the Admirals Superintendent. It seems absurd that when a man is just beginning to understand his business, because somebody else above him in the Service dies, he should be changed. If Admirals Superintendent could be appointed for a term of years, say five or seven years, I think it would be much better for the Service. In regard to that part of the Report as to idling in Dockyards, I am sorry that it dealt in that way with the subject. I do not think that it was done intentionally, or that the Committee intended to cast a slur upon the *employés* of the Dockyards; but what they said was cruel and unjust. I am sorry that they did not give more weight to the evidence of Mr. Barnes, whose evidence has already been alluded to by my hon. and learned Friend (Sir John Gorst). Mr. Barnes said—

> "I should like to know where idling does not go on. I have been about in contract yards a good deal; was located in one three or four years. I have seen idling in the Dockyards, and I have seen idling in private establishments, and I think that the idling in both places is about the same; that is my opinion. There is no doubt that quality is peculiar to all workmen. You have only to look at the workmen employed at the Admiralty when any work is going on to see that it exists here; and I will defy any workmen to find worse in this respect than the workmen employed about the public buildings and about our own houses in London."

So that it is evidently his opinion that there is no greater idling in Dockyards than there is anywhere else. I must say, for my own part, I believe that the so-called "idling" is compulsory, and only means that men are waiting to be put on a job, or, perhaps, waiting for something from the stores to enable them to go on with their work. Both the Members for Portsmouth (Sir William Crossman and Mr. Vanderbyl) have alluded to the grievances of the various classes of workmen. When there is anything special in the subject I always bring it before the House; but I will not go into the general question to-night, as it is so late. The proper way to deal with these grievances is this—that in the autumn, when the Admiralty go through the Dockyards, they should make a point of seeing the men personally, inquiring into all their grievances, and of dealing with them. I will not ask my right hon. Friend opposite (Mr. Hibbert) if he will take that course, because I do not know if the result of the General Election will give him the opportunity of doing so this autumn; but I think the Committee will see that this is the best manner of dealing with these matters.

MR. RITCHIE (Tower Hamlets, St. George's): As my noble Friend (Lord George Hamilton) and I are responsible for these appointments, I should like to be allowed to make a few remarks. As to the remarks of the hon. and gallant Member for Devonport (Captain Price) in reference to the grievances and anomalies which undoubtedly exist in our Dockyards, as far as I was able when I had the honour of holding the Office of Secretary to the Admiralty, I did endeavour to give the complaints of the workmen as much personal attention as I could, and in the way which my hon. and gallant Friend thinks is desirable. I inquired when I went round in the autumn, and I made a special visit to Portsmouth, and received a large number of deputations from the men. I was at once struck with the large amount of justice which these men had in their complaints, and no one who knew anything of the matter could help being struck with the great number of anomalies which they complained of. It was my opinion, however, and it was an opinion which would have been acted upon if we had been in Office longer—it was my opinion that the only way in which they could be effectually dealt with was by appointing a thoroughly competent Committee to inquire into all these anomalies and see if something could not be done. It is undoubtedly the case that all the Petitions of the men are pressed upon every new Board; and I am afraid that they are always referred to the same gentleman to whom they have been referred before, and the Petitioners hear no more of them beyond what they had heard many times before. I do not think that that is satisfactory, and I think that the reference of them to a Committee is the only way to deal with them. In reference to the main question which we are now discussing —namely, the appointment of the Civil Assistants, I am afraid the hon. and gallant Member for the Eastbourne Division of Sussex (Admiral Field) seems rather to think that the Dockyards ought to be entirely entrusted to naval men, and that they ought, in fact, to be treated as a sort of refuge for retired naval men.

ADMIRAL FIELD: I did not say that the management should be in the hands of naval men, but that the supervision should be in the hands of naval men, also the appointments, as at present.

MR. RITCHIE: We do not think—we feel that it is impossible and it is not desirable—that Admirals should cease to be Superintendents of the Dockyards. We are convinced of the necessity of having them, and nothing would induce me to take any steps which I thought would have the effect of getting rid of them. On the contrary, I am as much impressed as anyone can be with the necessity of having Admirals at the head of the Dockyards, and I believe that what the late Board of Admiralty did greatly strengthened the position of the Admiral Superintendents. We believe that we helped them by giving them just the kind of assistance they required. The Admiral Superintendent is so taken up with routine work; he is confined to his office; he has a large amount of writing to do, that however much disposed he is to do so, I am satisfied that he cannot give to the manufacturing operation that attention which is required. With regard to the Committee to which reference has been made, its principal duty was to take evidence. The hon. and gallant Member for Devonport (Captain Price) has accurately described the duty of the Committee—namely, to take evidence. Well, considering that we had presiding over that Committee a gallant Admiral who thoroughly enjoyed the confidence of his brother officers—a very competent man—I do not think that we could have selected a better man. The hon. and gallant Gentleman the Member for the Eastbourne Division of Sussex (Admiral Field) complained that we had not more naval men on the Committee. [Admiral FIELD: More constructors.] Well, we had to consider the main object of the Committee, which was to ascertain the amount of supervision which existed in the Yards—whether it was sufficient, and what were the causes of the very great delay in the execution of the work intrusted to the Dockyards at such enormous expense. Now, I may briefly tell the Committee how it happened that these gentlemen were entrusted with the additional powers with which they have been vested. The Committee will remember quite well that when we first went to the Admiralty there occurred some mistake in connection with the accounts of the Admiralty, and a Committee of this House investigated the matter and made a Report. My noble Friend the First Lord of the Admiralty (Lord George Hamilton) appointed a Committee of the Admiralty to consider the Report of the House of Commons Committee. Over that Committee I presided, and in the course of our inquiry the question of the expenditure in the Dockyards also came up. Before the inquiry of that Committee came to an end, the Lords of the Admiralty made their usual visit to the Dockyards in the autumn. Both my noble Friend and myself were very greatly struck by the want of supervision in the Dockyards—a want which everyone now admits. Even the Gentlemen who complain of our appointments admit that there is a great want of supervision in the Dockyards; and I must say, while perfectly understanding the indignation which has been expressed by Members for Dockyard constituencies as to the charge of idleness, there can be no doubt that where there is a want of proper supervision there must be a great deal more idleness and neglect than where everything is properly attended to. I should be sorry to say a single word against the men who work in the Dockyards. I think it would be impossible to find more efficient men in any private Dockyard in the country than the country possesses in Her Majesty's Dockyards; but, as I have said, those who complain of the charge of idleness admit there is a want of supervision, and that want, I maintain, of itself begets idleness. No one going round the Dockyards could fail to see that there were a good many more men employed in a dock than could well get to the work. Over and over again I have seen half-a-dozen men employed in doing a piece of work which it was impossible for half-a-dozen men properly to get at. There were many other things which I saw in the Dockyards which led me to the belief that there was such a want of supervision and management as could not but be greatly detrimental to the Service. When we returned to our Office I expressed the belief to my noble Friend the First Lord of the Admiralty (Lord George Hamilton) that it would be extremely desirable to make use of the Committee then sitting to collect some evidence at the Dockyards, with a view of ascertaining what the amount of supervision existing in the Dockyards really was. However much one may cavil—and I am not surprised that some do cavil—at some portions of the Report of the Committee, there can be no doubt that the evidence the Committee collected showed conclusively that there was a want of supervision and management which was very prejudicial to the Public Service. Hon. Gentlemen speak of the Report of the Committee as if it were upon it alone that the Lords of the Admiralty acted in making the re-organization which they did make. The Report of the Committee, and the evidence collected by the Committee, greatly assisted us; but that was by no means the only source of information which we had when we came to our conclusion as to the necessity for re-organization. Neither did we consider that the necessity for re-organization and the want of management and system were confined to the Dockyards. We were of opinion—conclusively of opinion—that the system in the Admiralty was not a system which was likely to obtain the best results in the Dockyards, and what did we do there? A gentleman has been referred to more than once as the Superintendent of the Dockyards at the Admiralty. I think it was my hon. and learned Friend the Member for Chatham (Sir John Gorst) who, in speaking of Mr. Barnes, said that his special duty was to go about the Dockyards. That was a very natural conclusion for my hon. and learned Friend to arrive at; but, as a matter of fact, Mr. Barnes did not go about the Dockyards. I do not attribute the smallest blame to Mr. Barnes. He was a most indefatigable officer, and no one who has seen him at work at the Admiralty can doubt that his time was fully occupied in the duties he fulfilled at the Admiralty. But he was kept at the Admiralty to do work he ought never to have been called upon to do. He had an immense amount of clerical work, which was entirely foreign to the office he held. It was evident to us that it was a great evil that the gentleman at the Admiralty, who was the Superintendent of the Dockyards, had no time at his command to do the duty which devolved upon him primarily in my opinion—that is, to superintend the work in the Dockyards. Hon. Gentlemen well know that we endeavoured to look at this matter from a purely business-like point of view. What did we find? We found, undoubtedly, that complaints had been made, ever since the earliest period on record, of the great costs at which ships were turned out of Her Majesty's Dockyards, and of the great delays which took place in carrying out the designs. Having arrived at the conclusion that there was a great want of supervision both at the Admiralty and at the Dockyards, it was impossible for us to rest satisfied without endeavouring to remedy the evils we saw existing. My hon. and gallant Friend the Member for the Eastbourne Division of Sussex (Admiral Field) thinks we acted in a great hurry upon the evidence placed before us. It may be we did act in a great hurry; but there have been so many Committees at the Admiralty, and so many inquiries which have resulted in nothing at all, that we were naturally extremely desirous that the inquiries we had made, and the experience we had gained, should be of some avail. I can assure my hon. and gallant Friend that it was with a great deal of strain upon those who were responsible that quick action was taken. We felt it was our duty to act promptly—to act as if we really were business men dealing with a private undertaking of our own. We approached the matter from a purely business-like point of view. We saw that at the Admiralty there was no business man whose duty it was to keep a firm hold of the work at the Dockyards, and we appointed, as the hon. and gallant Member knows, a very eminent man, Professor Algar, as Director of Dockyards; and as far as possible our views and intentions were that while the Director of Dockyards should be an officer, under, to a certain extent, the Director of Naval Construction, he should be, to a large extent, independent and responsible to the Lords of the Admiralty. We desired, as far as possible, to draw a line between the designing of ships and the building of ships, endeavouring to throw responsibility upon the Constructor for the design of the ships, and responsibility upon the Director of the Dockyards, and those under him, for the building of the ships. We felt that our appointment would very likely lead to this very desirable result. I may say that previously the two Departments, being entirely in one hand, it did not always come to the knowledge of the Lords of the Admiralty when alterations were necessitated in consequence of deficient designs; delays ensued and expenses were incurred without the Lords of the Admiralty being cognizant of them. We felt that if there was a Director of Dockyards who should be made responsible for carrying out the designs, he would take care that if there was any reason to complain of the designs he obtained the question came before the Lords of the Admiralty. My hon. and learned Friend the Member for Chatham (Sir John Gorst) said that one of the main causes of the delays in building ships was the alteration in design. Very well, we thought that by the appointment we made and the change which we made at the Admiralty, if these alterations were to continue, and, as a consequence, expense and delay ensued, there would be much more chance of the alterations coming to the knowledge of the Lords of the Admiralty, and of these officials exercising more control over the matter than they had ever before been able to do. In addition to that, we felt that the appointment of a gentleman whose sole duty was to keep himself in constant touch with the building operations in the Dockyards was likely to lead to efficiency both in reference to expedition and also to economy. And what did we do in the Dockyards? We found, as I have said, that the Admiral Superintendents were so occupied with various necessary and important duties as to render it practically impossible for them to give that attention to manufacturing operations which they ought to have done, even supposing they had technical knowledge. But, apart from the want of time on their part, we felt that there ought to be a technical man under the Superintendent to take the management of a manufacturing establishment such as a Dockyard, some such man as is found in every private dockyard in the country, a man who thoroughly understood the work in hand, and who was capable and able to follow into all and every detail the whole manufacturing operations of the Yard. But while we felt that was desirable—and, indeed, we considered it necessary—we also felt that it was an essential thing that the gentleman placed in this position should feel that he was distinctly under the Admiral Superintendent of the Yard, and was put there not for the purpose of overriding the acts of the Superintendent, but for the purpose of rendering the Admiral Superintendent that amount of technical assistance which we felt the Admiral Superintendent was not in a position to exercise himself. I must say I cannot understand why the gallant officers of the Navy are so opposed, as they undoubtedly are, to such an appointment as that. I am not able to place myself in the position of an Admiral Superintendent; but I feel that if I were in that position there is no officer I would more welcome than an officer such as we have appointed. I know perfectly well there are some people who imagine that Admirals might very well cease to be Superintendents of Dockyards; but I do not think any gentleman who has any experience of what takes place in the Dockyards would for a moment hold such an opinion. If, however, there be any ground for such a belief on the part of gentlemen who, perhaps, do not know very accurately what Admiral Superintendents have to do, I say you are taking away from them that very ground by giving to the Admirals men who can assist them in conducting the technical manufacturing work. You are strengthening the position of the Admiral Superintendents by giving them men such as we have appointed in the three great manufacturing Dockyards of the country. I am firmly of opinion that when the Admirals have had experience of the working of this system they will altogether change their views upon the subject, and find that they have got most valuable assistants in the technical assistants at the Dockyards. And, Sir, I am given to understand, from sources for which I have great respect, that the system is one which is working well. I understand that the gentlemen who have been appointed to the Dockyards are doing their work well, and that there is not that friction between them and the Superintendents which some might imagine would occur. I must say I should not have been surprised if there had been a little friction to begin with because of the feelings the Admiral Superintendents had on the subject. I am glad to think that things are going on very satisfactorily, and that those who succeeded us at the Admiralty have adopted to the utmost the plan of reform, both at the Admiralty and Dockyards, which we left behind us. I must thank my right hon. Friend opposite (Mr. Hibbert) for the extremely loyal manner in which he has been disposed to give the system we commenced a thoroughly good trial. Some criticisms were passed—I think by the hon. Gentleman the Member for Leith (Mr. Jacks)—upon the form of the Estimates. The hon. Gentleman complained a good deal of being unable to understand the present form of the Estimates; but I think he must wilfully have shut his eyes to light. He took the Estimates which dealt with the two ships *Camperdown* and *Edinburgh*. He compared the cost, and, finding the ships very much of the same tonnage, he said—"Here is one ship costs a great deal more than the other, though they are similar ships. How do you account for that? It is evident the state of things both at the Admiralty and Dockyards is very defective, or else mistakes of this kind would not occur." Well, now, the hon. Gentleman really must have shut his eyes to light, because on that very portion of the Estimates to which he was referring the explanation is very clearly given, the explanation being that the *Camperdown* is a barbette ship and the *Edinburgh* a turret ship. This is distinctly shown on the page of the Estimates from which the hon. Gentleman has quoted.

MR. JACKS: I was quoting from page 184, and the hon. Gentleman is quoting from page 174.

MR. RITCHIE: Do I understand that the only contention of the hon. Gentleman is that the explanation which is given in page 174 is not repeated in another portion of the Estimates?

MR. JACKS: No; that the form is inadequate and incomplete.

MR. RITCHIE: Surely if he had known that one was a barbette ship and the other a turret ship he would not have made the remarks he did as to the difference of cost. But I will not pursue the matter further. I think my right hon. Friend (Mr. Hibbert) will admit that the present form of Estimate is a great improvement upon the form of past years. We paid a great amount of attention to the form of Estimate which is now before the Committee, and we flattered ourselves we gave a great deal of information which had not been given before and gave it in a better form. And for the improvement in the form of the Estimates we have greatly to thank the officials at the Admiralty who have charge of these matters. I do not mean to say that the Estimates are perfect; nothing of the kind; in fact, already a great many points have occurred to me in which they might be considerably improved. I am sure my right hon. Friend the Secretary to the Admiralty will admit that experience may show that there may be many modifications and improvements which may be introduced in the Estimates in the future. I will not trouble the Committee further upon this matter; but I will conclude the remarks I have made, which I am afraid have been somewhat disjointed, by saying that from the point of view of the workmen in the Dockyards we feel that what we have done will be of great advantage. We are satisfied that the changes we have made will cause the work in the Dockyards to be turned out quicker and at a reduced cost. We have really done the greatest service we possibly could to the men employed in the Dockyards, because we know that there are constant outcries by various economists against the delays which arise in the Dockyards, though many of the statements are made without proper foundation and without any consideration of the many difficulties which have to be contended with in our Dockyards. I think it is not possible, under the very best management, for our Dockyards to compare favourably with the out-turn in the private yards of the country, as the duties to be performed in the Dockyards are so multifarious that it is quite impossible to draw accurate comparison. Private yards are generally engaged upon one kind of work—namely, building—whereas in Her Majesty's Dockyards there is, besides building, an immense amount of repairing and refitting. I am fully persuaded that no one in the Dockyards has more reason to be thankful for the changes we have made than the workmen for whom the hon. and gallant Gentlemen representing Dockyard constituencies have stood up so nobly. I feel satisfied that if this matter continues to be treated as it is being treated now, not as a matter of Party in any sense at all, but as one affecting the welfare of the country, the result of our efforts will be a distinct advantage to our Naval Services.

The SECRETARY to the ADMIRALTY (Mr. Hibbert) (Oldham): I think that after the very full and clear way in which my hon. Friend (Mr. Ritchie) has dealt with the question raised by the Amendment of the hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for Chatham (Sir John Gorst) the Committee will not expect or desire me to go into the question. I quite agree with every word which has fallen from my hon. Friend as to the object the late Government had in view in instituting the Committee to which reference has been made, and in carrying out the recommendations which the Committee from time to time made. I have said before that I consider they showed great courage in carrying out the recommendations of the Committee, because they had to make the changes at a time when there was a General Election in prospect. I think they deserve not only the thanks of naval men, but the thanks of the country, for having dealt so courageously, and, as I think, so ably with this question of Dockyard management. The hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for Chatham was hardly correct in saying that the evidence given before the Committee was almost entirely confined to the Portsmouth Dockyard; as a matter of fact, gentlemen from Chatham and Devonport were examined. At the same time, we can easily understand the hon. and learned Gentleman's desire to rebut any aspersion upon the Dockyard men of general idleness. That there is a certain amount of idleness in the Dockyards no one can shut his eyes to. Those who have had most experience generally speak strongest upon this question; but, at the same time, because there is a certain number of their body who are idle, we have no right to accuse the whole of the workmen of idleness. I therefore wish in the fullest way to state that I am sure the Committee, in making the Report, and the late Government, in carrying out the recommendations of the Report, had no desire to cast an aspersion upon the whole of the workmen in the various Dockyards. On these grounds I sympathize with my hon. and learned Friend (Sir John Gorst); but, at the same time, we have a right, in carrying on the Dockyards of this country on behalf of the taxpayers and the public generally, to see that to the utmost extent we get a proper amount of work done for the money we expend. I do not think the country grudges the money expended on the Dockyards; certainly they would not grudge it so much if they knew that the money was properly spent on the works for which it is voted. I feel the late Government were perfectly right in taking the various steps they did take, and in making the different appointments to which reference has been made, for the purpose of improving the supervision of the work in the Dockyards. With respect to one appointment they made, that of the new Director of Dockyards, I can tell my hon. Friend (Mr. Ritchie) and the Committee that it is working in the most satisfactory way. Day after day I see the advantage of having a gentleman going about from one Dockyard to another supervising the matters with regard to which he has written his Minutes. Very great advantage has resulted from the appointment with respect to the repairs which are required to be done. There is no doubt that there has been great waste; but already the Director of Dockyards has, by the control he has been able to exercise, saved many thousands of pounds to the country. Well, then, with reference to the Civil Assistants, I am sorry that they should have been looked upon at all with anything like disfavour by the Admiral Superintendents. Of course, it is natural that when a new appointment is made it will be received with a little feeling of dislike; but I do not find that there has been any great friction between the Admiral Superintendents and the Civil Assistants. There may have been a little at first; but I believe as time goes on all the feeling of dislike to these officers will wear away, and that when fresh Superintendents are appointed they will find the Civil Assistants of the greatest use in giving them information upon various matters to be dealt with in the Dockyards. Undoubtedly the strongest argument in favour of the Civil Assistants is that they have technical knowledge, professional knowledge, which the Admiral Superintendents can scarcely have, and even if they have they are not able to exercise it. I feel quite certain that the system which has been set on foot by the appointment of these Civil Assistants will be of the greatest advantage—one productive of great economy in the Dockyards. I am able to inform the Committee that already, in one particular Dockyard and in one particular instance, the examinations the Civil Assistant made in regard to some repairs which were to be done on one of our ships were the means of a saving of at least £2,000. One saving has nearly paid the salaries of these three officers for one year. I believe that the appointments will lead to even greater usefulness and economy, and that in the end the Admiral Superintendents will look upon these gentlemen, who have been appointed to assist them in their work, with favour rather than with disfavour. Well, these are not the only improvements which have been carried out by the Committee which was appointed by my hon. Friend (Mr. Ritchie). There are still many improvements which are under consideration. There is now sitting a Committee composed of Dockyard officers, upon the question of General Dockyard Organization, and it is anticipated that much advantage will result from their labours. They will have brought under their notice the questions of the supply of materials, the supply of stores by the contractors, the custody of stores, the regulation of incidental expenditure, the simplification of accounts, and so on. These are all matters the careful consideration of which will, I believe, lead to great reforms in the Dockyards. Then there is the question, of which we have heard something to-night, of the *employés* in the Dockyards. No doubt there is at the present time great disadvantage in the mode in which the various classes of workmen in the Yards are paid, and also in the manner in which their salaries and wages are calculated. I believe it would be of great advantage—and the matter is now being considered at the Admiralty—if there were a system of classes adopted under which a workman would enter the Service in the lowest class at a certain rate of pay, and after a time, having shown himself an able and industrious workman, would be raised to a higher class at a higher wage. There should be a still higher class to which those men who show themselves most deserving in the matter of ability, diligence, and good conduct, might be raised. That would do away with the evils to which the hon. Gentleman the late Secretary to the Admiralty (Mr. Ritchie) called attention; and if some such plan as that is carried out it may not only have the effect of inciting the workmen in the Dockyards to give a very good day's work for the wage they receive, but of inspiring them with a spirit of emulation and desire to improve themselves, so as to rise from one class to another. I mention this to show that this question of the position of workmen in the Dockyards has not been lost sight of. I trust that before long the plan I have been referring to may be brought to maturity. Everyone must admit that it is desirable to have as few grievances as possible in the Dockyards. Grievances, of course, always will exist. They exist in private yards just as they exist in Her Majesty's Dockyards; but the fewer we have the better. I think the suggestion made by the hon. Gentleman the Member for Devonport (Mr. Puleston) and the late Secretary to the Admiralty (Mr. Ritchie) is a good one—namely, that when the Heads of the Admiralty visit the Dockyards they should always be ready to hear the grievances of the men employed in the Yards, and that they should not only do that, but make further inquiries into the subject whilst on the spot. I hope my hon. and learned Friend (Sir John Gorst) will be satisfied with the discussion which has taken place. I believe that before another year has gone over he will entertain a different opinion of the usefulness of those persons of whom he spoke. Let him give us, at least, a year to see if these officers really are of use.

Mr. C. H. WILSON (Hull, W.): In the absence of the Secretary to the Admiralty I do not know of whom to ask the question I desire to put. I may point out that in the Dockyard expenditure for contract work upon vessels there is a large amount of which some explanation ought to be given. There is an item for building two belted cruisers at Glasgow—£150,000; but it will be seen that the amount for similar work at Jarrow is different. [Mr. Hibbert here returned to the Treasury Bench.] Perhaps the right hon. Member the Secretary to the Admiralty can give me some explanation of this Vote 10?

Mr. HIBBERT: The question the hon. Member refers to does not come under the Vote we are now discussing.

Mr. H. G. ALLEN (Pembroke, Haverfordwest): Like other hon. Members who represent Dockyard constituencies, I have been requested to say a few words by way of objection to the Report of Admiral Graham's Committee. It is obvious that it may be said there is not much value to be attached to the objections made to the Report, inasmuch as such objections are made by the persons whose industry is impugned by the Report. But it seems to me that the hon. and learned Member for Chatham (Sir John Gorst) has answered the statements made as to the idling of Dockyard men when he has described the great difference which exists with respect to the scattered nature of the work. It is very well known that in our Dockyards the shops and storehouses are all widely separated from each other, and that a great deal of time is necessarily lost in going backwards and forwards between these places and getting the articles required. That puts me in mind of a question that I was deputed to ask the Lords of the Admiralty when the noble Lord opposite (Lord George Hamilton) came to the Dockyard in which I am interested last summer. We asked him that we might have a new dry dock at Pembroke, the want of one causing us a great loss of money every year. Steamers at present have to go backwards and forwards between the place where the work is carried on and the place where the stores are kept. Great expense, trouble, and loss of time is incurred through our not having proper Dockyard accommodation. We were deputed to represent to the noble Lord and the right hon. Gentleman who spoke just now—the Secretary to the Admiralty—the urgent need of this second dry dock. The noble Lord went very much into that matter. He received us with great courtesy, and listened to our representations with attention; but, in reply to our statements, he said he was afraid the dry dock we required would cost the expenditure of more money than the Treasury would be likely to sanction. It was suggested by the noble Lord himself that there was an intermediate course—that a jetty should be constructed which would serve some of the purposes, though not all, for which we desired the construction of the second dry dock. I wish to ask a question about this of the Secretary to the Admiralty. Since that time the Treasury have come to take even a more restricted view of the subject than, I presume, they did at the time of the noble Lord's visit. Though, no doubt, additional activity has been shown in various branches of the Department, still this great local want of which we spoke, and which the noble Lord admitted to our deputation, is unsupplied; and I am afraid that even the jetty which the noble Lord suggested to us as a sort of intermediate matter or compromise the Treasury might be induced to allow, is not to be given, or, at any rate, is for the time postponed. The want of a dry dock at Pembroke is recognised by all Local Authorities and those who visited the place who are competent to judge; and I trust that something may be done in this respect. I was requested to mention this matter by a large body of my constituents, who feel this want very much. There is another matter to which I wish briefly to allude—one that has been already referred to by the hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for Chatham (Sir John Gorst)—and that is the general feeling that a larger proportion of men should be put on the Establishment. It seems contrary to common sense that men should be kept in a state of probation for such long periods as 15, 16, and 18 years. I am told that in the days before metal was so largely introduced into the Dockyards as the material for ships, everyone was put on the Establishment after a short period of probation, and became entitled to a pension when retired. When, however, metal began to enter largely into the composition of ships of war, the system was altered. A large proportion of the men are not put on the Establishment, though the men in entering the Service are animated with the hope that they will ultimately get put upon it. It seems to me, as it has seemed to a great many persons conversant with public affairs, that to keep men, as it were, in a state of suspended animation with no immediate prospect of being put in the position of being able to earn a pension is not right. If two or three years' probation is not enough it should be made a longer period; but to keep for a lengthened period off the Establishment men who have proved themselves good workmen, punctual to their time, and attentive to their duties, and against whom there are no adverse marks, is a grievance of which they have a right to complain, and which the Government should lose no time in removing. I am told that at present no one gets on the Establishment under eight or nine years. It seems to me a greater prospect should be given to them of getting put upon it.

SIR JOHN COMMERELL (Southampton): I quite agree with what many hon. Members say—namely, that there is an enormous amount of money spent in the Dockyards. The expense of building and repairing ships is very great; but there is one cause of the great expenditure which has not yet been touched on. I must say that I think one of the real causes of the great expenditure in our Dockyards is to be found in the Constructor's Department and the various Departments of the Admiralty. They do not appear to me at all times to know their own minds; and I do not think that in the present day, when the march of invention is so very rapid, that they can always know their own minds. I remember myself, years ago, fitting out the *Monarch.* I joined her six months before she was commissioned, and during that time the number of changes that were necessitated by inventions was very great. The consequence was that the expenditure on the ship was very much more than it would have been if she had been built in a private yard, because in a private yard she would have been completed according to the estimates and specifications. When we recollect that it takes three or four years to build a ship like the *Colossus*, and that during that period torpedo arrangements and gunnery arrangements are constantly changing, and that differences in stowage are brought about by alterations in shot and shell, we see how easy it is for an enormous expenditure to grow up. We will hope, however, that under the new plan lately inaugurated, by which Civil assistance is made available, the state of things will very materially alter for the better. I must say, for myself, that I was rather against the new plan, involving, as it did, the appointment of a Civil Assistant, and the placing an outsider between the Admiral Superintendent and the other officers of the Yard. The Civil Assistant must be very much junior to the Chief Constructor, and will in all probability be a younger man than the Chief Engineer; and it seems to me very likely that for some time there will be a considerable amount of prejudice against this new official. The Secretary to the Admiralty says that if the Admiral Superintendent and the Civil Assistant are men of tact and temper, the arrangement will turn out very well. I hope that may be so. I am afraid that one great cause of expense in our Dockyards is the mixing up of contract work with Government work. A vessel is built by contract in a private yard; she comes back to the Naval Dockyard to be fitted out, and what is the consequence? A great many of the arrangements that ought to have been finally settled are altered, and when the bill comes to be totalled, you find that you have incurred much greater expense than you ought to have done. I remember, when the *Neptune* and two other vessels were purchased and fitted out, a sum of money was spent on alterations which, in several instances, were alterations by no means for the better. I suppose that this kind of expenditure must go on; but I trust that, as time progresses, we shall arrive at a state of things in which we shall be enabled, when we order ships by contract, to make proper arrangements for accommodation and other things which will render it unnecessary for us to have to authorize such costly the apparent effective strength of the Navy.

Sir THOMAS BRASSEY (Hastings): I wish to support strongly the proposal of the noble and gallant Lord the Member for Marylebone (Lord Charles Beresford). It is most distressing to go down to the large Dockyards and see how money is expended on vessels which can be of no possible service to the country. The only remedy for this is to adopt the suggestion of the noble and gallant Lord and place upon our list a smaller number of effective vessels. Some of the vessels in question have, no doubt, been of value for training purposes, but the requirements of the Navy for training can be met by the construction of other vessels for that purpose. I trust the proposal of the noble and gallant Lord will be accepted by the Secretary to the Admiralty.

Commander BETHELL (York, E.R., Holderness): Although I am unable altogether to agree with my noble and gallant Friend, I think he has done good service in bringing forward this question. I think there is a little disposition to overlook the fact that other nations have as poor vessels as we have, and it is perhaps better to have those to depend upon than none at all. Still I think many of these vessels may, with advantage, be got rid of, and I hope the right hon. Gentleman will, as suggested by the noble Lord the Member for Middlesex (Lord George Hamilton) consider this matter very carefully.

Mr. PULESTON (Devonport): I hope the principle advocated by the hon. and gallant Gentleman who has just sat down will not be adopted, because, in my opinion, it is by no means better to have useless vessels than none at all—it would be very much to our disadvantage in time of war to have a number of useless vessels, because, as the noble and gallant Lord the Member for Marylebone (Lord Charles Beresford) says, we not only lose the vessels but the men too, and create a panic at home. We have, by the present system, the worst of all ideas raised—that is to say, the idea of false security. For years, in this House, we have had discussions on Naval affairs, in which it has always been pointed out that we have so many vessels fit for service and otherwise. Directly £50,000, or so, is spent on repairing them they are put down as effective. But the noble and gallant Lord has shown that, however much money you may spend upon the ships he has named, they will still be unfit for the service of the country. Therefore, I agree with the noble and gallant Lord in thinking it better that we should apply the money which would be uselessly expended in repairing those vessels to the building of fast cruisers and ships that would give real strength, and not a false idea of security with regard to our Navy.

The SECRETARY to the ADMIRALTY (Mr. Hibbert) (Oldham): I am glad to be able, to a very considerable extent, although not to the extent he has put upon the Paper, to meet the views of the noble and gallant Lord the Member for Marylebone (Lord Charles Beresford), who, I think, has done good service in calling attention to these classes of obsolete vessels. There is, however, one point on which I cannot agree with him, inasmuch as I should prefer the vessels in question being sold to being blown up or broken up. With respect to the first class with which the noble and gallant Lord deals — the *Avon*, *Cherub*, and *Orwell*—these vessels will doubtless be sold when paid off. Of the 37 vessels and ships which the noble and gallant Lord proposes should be destroyed immediately, it is already arranged to sell six—the *Druid*, *Growler*, *Hart*, *Lynx*, *Pert*, and *Fly*—proncunced by the Admiralty to be unfit for service (in the 4th class of the Reserve); 17—which will possibly be sold either this year or next—the *Newcastle*, *Amethyst*, *Blanche*, *Modeste*, *Beacon*, *Bittern*, *Boxer*, *Cracker*, *Hornet*, *Kestrel*, *Rocket*, *Teazer*, *Thistle*, *Contest*, *Foam*, *Mosquito*, and *Sheldrake* (in the 4th class of the Reserve); five—the *Eclipse*, *Encounter*, *Juno*, *Thetis*, and *Arab*—will not be brought forward again for service, but ordered to be used for harbour service, or sold; two—the *Flamingo* and *Griffon*—named in the programme for repair, but estimates of cost not having been received from Devonport, decision has not been given. The *Tourmaline* has just been repaired for four years' service. The next ship is the *Danae;* this vessel has been lent to the War Office, and we do not wish to disturb the arrangement that has been made with that Department. The *Foxhound* is under repair for Coastguard service; the *Slaney* is an iron river service gun-boat, one of a class of 12 vessels with regard to which there appears to be no reason for disposal. The *Thalia* and *Britomart* are in commission, but will not be again repaired for service; the *Bullfrog*, however, I would point out, was only launched in 1881. She is a composite gun-boat, and only commissioned in March, 1882, and there is, therefore, no reason why she should be put aside. There remain of this class, which the noble and gallant Lord proposed should be broken up or blown up on arrival home, and in no case repaired, three vessels — the *Dido*, *Tenedos*, and *Flirt*—which will doubtless be sold on arrival and paying off in England. Again, there are 26 vessels which the noble and gallant Lord proposes should be ordered home as soon as the exigencies of the Service admit of it and disposed of. Of these I am able to inform the noble and gallant Lord that the *Philomel* is already sold. But there are eight composite vessels launched since 1880 which it would be scarcely justifiable to condemn—the *Ranger*, *Cockchafer*, *Espoir*, *Raven*, *Starling*, *Stork*, *Watchful*, and *Wrangler*. Of the remaining 17 vessels the *Condor*, *Frolic*, *Midge*, *Coquette*, *Cygnet*, *Forward*, *Goshawk*, and *Zephyr*, will be relieved during 1886, while the *Briton*, *Falcon*, *Ready*, *Rifleman*, *Woodlark*, *Firebrand*, *Mallard*, *Merlin*, and *Swinger*, will be relieved on the expiration of their present commissions. These 17 vessels will not, in all probability, be repaired for sea service, and will be ordered home as the exigencies of the Service admit. Well, Sir, I think, looking at the whole of the circumstances, that I have met the noble and gallant Lord quite half-way with regard to the disposal of the ships named in his Motion; and I may add that it is, of course, possible that we may arrive at the conclusion that other vessels may be treated in the same manner. We quite agree that it is particularly undesirable to spend any great amount in repairing these obsolete vessels, and if they are vessels of small speed so much less is to be said in favour of repairing them. Perhaps, then, the noble and gallant Lord will think he has made a good night's work, and will have some satisfaction from knowing that the vessels I have indicated will not come on again for repair.

LORD CHARLES BERESFORD (Marylebone, E.): I quite agree with the programme of the right hon. Gentleman so far as it goes, and will ask leave to withdraw my Motion. I had no idea that these vessels were intended to be got rid of in the way the right hon. Gentleman proposes, which I consider the best that can be done with them.

Motion, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Original Question again proposed.

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE (Bradford, Central): I rise, Sir, to move the reduction of the Vote by the sum of £10,000, for the purpose of raising the question whether the construction of the two iron-clads, the *Nile* and the *Trafalgar*, should not be suspended until a Committee of Designs, similar to the Committee of 1871, presided over by Lord Dufferin, shall have considered and reported as to the best type of large iron-clads for the Naval Service. My right hon. Friend the Secretary to the Admiralty (Mr. Hibbert), in his interesting and able speech on introducing the Navy Estimates for this year, referring to the iron-clads, the *Nile* and *Trafalgar*, which had been laid down shortly before the close of the last financial year, said that these were the largest iron-clads ever laid down in this or any other country; he might have added the most costly, for with their engines and equipments they will certainly cost a good deal over £1,000,000 sterling each — not far off £1,200,000 each. ["Oh!"] That is my calculation, when we take into account all the incidental expenditure of the Dockyard, cost of management, and so forth. Anyhow, I will be content to rest my argument upon the fact that they will cost over £1,000,000 sterling each. They will cost at least double the amount expended on first-class iron-clads, seven or eight years ago, double the cost of the *Alexandra* and *Superb*, and four or five times the sum expended on the *Iron Duke*. In describing these vessels, my right hon. Friend said he might safely say that these two iron-clads would probably be the last vessels of this large type that would ever be built in this or any other country. [MR. HIBBERT: Larger.] I do not think that was in the report of his speech which I read—

> "The last iron-clads of this large type that will ever be built in this or any other country."

He is confirmed in this view by many

other authorities. Admiral Sir Cooper Key, writing to *The Times* a few days ago in reference to these ships, said—

> "I believe the time is approaching, indeed, is already arrived, when no more iron-clad ships will be laid down."

During the last two years other Naval Powers of Europe have, with one exception, ceased to build ships with their sides protected with armour; and even the noble and gallant Lord the Member for Marylebone (Lord Charles Beresford), who is not moderate in his demands for naval construction, said, a few nights ago, that—

> "He would not urge that the country should invest any more money in heavy iron-clads, because France had left off building any more—she had even left off building the two large iron-clads which had been begun."

At the same time, there is a general concensus of opinion amongst naval men, and amongst men who are acquainted with the state of the Navy, that the chief want of the Navy at the present moment lies in fast vessels which are fit and proper for the protection of our commerce. The noble and gallant Lord (Lord Charles Beresford), in the speech to which I have referred, pointed out the urgent need of no less than 20 vessels of this class; and I may, perhaps, point out, without committing myself to the number mentioned by the noble and gallant Lord, or admitting that so many vessels of one type should be built, that no fewer than 20 vessels of 2,000 tons each, speeding at 20 knots an hour each, could be built at the cost of the two iron-clads which we are now called upon to provide for. The statement of my right hon. Friend the Secretary to the Admiralty (Mr. Hibbert) made a great impression on me when I read it, as I believe it did on many others. It seemed to me to raise at once the question whether it is really wise and necessary and prudent to expend such enormous sums in building vessels of this type; whether we are justified in rushing into these constructions when other nations have just come to the conclusion to discontinue such constructions, when the days of iron-clads seem to be numbered. I determined that if I were returned again to this House—at the time the statement of my right hon. Friend was made I was not a Member of the House—it would be the first question I would raise; and I have now to ask the Committee to consider this question. I shall endeavour to show that it is not necessary or prudent to expend these vast sums in building these iron-clads; and, secondly, that if the construction of two iron-clads be advisable, it wil lbe well to pause, as the designs of these two vessels have been condemned by all the scientific Constructors at the Admiralty, and by such high authorities as the late and present Chief Constructors. I approach this question with no prejudice against iron-clads. Though I have believed that the time would come when, like the knights of old, ships would cast off their armour and trust to speed and other qualities, yet I have always felt that we could not afford to be the first to do this. I have always recognized that, while France and other countries are building largely in this direction, and providing themselves with iron-clads, it would not do for this country, having regard to our great interests in every part of the world, to lag behind. We must be prepared to meet other countries. I have felt also that such vessels cannot be improvised; and that, so long as we believe in them, we must provide them in advance. I have upheld this view when in Office at the Admiralty, and when out of Office. I have rather urged greater exertions in this direction than the reverse. When, in 1880, Lord Northbrook's Board was appointed, and I held the post of Secretary to the Admiralty, I pointed out to Lord Northbrook that the French Government were making very great exertions to replace their wooden vessels, which were all perishing, by new vessels; and I predicted that the country would be alarmed if we did not make more progress in the building of iron-clads. Lord Northbrook concurred in that view, and he set to work steadily and effectually to increase the building of iron-clads, and during the five years he was in Office he gradually raised the tonnage of iron-clads built in each year from something like 8,000 tons to 12,000 tons. The action of the French Government was somewhat the reverse. They continued the building of iron-clads at a great rate up to the year 1882, expending upon them large sums of money which were provided by loan, and not by the ordinary Votes for Naval Services. In

1882 the French Admiralty ceased to pursue that policy; the French Legislature no longer agreed to advance money by way of loan, and the Admiralty had to fall back again upon the ordinary Estimates; and from 1882 the building of iron-clads has greatly fallen off, and is not to be at all compared with our own. In 1884, in spite of this reduction, there arose an alarm in this country on the subject of the French building, and in consequence of that, and in deference to public opinion, a large addition was made by Lord Northbrook's Board to the building of iron-clads. In that year they undertook to lay down no fewer than seven new iron-clads, of which five were to be belted cruisers, and two large vessels of the *Admiral* class. They laid down the five belted cruisers; they contracted for two vessels of the large type; and in 1885 my hon. Friend the then Secretary to the Admiralty—the Member for Hastings (Sir Thomas Brassey)—proposed to this House, on behalf of his Board, to lay down two more iron-clads. The following year the noble Lord the Member for Middlesex (Lord George Hamilton), then First Lord of the Admiralty, carried this policy still further, for he laid down four new iron-clads, two of which were belted cruisers, and two vessels of the larger type. I shall presently have something to say upon the type of vessel; meanwhile I have to raise the question whether the policy being pursued is a proper one. It will be seen that, during the last year and a-half, we have laid down no fewer than 11 iron-clads. [Lord GEORGE HAMILTON: They are not all iron-clads.] I venture to call them iron-clads because they have armour plates on their sides to protect them against shot; at all events, they rank against the second class of French iron-clads. During the period I have named we have laid down no fewer than 11 vessels, and the French have only laid down two. We have now 18 iron-clads in various stages of building in the Dockyards and by contract, including the two vessels the subject of my Motion. Now, I think the Committee will be surprised to hear that, while we have displayed such activity in the building of iron-clads, other countries, almost without exception, have come to an opposite conclusion. Germany has come to the deliberate conclusion not to build any more iron-clads. She has only one first class iron-clad completed and one building, and for four or five years she has practically abandoned the idea of increasing her Iron-Clad Fleet. She has, however, enormously developed her torpedo vessels, trusting to such vessels for the defence of her coasts. The same policy has been pursued by Austria, who has a small but powerful Navy; she has only one vessel building, and that not of the first class. Italy is, no doubt, building four or five large vessels, but they are not, strictly speaking, iron-clads. They are what we should call protected vessels; their vitals—their engines and their guns—are protected by heavy armour, but the main portion of their hulls are entirely unprotected, and they trust rather to their very great speed to bring them safely out of any combat in which they may become engaged. These vessels have a speed of 18 knots. I know that it is the opinion of able officers like Sir Cooper Key that, if the Italian vessels came to close quarters with our larger iron-clads, they could not stand, but must be destroyed. In the event of our coming into conflict with them, they will, no doubt, take advantage of their great speed. If these vessels are to be taken into account at all, it is certain that we have nothing to cope with them; because neither our existing iron-clads, nor those proposed to be laid down, have anything like a speed of 18 knots. For my part, I do not think it is at all necessary to take these Italian vessels into account. They were built for a special purpose—for the special protection of the Coast of Italy—and I do not think we shall ever find ourselves in conflict with Italy. Then, the United States have for some time past given up all idea of building iron-clads. I think that, at the present moment, they are building some fast cruisers. They have seven powerful *Monitors* on the stocks; but for the last seven or eight years they have not made any additions to their building. Then, again, Russia has only one iron-clad of the first class, the *Peter the Great*. She has three iron-clads building in the Black Sea, and three iron-clads, not of the first class, building in the Baltic. But Russia has one-half of her Navy boxed up in the Black Sea, and the other half in the Baltic; and, therefore, I do not think we need take very much alarm from her.

Practically, we have only to consider France in the matter of iron-clads. Apart from France, it is absolutely certain that we need not count a single iron-clad. The iron-clads of the first class belonging to other countries are so few that, if we have a reasonable superiority over France, it is certain that we could cope with any possible combination. What, then, is the present position of France with respect to iron-clads? A great change has come over her policy. While we have been increasing enormously our building, France has been reducing hers. We have, as I have already said, laid down 11 vessels during the last two years, and France has laid down two only, and these two —the *Brennus* and the *Charles Martel*— which were in their programme two years ago, they have recently suspended, after something like £60,000 had been spent upon them. The determination of the Government was announced in the following *communique* to the Press:—

> "Orders have been given to suspend all work on the *Brennus* and *Charles Martel*, upon which some money has been expended, and which are in the programme for the year 1886. Rather than undertake new large ships, we shall do well to finish those that are building and completing until experience shall have shown that it is necessary to construct ships of larger dimensions, and until we know what types are necessary for our Fleet."

[Lord GEORGE HAMILTON: What is the date of that?] I cannot give the exact date; but it appeared within the last few weeks. Now, that is really the present policy of the French Government—namely, to complete the vessels on which a considerable amount of work has already been expended, and to suspend the building of the vessels which have been most lately laid down, and that is a policy which I venture to ask the Committee to pursue as regards the *Nile* and the *Trafalgar*. I ask the Committee to do so on the ground that it will be better to complete the enormous iron-clads we have on the stocks, and on which considerable sums have already been expended, and to see what experience teaches us before constructing two such costly ships as the *Nile* and *Trafalgar*. We have often emulated France in the building and laying down of iron-clads; would it not be well to emulate her in the suspension of operations upon vessels of this expensive character? It may be said, however, that, apart from the vessels we have now under construction, we have not that superiority over existing vessels which we ought to have. I know nothing so difficult to arrive at as a perfectly fair comparison of the Fleets of the two countries. Each country has a long list of lame ducks—of obsolete vessels, of costly failures—which must be eliminated. By presuming everything against ours and everything in favour of the French vessels, by not meting out the same measure to both countries, it is quite possible for the alarmists to arrive at any result they like. A certain number of the French ships have this peculiarity in the opinion of alarmists here —they may be reckoned either as first-class ships or as second-class ships. When it is desired to press the Government here to renewed exertions in the building of big vessels, these French ships are included in the list of first-class vessels; and when, on the other hand, it is desired to advance the building of second-class ships or belted cruisers, these French ships are included in the second-class. It was by some such process that Admiral Hood recently maintained in *The Times* that in ships built and building of the first-class the French are on an equality with ourselves. There never was a more misleading statement. The most authoritative comparison we have is one produced by Lord Northbrook and my hon. Friend the Member for Hastings (Sir Thomas Brassey) in 1884, when they were asking Parliament to authorize a very large increase of expenditure on the Navy, and when they could have no motive for giving too favourable a version of our comparative strength. Lord Northbrook stated then that he had asked his Naval Colleagues at the Board of Admiralty to go through the list of French and English iron-clads, and without reference to any arbitrary classification of ships into first, second, or third class, to see what the general comparison between the ships was, making every allowance in favour of the French vessels, and every allowance against our vessels, and therefore making the comparison as favourable as possible to the French, and as unfavourable as possible to us. The comparison was made with this result—that of modern vessels this country has 30 with a tonnage of 210,000, and France 19 with a tonnage of 127,000, and of *quasi*-obsolete vessels this country has 16 with a tonnage of 116,000, and France 12 with a tonnage of 52,000, making a total of 46 English ships and 326,000 tons, and 31 French ships and 180,000 tons. Since then several vessels have been completed and many more been commenced. Taking these into account, and speaking only of the modern ships, and excluding the *quasi*-obsolete vessels, this country has built and building, excluding the *Nile* and *Trafalgar*, 51 vessels with 358,000 tons, and France 32 vessels with 238,000 tons, and these will all be complete within three years. There is, however, to be remembered, with reference to the French vessels, that eight of the vessels included in the list are wooden vessels of which it is well known that 16 years is the limit of their existence. Some of these vessels have already exceeded this age, others are approaching it, and in three years' time they will all have dropped out. A deduction, therefore, should be made of six vessels and 49,000 tons; and the figures will then be 51 English vessels with 358,000 tons, and26 French vessels with 189,000 tons, ora proportion of nearly two to one. I am prepared, then, to contend that at present the fair relative strength of the English to the French iron-clads is that of three to two, and at the end of three or four years, when the vessels building are complete, and when time shall have worked its inevitable effect on wooden vessels, the proportion will be two to one. This, I venture to say, is a far higher proportion than at any time in the past history of the two countries except just at the conclusion of the Great War. It will be found that, as a rule, the French have endeavoured to maintain a proportion of two to three. I hold, then, that, apart from the *Nile* and *Trafalgar*, our present and future supremacy in iron-clads is well assured, not only over France, but over all other vessels which could be brought against us. I have, therefore, come to the conclusion that the building of the two iron-clads, the *Nile* and the *Trafalgar*, is at the present moment quite unnecessary, especially in view of the fact that the French Government have suspended the building of two vessels of somewhat similar type, although possibly not quite so large. I ask the Committee to come to the conclusion that we may, having regard to the present condition of our iron-clads, very safely suspend the building of these two vessels, at all events, so long as the French suspend the building of their two vessels. I have now to deal with another part of the case—namely, the type or design of the two iron-clads I refer to. It was the policy of Lord Northbrook, steadily pursued during the five years of his tenure of Office, not to increase the size of the iron-clads he laid down, but to keep them within moderate dimensions, believing that numbers are of more importance than size. That was the policy he announced, and I have no doubt it was the policy which he would have carried out had he remained in Office. The late Secretary to the Admiralty (Sir Thomas Brassey) did not mention what the type of the vessels which he proposed to lay down in the Dockyards would be; but I have very little doubt that, in pursuance of the policy which I speak of, the two iron-clads, the *Nile* and *Trafalgar*, would have been vessels of moderate size. Lord Northbrook's Board had not actually laid down the two vessels in 1885 when they went out of Office. The noble Lord the Member for Middlesex (Lord George Hamilton) came in as First Lord of the Admiralty, and had to decide the question what vessels should be laid down. It appears, if I am rightly informed, that within a very few days of the noble Lord coming into Office the Board over which he presided laid down the conditions under which the designs were to be made for these two new iron-clads, and those vessels involved two vessels of very much larger type than any built before. They were to be vessels of 11,400 tons each, 1,400 tons larger than any vessel previously built, and instructions were given to the Constructor's Department to prepare designs for such vessels, the speed, the armour plates, and the various other conditions being assigned to them by the Admiralty Board. The designs were prepared by the Constructor's Department; but I am positively assured on authority I cannot doubt that in laying the designs thus ordered before the Board the late Chief Constructor, Sir Nathaniel Barnaby, on behalf of himself and all the other Constructors of the Admiralty, protested in the strongest terms against them. I asked a Question on the point a few nights ago, and my right hon. Friend the Secretary to the Admiralty (Mr. Hibbert) answered me in an official manner with which I am very well acquainted. I am too old a Parliamentary hand not to know how to read between lines, and I very well understand that it was not convenient to admit the accuracy of my information. In the absence of a specific denial on the part of the present or late Board, I must ask the Committee to accept as a fact that the whole of the Constructors of the Admiralty expressed an adverse opinion as regards the designs of these two vessels, and that later both the late and the present Chief Constructors of the Admiralty reported against the designs, repudiated responsibility for them, and asked that a Committee on Designs, similar to that of 1871, presided over by Lord Dufferin, might be appointed to consider what should be the types of the newest vessels of war. I believe that the several objections raised to these vessels are in this direction—that with a greatly augmented size there is no advance in essential qualities. The whole of the increase has been devoted to accumulating armour on the sides of the vessel, and for that other much more important qualities have been sacrificed. It is, I believe, the opinion of the Constructors, past and present, that with regard to their great increase of size, it would have been better to have devoted it to increasing the speed. It would have been possible to obtain a speed of no less than 18 knots without sacrificing other qualities of an important character, whereas these vessels will have a speed of only16½ knots—considerably less than that of the Italian vessels to which I have alluded. They will only carry 68-ton guns also, instead of 100-ton guns with which the Italians are armed; while the guns themselves will be only 12 feet from the level of the water instead of 22 feet. There are other points upon which the Constructors objected to these vessels—points which have been sacrificed in favour of an enormous amount of armour plate. The real fact is, that this is a matter of controversy between the naval officers of the Admiralty on the one side, and the Scientific Department on the other. I will not say which is right; but when we are going to spend £2,000,000 on two vessels of this enormous size, it seems to me an important matter that these differences of opinion should be considered. It appears to me, therefore, that the wise course for the Government to take, and for this Committee to recommend them to take, is that the building of these two vessels should be suspended for a time, and the question as to the proper type of large war vessels for the future should be referred back again to a Committee on Designs similar to that which sat in 1871. The Committee will recollect the Committee of 1871, which was presided over by Lord Dufferin. It did very valuable service, and its Reports were of very great value to the Admiralty in regard to the vessels which were afterwards laid down. It appears to me that we have reached a time when it is right and proper to make a new departure. The French may be right that the days of iron-clads are numbered, and that we ought not to lay down any more; and, on the other hand, it may be right that we should follow the Italians in laying down vessels of very great speed, protected only in their vital parts. But, at all events, we have reached a point at which it is possible to make a new departure, and before proceeding further with these costly vessels, the true value of which it is not possible accurately to determine, and which may be blown up by a single torpedo. [*Cries of* "No!"] Well, I have never heard it doubted that a torpedo might blow a hole in an iron-clad so that it must go to the bottom—at all events, that is the common belief amongst a great many people who are acquainted with the subject. But,however that may be, I submit that it is most desirable that we should have the very highest and best advice on the subject. We should, on the one hand, have the best constructive and scientific advice; and, on the other hand, the opinions of naval officers should also be fully considered. There is a difference even amongst naval officers as to the merits of such huge iron-clads. I know that naval officers like Sir Cooper Key are of opinion that it is not desirable to build iron-clads of such gigantic size; while, on the other hand, we have men like Admiral Hood who take an entirely different view. What I ask of the Committee to-night, therefore, is to suspend the building of these two vessels for the present, and refer the question once more to a Committee on Designs, like that which sat in 1871; and although a certain amount of money has been already expended, it seems to me that the course I recommend may be adopted without any economic disadvantage. On the contrary, I believe it will be better to apply the money which it is proposed to spend in the present year on the *Nile* and the *Trafalgar*, in hastening on the other iron-clads building in the Dockyards; and if any money is left over it might be spent in laying down some fast cruisers, such as have been recommended by the noble and gallant Lord the Member for Marylebone (Lord Charles Beresford). In the meantime, it will be possible for the Committee to consider and report upon what the type of war vessel of the future should be. All I have to do, in conclusion, is to ask the Committee to suspend operations on these two vessels, and to follow the action of the French. For my own part, I have no prejudice on the subject of iron-clads; but when we are called upon to spend these enormous sums upon a few vessels, I think the Committee will do well not to embark on them without having first secured the very best advice that can be obtained. I merely move the reduction of the Vote with a view of raising this very important question.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £1,719,500, be granted to Her Majesty, to defray the Expenses of the Dockyards and Naval Yards at Home and Abroad, which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1887."—(*Mr. Shaw Lefevre.*)

LORD GEORGE HAMILTON (Middlesex, Ealing): The right hon. Gentleman who has just addressed the Committee at some length upon the question of the building and design of these two iron-clads has been misled, and if the Committee will give me their kind attention for a few minutes I will show that the right hon. Gentleman's statements are not correct. The right hon. Gentleman grounds his objection to these two iron-clads, first, on the belief that they were an addition to the programme of Lord Northbrook made by me; and, secondly, that these are in excess of the size of any Lord Northbrook contemplated building; and, lastly, that they will be the last of this class. That last sentence can be easily explained. I believe that, as has been said, the *Nile* and *Trafalgar* will be the last of that class if the House of Commons places the Government in possession of funds to complete them, not for the reasons put forward by the right hon. Gentleman, but because foreign nations will not attempt to compete with us if they see we are determined not to be outstripped; but if, on the other hand, we adopt the policy of laying down ships inferior in speed and size, and deficient in offensive and defensive power, then foreign nations will attempt to counteract the advantages which you have in the number of vessels by concentrating more power in a limited number of vessels. I wish to point out that the building of the *Nile* and *Trafalgar* forms part of a contract or undertaking into which the Government of which the right hon. Gentleman was a Minister entered into with the House of Commons. About 18 months ago, it will be remembered, there was a widespread feeling that our Navy was not of sufficient strength; and the Government of that day therefore changed their tactics as far as their Naval Expenditure was concerned. I believe I am correct in saying that so strong was the feeling that had the Government not come forward with a demand for money to strengthen the Navy, and if they had not made a large increase in their Navy Estimates, in all probability they would have been turned out of Office by a hostile vote. Now, what was the understanding? The understanding was that there should be a large increase in the number of ships to be built by contract and in the Dockyards, and it was stated by the Representative of the Board of Admiralty that it was the intention of the Government of that day to build four first-class iron-clads. The *Nile* and the *Trafalgar* are two of the four; and, therefore, so far from being iron-clads promoted by the late Board, they are part of the programme which the late Board inherited from its Predecessor in Office. Now I come to the second point. As regards their size, the right hon. Gentleman says that if Lord Northbrook had remained in Office these iron-clads would have been much smaller. Now, the first thing I, as First Lord of the Admiralty in the Marquess of Salisbury's Administration, did on coming into Office was to have placed before me all the documents and figures in possession of the former Secretary to the Admiralty when he made his speech in moving the Navy Estimates. At that time there was a strong attack made on the Board of Admiralty for laying down ships which in tonnage and speed were inferior to the ships of the French Navy. In moving the Navy Estimates last year the hon. Member for Hastings (Sir Thomas Brassey) said that a comparison between the ships then building or included in the programme of the two countries, England and France, showed an excess of 1,000 tons on the part of England against France. Well, now, Sir, how did the late Secretary to the Admiralty arrive at the conclusion that the average tonnage was 1,000 in excess of that laid down in the French Dockyards? Why, it was by including these four iron-clads, of an estimated tonnage of 10,500 in two instances, and 12,000 in the remaining cases. Lord Northbrook's Board of Admiralty were prepared to lay down larger iron-clads; and the late Board of Admiralty followed in their footsteps by making them of the dimensions proposed. And what is the reason for these iron-clads being so large? I do not wish to go into the relative strength of the English and French Navies; but every student of the subject knows that the French have two iron-clads afloat that are more powerful than any two of ours, and they have four others building in their Dockyards, every one of which is heavier than any iron-clad that we have laid down for several years past. Therefore, we have to consider what the position of this country would be if, unfortunately, we should come into collision with France. No one will convince me that if a war should break out, and we were at war with France, we should not find a difficulty in maintaining our supremacy on the seas if the French could concentrate a squadron of iron-clads, every one of which was more powerful than anything we have afloat. That is the reason why the late Board of Admiralty determined to lay down these four large iron-clads. Now as to the type. There have been many discussions as to how far armour should extend in modern iron-clads. Sir Nathaniel Barnaby always maintained that we should curtail it. Well, but these ships were designed before rapid firing and machine guns were in vogue; and if Sir Nathaniel Barnaby had known that there would be such a development in that class of guns, he would not have left so large a portion of the *Admiral* class of ships unprotected by armour. The Navy, as a rule, is opposed to this reducing of the armour. I do not say that their opinion should be supreme; but I think that anybody who is at the Board of Admiralty ought to take into consideration the opinion of the men who have to man and to fight these ships. There is one type of iron-clad which has given almost universal satisfaction to all the officers who have been on board and have had the command of her, and that is the *Dreadnought.* The right hon. Gentleman wishes the House to assent to the appointment of a Committee like that which inquired into the design of the *Inflexible,* and which sat about 18 months. The result was that they were obliged to alter considerably the design of the *Inflexible,* and she has been the most costly vessel ever built by the British Government, through the alterations of her design. I am convinced, with many officers of all ranks, that we have a better type than that of the *Inflexible;* and the late Board determined to adopt the type of ship which had given the most satisfaction to the Navy, and which was deemed to be the most effective sea-going iron-clad. Now, suppose it be necessary to stop the building of iron-clads that have been laid down—and I would deprecate any such course—I would suggest that the right hon. Gentleman should direct his attention to the *Renown* and *Sanspareil.* Therefore, if we are in such a pecuniary position that we cannot afford all the iron-clads which the right hon. Gentleman and the preceding Government undertook to lay down, let us as fast as possible complete those which it is admitted on all hands will be the most powerful we ever possessed. I know that Sir Nathaniel Barnaby did not altogether approve of the design of these vessels; but that gentleman is hardly unbiassed on this subject, for he advocates shortened armour vessels and the concentration of armour in a limited area. But he informed me and the late Board that if those two vessels are built they will be the most powerful iron-clads afloat; and if so hostile a critic admits that to be the case, it may safely be concluded that there is not much defect in their design. I will not go into any minute analysis in regard to the Navies of foreign nations; but I think the Committee will agree with me that he must be a bold man who would attack Admiral Hood's figures as to what foreign countries are doing. No man alive has so technical and minute a knowledge of what foreign countries are doing as Admiral Hood. I hope the Government will not assent to the proposal made by the right hon. Gentleman. The cost of these vessels, no doubt, is great, but not nearly so great as the right hon. Gentleman has stated. The cost is estimated to be £800,000, and I have an estimate made at the time when I was First Lord of the Admiralty of what the cost per ton of these vessels would be. The *Renown* and *Sanspareil* would cost £70 per ton, the *Nile* and *Trafalgar* £74 per ton, and I believe that everyone who has looked into the relative strength of the vessels will not object to the small increase which these figures show. I hope, therefore, that the Secretary to the Admiralty will not acquiese in the Motion which has been made. One of the great complaints against the Board of Admiralty for years past has been the delay in completing the vessels that were laid down. The Board of Admiralty have most loyally acquiesed in the joint programme of the two preceding Boards, and are giving effect to it as rapidly as possible; and under the circumstances, if we believe that the completion of these two vessels will put an end to the costly competition between nations in building these large iron-clads, and will put us in possession of two of the most powerful iron-clads ever built, then I trust the House will not listen for one moment to the kind of *ad captandum* address to which we have just listened.

SIR THOMAS BRASSEY (Hastings): I should like to be permitted to address to the Committee a few remarks on behalf of the Board of Admiralty which I had the honour to be connected with when we were called upon in 1884, in response to a strong public demand, to add to the strength of the Navy. Our view was that we should endeavour to strengthen it in all its parts—that is to say, for the defence of commerce, in its torpedo flotilla, and for the line of battle. For the defence of commerce we proprosed better cruisers; for the torpedo flotilla we proposed large seafaring vessels of the *Scout* class, and for the line of battle we proposed iron-clads. The view of our Naval Advisers was that the ships for the line of battle should be designed in contemplation of the continued use of the gun as the principal naval weapon. Against the gun the only effective defence which had as yet been proposed consisted of armour in whatever form it might be proposed. For this reason we thought it our duty to build four iron-clads for the line of battle, and I believe these vessels are necessary to put this country in a proper position of advantage with reference to other countries. Having gained that position of advantage by the construction of these vessels, we might very prudently pause and watch the development of the shipbuilding policy of other countries before we decided to build additional iron-clads. With reference to the types. The types of these two vessels were recommended to the Board over which the noble Lord (Lord George Hamilton) presided by his Naval Advisers. I will refrain from criticizing the designs, but I admit that in the Board over which Lord Northbrook presided there was a strong desire not to go beyond the limit of 8,000 tons in the dimensions of our ships. I accept the advice given to the late Board as advice which should command the confidence of the House and the country. In France there is a general consensus of opinion against the construction of iron-clads. No doubt, the present Minister of Marine in France is a strong advocate of the substitution of torpedo vessels for iron-clads; but, so far as I am advised, I believe that opinion in France is far from unanimous on this point. To rely upon more torpedo-boats as antagonists to iron-clads and as vessels to cruise npon the high seas is a policy which is not generally accepted by the great body of naval men in France. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford (Mr. Shaw Lefevre) has referred to the defence of our commerce as a matter of special urgency. I agree with the right hon. Gentleman; but unless we have a decided superiority in iron-clads we may find that the enemy has gained the command of the Channel, and is in the position to bar the entrance to our great commercial ports. I hold, Sir, that it is wise that these vessels, which are now considerably advanced, should be completed; but the question of any further construction of iron-clads must be determined with reference to the progress of naval warfare as it may be developed in future years.

Captain PRICE (Devonport): I hope the Committee will not consent to the Motion before it. I am bound to say that I have, and always have had, a certain amount of sympathy with the doctrine that has been laid down by the hon. Member. I am of opinion that if the state of the Fleets of other countries would admit of it, it would be far better to have a large number of moderate sized iron-clads than a small number of very large ones. But I think the whole argument rests on the premises that the hon. Gentleman himself laid down. What did he say? He said that whilst other countries are building these large iron-clads, we should not lag behind; and he quoted Admiral Sir Cooper Key as a witness on his side. To my mind this Admiral is by no means a witness on his side. In the letter he wrote to *The Times* the other day, he said he was in favour of building moderate sized iron-clads, and that he hoped these large iron-clads would be the last. But what did he also say? He said that so long as other countries continue to build these large ships, it is imperative that we should do the same. And he used these remarkable words, that I have not forgotten—

> "If we are to run this race, let us be sure that we do not discontiue it until we feel sure that we have won it."

Now, the hon. Member referred to the Fleets of other countries, and mentioned as an argument in favour of discontinuing the building of large ships that France is doing so. But what is the reason that France has temporarily discontinued the building of large iron-clad ships? It is because she has now caught us up in our iron-clad shipbuilding policy. She can now afford to wait. France has made great progress in the building of iron-clads during the past few years. She obtained large loans for the building of iron-clads, and having used the money and built these iron-clads, and so put herself on a footing of equality with the Fleet of this country, she has now discontinued for the present the building of such vessels. He spoke of the two large iron-clads, the *Charles Martel* and the *Brennus*, the building of which the French had suspended. It is true that the work of construction in the case of these ships is suspended; but they are designed, and they can be taken up and proceeded with at any moment. We must not forget that France, having laid down the principle of obtaining money by loan for shipbuilding, can always revert to that policy. This will be a most useful precedent to her. She can always revert to loans for the increasing of her Armour-Clad Fleet. That is a policy which we at present have not pursued. We trust to the Expenditure of the year for the building of these vessels. Then we talk of Russia. I wonder if the hon. Gentleman read the article in *The Times* of to-day about the Iron-Clad Fleet of Russia. I do not know whether we can rely upon it; but the article was written by a Correspondent who has been in Russia for a long time, and has been studying the matter. He tells us that Russia intends to lay down 11 first-class, and four or five second-class, iron-clads in the Black Sea, and eight first-class iron-clads in the Baltic. I do not pretend to say that that programme will be entirely carried out; but if Russia resolves to go on with it, it will necessarily result in adding very much to the naval force of that country. Then the hon. Gentleman used another argument. He said that Sir Nathaniel Barnaby had expressed himself against the designs of the *Nile* and *Trafalgar*. But he did not tell us on what grounds that officer objected to the designs. Were his objections objections of detail? One thing he did tell us was that Sir Nathaniel Barnaby objected to these vessels "because they are not adequated." Does he mean because they are not large enough? If so, we must go on building still larger ships; and I believe Sir Nathaniel Barnaby and others of the Constructive Department have gone as far as to say that if we were to have ships built as naval officers would have them built—that is to say, ships capable of doing everything which can be expected of them by naval officers—we must have iron-clads not merely of 11,000 tons, but of 22,500 tons burden. So that I do not think the hon. Member could put Sir Nathaniel Barnaby, or any of the Constructors of the Admiralty, into the witness-box on his side. As to having a Committee to investigate this matter, I do not think it necessary to appoint one. The whole question has been well considered at the Admiralty, not only by the Board of which the Earl of Northbrook was the Head, but by the succeeding Board, over which the noble Lord opposite (Lord George Hamilton) presided. The plans have been approved, and will be carried out by the Government now in Office.

The SECRETARY to the ADMIRALTY (Mr. Hibbert): I rise to give a decided opposition to the Motion for many reasons. No doubt, my right hon. Friend has a desire to save the pockets of the taxpayers of the country, and in that I sympathize with him; but, at the same time, I am decidedly opposed, and the Board of Admiralty are decidedly opposed, to any system of blowing hot and cold at the Admiralty. Plans have been adopted, not by one, but by two Governments, and now that the recommendations of these two different Governments are being carried out it is said that we should hold our hands and put a stop to the building of these two iron-clads that have been decided upon. This is just one of those things in which we have so often made mistakes in past times. There ought to be at the Admiralty, more than in any other Department of the Public Service, strict continuity. Whether you have one Party in Office or another, you ought to have a system which will enable you to carry on the plans which have been adopted by previous Governments. These two vessels were not decided upon without grave consideration. There is no doubt that Lord Northbrook did intend to build two large iron-clads. He stated, in making his speech in the House of Lords, that he proposed to give four additional iron-clads to the Navy. Well, two of these iron-clads were to be built by contract, and two were to be built in our Dockyards. The designs for these two iron-clads to be built in our Dockyards did not appear to have been completed or decided upon before the change of Government. I think, however, the hon. Gentleman the late Secretary to the Admiralty (Mr. Ritchie) stated in this House that it was intended to build four iron-clads. Therefore, I say it was proposed by the two Governments—both the late and the preceding Government —to go on with the building of these two iron-clads in our Dockyards. But though the late Government approved of the designs for the building of these two large iron-clads, we are told that Sir Nathaniel Barnaby, the late Chief Constructor, and the present Chief Constructor, Mr. White, both made protests against these two vessels. I believe theirs was not so much a protest as a criticism upon the two vessels. The Memorandum may have amounted to a protest—I cannot positively say that it did not, because I did not see it—but I am informed by the present Chief Constructor, and I think it only right and fair that his opinion should be made known to the Committee, that the Memorandum he signed contained no opinion as to the continuance of armour-clad construction. He tells me—

> "While I strongly felt the desirability of a thorough and careful inquiry into this question before large armoured ships were begun, I am strongly of opinion that, having begun them, there should be no stoppage of the work."

Mr. SHAW LEFEVRE (Bradford, Central): I rise to Order. I wish to ask if the right hon. Member is allowed to quote a Memorandum——

Mr. HIBBERT: It is not a Memorandum.

Mr. SHAW LEFEVRE: Then, a private letter written by Mr. White on his previous Memorandum sent in to the late Board of Admiralty. Is it in Order for that to be read without our having the document laid on the Table?

Mr. HIBBERT: This "Memorandum" to which the right hon. Gentleman alludes was not sent in to the Admiralty, but was sent as a private document to the late First Lord of the Admiralty.

Mr. SHAW LEFEVRE: Is there not a copy of it at the Admiralty?

Mr. HIBBERT: I have not one.

Mr. SHAW LEFEVRE: It seems to me impossible that the document can have been laid before the late First Lord of the Admiralty without a copy of it being kept. If there is such a document at the Admiralty, it ought to be laid on the Table of this House—certainly that ought to be done when the right hon. Member reads a letter commenting on the Memorandum.

Colonel NOLAN (Galway, N.): I do not wish to interfere in this discussion——

THE CHAIRMAN: Does the hon. and gallant Member wish to speak upon the point of Order?

COLONEL NOLAN: No.

THE CHAIRMAN: The question before the Committee is as to a point of Order. If an official communication is quoted by a Minister of the Crown, that communication must be laid upon the Table of the House. But in this case the Minister of the Crown says the document he has quoted is not an official communication, but a private letter.

MR. HIBBERT: Yes; it is a private letter.

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE: I am not referring to that letter, but to the Memorandum from which the quotation was made.

LORD GEORGE HAMILTON (Middlesex, Ealing): No one has quoted from it except the right hon. Gentleman himself.

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE: I beg the noble Lord's pardon; my point is this. The right hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Admiralty read from a letter written by the present Constructor of the Navy on that Memorandum which had been signed by him and sent in to the previous First Lord of the Admiralty. I ask whether, if the Memorandum exists at the Admiralty, in consequence of its having been quoted in this private letter it must not be laid on the Table of the House?

THE CHAIRMAN: No; I think that would be carrying the rule too far. The original document has not been referred to.

MR. HIBBERT: I have never seen the document sent to the late First Lord. I wish to say a word or two on the desirability of continuing the construction of these two vessels. I base my argument upon the same ground as the late Board of Admiralty based theirs—namely, that it is desirable to place this country in a position of equality, or even superiority, so far as naval matters are concerned, with the neighbouring country, France. From the Returns I have seen there can be no doubt that if we were to give up these two vessels we should not be in a position of equality with France in respect of vessels of this large tonnage and great power. Even when we have these two vessels we shall not be much superior. I have gone through this matter very carefully—the comparative strength of the vessels of England, France, and Italy. Of vessels of between 13,000 and 14,000 tons displacement, Italy has five, England has none, France has none, and Russia has none. Of vessels of between 12,000 and 13,000 tons displacement none of the four countries have any. Of vessels between 11,000 and 12,000 tons displacement England has three—taking into account the *Nile* and *Trafalgar*—France has three and Italy has five. When we come to vessels of between 10,000 and 11,000 tons displacement, we find that England has six and France five—leaving out of account the two vessels named; of vessels of between 9,000 and 10,000 tons England has 11, France three, Russia one; and of vessels of between 8,000 and 9,000 tons England possesses five, France three, Italy none, and Russia two. It comes to this, that if you take the larger vessels and give up these two, the *Nile* and *Trafalgar*, England will be in a position of great inferiority as compared with France. I am not one of those who wish always to be crying out for a large amount of expenditure, or for this country to be placed in a position of superiority to all other countries; but I do think, when we look at the position of this country as regards our Colonies and commerce, and all we have to do for the Empire, that we are entitled to place ourselves in a position of superiority to the neighbouring country, France. I think these two vessels will be the means of placing us in that position. On these grounds I should be sorry if the Committee were to agree to reduce the Vote by the amount necessary for these two vessels, I should like to draw the attention of the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Shaw Lefevre) to this. He says that France has given up the building of iron-clads. They certainly have given up the building of these two iron-clads which have been spoken of; but they have commenced them, and they can be continued at any time. I find that though the French have been suspending work on armoured shipbuilding, a Note is attached to the French Budget of 1887 stating that if the experiments with torpedo-boats and torpedoes do not give the anticipated results additional provision will have to be made for armoured vessels. That shows that they are only awaiting the result of the trials of their torpedo fleets. I believe that these trials which have lately been carried on by France have not proved so satisfactory as they were expected to be. The special organ of the anti-iron-clad party in France has said that no one would dream of giving up the construction of iron-clads altogether. What is wanted, it says, is not pure iron-clads, but more cruisers and torpedo boats. We may say the same thing. We do not want to give up these two iron-clads which have been commenced, and on which considerable sums have already been spent — something like £300,000 or £400,000; and we certainly do admit that we want more fast cruisers and more torpedo boats, and I trust that whoever is in power next year will give them to us. Looking at the whole matter under all the circumstances of the case, I trust that the Committee will not agree to the proposal of my right hon. Friend. It would be a most mistaken policy to first begin to build two large vessels of this kind, and then to cease to build them, using the money—as the right hon. Gentleman suggested—for some other purpose. If we did adopt such a policy as that, we should never know what our policy was going to be.

MR. ILLINGWORTH (Bradford, W.): There seems to be an impression on the part of some hon. Members that a Committee of the Whole House for dealing with Army and Navy Estimates ought to be made up entirely of experts. The result of that, clearly, would be that those who represent the taxpayers of the country would appear only when the Budget or Ways and Means had to be provided. I think, however, that those who pay the piper should have some voice in selecting the tune. I agree entirely with the hon. Gentleman in the observation he made to the effect that it is an undesirable thing that in our naval policy we should be continually blowing hot and cold, although when the hot blast comes it is only right that the cold should follow. What happened only recently in regard to the Navy? There was a naval scare got up by a certain newspaper in this country. It could not have been got up by the Naval Authorities; it was got up from the outside, and unfortunately the late Board of Admiralty fell into it, and the consequence was that the alarmists were indulged with an enormous expenditure, still further to increase the defences of this country. Well, Sir, in the first place I wish to urge that this is a most inconvenient time in which to be going on with the expenditure of large sums of money. No one can doubt that the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer will find increasing difficulty in providing Ways and Means. I undertake to say that there are numberless infinitely better ways in which this prodigious sum of £2,000,000, which it is proposed to spend on these two gigantic vessels, could be used. I say, as a business man—and I have listened a hundred times to these debates—that, giving all credit for sincerity and ability to the Naval Authorities in this House, we nevertheless always find that when new schemes are proposed there is immense enthusiasm for them; but that the enthusiasm soon wanes, and that almost before new vessels are finished we hear them denounced as of an obsolete type, and the very last that can be built of the kind. Why is it that the Admiralty are advised to suspend work upon these two enormous iron-clads? It is because everyone but the Constructors regard the type as a most miserable type, altogether insufficient for most modern naval purposes. I am unable to enter enthusiastically into the views that are put before the Committee of the House of Commons when new schemes of increased expenditure on shipbuilding are indulged in. I look upon them with suspicion from the outset, and events show that I am far from wrong. As time goes on it confirms the views I have taken. I undertake to say that this £2,000,000 would be infinitely better spent on 10 swift cruisers for the protection of our commerce. I will go further than that, and say that if the money were spent in building not two huge iron-clads, but four of moderate size, they would give greater security to the country. We have heard it said that France may get command of the Channel. Well, it seems to me there would be infinitely less danger of that if our interests were protected, not by two large iron-clads, which cannot be everywhere at once, but by four moderate-sized ships. It is said that we must have a powerful Navy to protect our important seaports. Well, let us distribute our means of offence and defence. Surely we shall be better able to protect all our ports by means of four swift moderate-sized ironclads, than by two huge fighting machines incapable of anything like celerity. When we come to consider how much poverty is pleaded from the Treasury Bench, and how badly money is wanted for most useful purposes, we are bound to protest against such an extravagant expenditure as that involved in the building of these two colossal ships. The other day we were discussing the question of providing harbours of refuge along our Coasts—and these are things which are of the utmost necessity—and we heard that in connection with one of these harbours for the past five years it has not been possible to obtain an outlay of more than £200 a-year. As a matter affecting the welfare of the people of this country, I undertake to say that an increased expenditure on harbours of refuge would be much more to the advantage of our commerce and industries, and would redound much more to the credit of the country, than this expenditure on monster ironclads. One step further I wish to take. What was put before us by the noble Lord the Member for Middlesex (Lord George Hamilton)? He gave as a probable reason why France had ceased to build these enormous ships that they have overtaken us in shipbuilding, and that, therefore, they might rest on their oars. That is what I have always said when we are urged to an increased expenditure. When France has put itself in the happy position of being ahead of us, the next step we take is to set them the example of starting again in this mad race of competition. I say there is no limit to it. You may rest assured that these two countries, France and England, relatively speaking, will never be in a safer condition with regard to each other than they are now, however much they both spend in naval armaments. I must say it is a sign of returning common sense to find that a noble Lord in "another place" has given Notice of his intention to move a Resolution in favour of reducing the naval armaments of the country. I sincerely believe that this is a great mistake on the part of the Board of Admiralty, and that their indulging in any such expenditure of public money will in a short time lead to great public dissatisfaction. We are told with regard to these new ships that the French Government are spending so much. But, Sir, if it is possible for the French Government to spend so much money, we are not in a position to do so; and I still strongly urge upon hon. Gentlemen on special grounds that this is one of the things which the people of this country do not approve. I admit that the House of Commons is somewhat demoralized, and that the attendance of hon. Members, except those who never stop without there is a chance of increased public expenditure, is small. I see the noble Lord opposite smile, as he always will no doubt; but I venture to prophesy that before these enormous ships are launched there will be a universal condemnation of the folly of building such vessels when much smaller ships would suffice.

Admiral FIELD (Sussex, Eastbourne): I should not have troubled the Committee were it not for the remarks of the right hon. Member for Central Bradford (Mr. Shaw Lefevre). But, Sir, I prefer the voice of a former Member for Bradford, to whom the Navy owes a debt of gratitude for the line he took in reference to the late naval scare, and who, especially at a meeting presided over by the Lord Mayor, did much to rouse the country to the necessity of having a Fleet prepared to meet the designs of Russia. If the right hon. Gentleman looks back he will find that the Navy has helped to make him what he is; and I think it is somewhat ungrateful that he should stand up, after the display he witnessed at Portsmouth last Saturday, and make the remarks we have listened to. It was not long ago that he was a Member of the present Government, and a party to spending £80,000,000, and it is certainly strange that the right hon. Gentleman should be now advocating economy. I was saying that I prefer what the late Mr. Forster said, who pointed out the sacrifices our forefathers made in former times—how, when the population was only some 17,000,000 or 18,000,000, they spent £19,000,000 on the naval defences of the country. I do not advocate that now; but it shows the spirit of our forefathers as compared with the degenerate spirit of these times. The hon. Member who also represents Bradford (Mr. Illingworth) deprecates the presence of experts in this House; but I think there are some observations which naval men may well express that are worthy of being treated with respect within these walls. We do not regard as an insult the remark which the hon. Member once made that naval men should address their communications to the Board of Admiralty in writing—we all look upon that as chaff. The hon. Member, however, is a great economist, and a disciple of a great man, Mr. Cobden; and I should like to fortify him by some of the remarks of Mr. Cobden himself, who, on a former occasion, had said—

> "I am not one for reducing our Navy in any degree below that proportion to the French which the exigencies of our Service require. England has four times the mercantile tonnage of France to protect at sea, and that surely gives us a legitimate pretension to have a larger Navy than France, and to have a Navy in the same proportion to the French which we find to have existed in the past century."

What was that proportion? In 1792 we had 153 sail of the line, as against 86 of the French; in 1803, 146, as against 66; and in 1850, 86, as against 45. It was always in the proportion of two to one. But England is a wealthy Power, and the time may come when it will be necessary to protect your commerce. It is all very well, so long as peace continues, to complain of naval expenditure; but, depend upon it, if you refuse a legitimate expenditure now, you will in time of war turn round and curse those who have failed to keep up the strength of the Navy. Of course, I know that naval opinion is thought little of by hon. Gentlemen who come from Bradford; but, at the same time, I do not think that their opinions on these matters stand so low in the estimation of the public that they would not be preferred to that of the hon. Gentleman who has just spoken. A great authority, Admiral Hood, said on the 22nd of May last on the subject of these ships—

> "I assert, as a matter of fact, that the *Nile* and the *Trafalgar*, as designed, will be far more powerful battle ships than any other in British or French Navies. I also assert that they are most necessary, in order to maintain our battle ships at a proper strength, and I therefore deprecate most strongly the idea of stopping their construction."

What naval men deplore are the fits and starts which take place in our naval policy. You have a colossal trade; but probably you do not always bear in mind that it requires defending. That trade is represented by thousands of millions sterling, and surely it is defended cheaply at the cost of £12,000,000; and I do not think even the hon. Member for Bradford will object to that comparatively small premium of insurance. Now, with regard to France, has the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Shaw Lefevre) seen the Report of the French Minister of Marine? That Minister has given his opinion, since the manœuvres at Boulogne, that France cannot do without iron-clads, and that they are essential to her existence; and let me remind hon. Members that the fate of nations will be decided by actions in home waters—in other words, by battle ships against battle ships. All naval men know that we require cruisers, and by all means let us have what the Service requires. If iron-clads are necessary, let us have them, and give us also the cruisers which the country needs. The hon. Member for Bradford (Mr. Illingworth) says that smaller iron-clads would be better in the Channel than large ones, on the principle that four policemen are more likely than two to catch a burglar. But what is to be done with the large cruisers that may come up against small cruisers? No, Sir; you must have colossal iron-clads to meet colossal iron-clads, and it is necessary for Imperial interests that you should have them. I may here refer the hon. Member for Hastings (Sir Thomas Brassey) to what he said with regard to the completion of ships; his policy, however, and the pledges given by him in this House, have been departed from. I take the hon. Gentleman's words from *Hansard*. He said—

> "With regard to all the ships in progress, I desire to give an assurance to the House that they will be proceeded with as rapidly as possible."

Where, I ask, is the rapidity?

> "We desire to present the protection of commerce as the main purpose of the large additional expenditure on building for which we are asking the sanction of the House. . . . We shall proceed with the utmost speed, consistent with due economy, in the Dockyards; and with regard to contractors, no obstruction will be imposed upon their exertions."—(3 *Hansard*, [294] 456-7-8.)

Now, I ask whether those assurances have been fulfilled? They were given by the hon. Member for Hastings, and I think the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Admiralty should see that they are carried out, and that there will be no delay in constructing torpedo boats. But I have it on good authority that we are not getting these as fast as we ought; and I am perfectly safe, I think, in saying that by the end of the year you will not have 25 of these boats, whereas you ought to have 40; and if rumours of another war come upon us there will be another scare and panic. Public attention has passed away from the question of these boats for a time; but the matter is a very important one, and it is our duty to press it on the attention of the right hon. Gentleman.

SIR EDWARD J. REED (A LORD of the TREASURY) (Cardiff): I hope I may be allowed to say a few words of remonstrance against some of the observations of the hon. Member for Bradford (Mr. Illingworth). I am quite unable to perceive why the hon. Gentleman always puts himself forward as the special Representative in this House of the taxpayers. Why, Sir, I represent twice as many taxpayers as he does, and my hon. Friend near me three times as many. I refer to this matter with considerable pain. It is well known that some of us were filled with great anxiety as to the ships built by the Admiralty. My right hon. Friend (Mr. Shaw Lefevre), upon whose speech I think a little light ought to be thrown, was in Office during the laying down of many of the ships which are now objected to. The time arrived when the Admiralty was aroused to a sense of the dangerous character of the ships, and stopped the building of any more of them. I am at a loss to understand how the right hon. Gentleman, who has been a party to the construction of ships of this kind, many of them costing as much as the ships he has referred to this evening, should evince his present economical tendencies. [MR. SHAW LEFEVRE: I cannot admit that.] The right hon. Gentleman says he cannot admit it; but the right hon. Gentleman gave figures which fell short of the expenditure on some of the vessels which went before him. I venture to say that the right hon. Gentleman exaggerated the cost and size of the proposed vessels; he spoke of vessels the size and cost of which cannot be conceived; but will the Committee believe that those vessels exceed by 100 tons only the size of the *Inflexible* laid down some years ago? Then, speaking of the Italian ships, he made this remark—that they were fast vessels and would steam well out of action. I should say, however, that they would be better employed. The right hon. Gentleman has exaggerated in an extraordinary manner the figures relating to the Iron-clad Navy of the country. There are some people, into the interior of whose minds I am unable to penetrate, who seem to think it would be a reasonable thing to send human beings into battle in vessels composed of steel less thick than this paper without any protection against the arms of the enemy. I consider that people who would do that approach very nearly to the criminal classes, and I hope we have not arrived at the time when we cannot afford to find for the seamen who fight for us abroad some degree of protection. The First Lord under the last Administration (Lord Northbrook) consented to lay down a number of cruisers with an armour belt to protect them against the first and worst effects of gun-fire; they were vessels with a belt as the first element of protection; they have no protection for their guns, and no protection for that part of the crew employed in an engagement with the enemy; they are solely cruisers protected around the waist; they are to be employed in protecting commerce and in overhauling privateers, and in those respects I have no doubt they will perform their service well. But it is entirely misleading the Committee to come down and include these vessels in the number of our iron-clads, and talk about their engaging the second-class iron-clads of France. I beg leave to state that they could do nothing of the kind. They have no gun protection, and are unfit to engage iron-clads of any class. It is entirely misleading the Committee to persuade us that the iron-clads are of the dimensions which the right hon. Gentleman states. The right hon. Gentleman says that other countries are giving up iron-clads. We have heard a good deal about the building of these vessels being stopped; but we are also given to understand that they are stopped because of a disposition on the part of the French Government to suspend the construction of iron-clads, while the fact is that in an unfortunate moment the Chief Constructor of their Navy was brought under influences which at one time prevailed in this country and laid down two ships of a type approved at the time by our Admiralty; but having discovered that they were of an objectionable type, after no great amount of progress had been made with them, their construction was carried no further. The stoppage of these ships ought, therefore, to be no guide to us in any sense, except as a reason for casting out this Motion, because if we were to stop building the two vessels in question we should be getting rid of the only really powerful and effective vessels we have laid down for many years and returning to the building of an objectionable class. I have given, I believe, the correct reason for the stoppage of the *Charles Martel* and the *Brennus*. My right hon. Friend will say that it is better to build 10 cruisers than these two ships. I should like to state the matter in this way. Suppose some big brutal fellow were to be making his way down Parliament Street and knocking down every decent person he met, the plan of my right hon. Friend would be to get hold of all the small boys in the neighbourhood to stop him. What I would do, however, would be to find out a man big enough to stop him, and not expose the boys to all the risk. Why, Sir, the vessels spoken of to-night would drive before them all the belted cruisers, and all the second, third, and fourth class iron-clads; and I think it is our duty, and certainly it is consistent with the spirit of the nation in the past, as I hope it is in the present, not to allow any gigantic, domineering iron-clad to drive our ships into harbour. I must also deny the accuracy of the statement of the right hon. Gentleman that these vessels will each cost £1,200,000. There is no justification for that statement. The figures given by the authorities are in each case £680,000 for hull and £97,000 for machinery; and they are only brought up to the price of the *Inflexible* by the addition for gun mountings and guns, which were not included in the cost of either of other ships. Further, there is another point in the remarks of my right hon. Friend on which I must express my surprise—namely, that he has left out of consideration the fact that money has been squandered in the shape of interest on unfinished vessels. My right hon. Friend leaves all that loss and waste out of consideration, and forgets that a change had been brought about in respect to the building of ships. Both parties have agreed that, in future our ships of war shall be built quickly. If that is the case, I can assure my right hon. Friend that we shall certainly have a much better return for our money than we have hitherto had. I do not wish to detain the Committee; but I think it is right I should put these views forward, and express the hope that the Committee will not be at all influenced by this attempt to revive—for that is the object of this Motion—an obsolete type of vessels, and to stop the building of two of the most efficient iron-clads that have ever been laid down in this country.

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE (Bradford, Central): Perhaps I may be allowed a few words in reply. I think my right hon. Friend the Secretary to the Admiralty (Mr. Hibbert) must unintentionally have made a mistake when he said that £200,000 has already been spent on these vessels. On referring to the Estimates I find it is stated that up to the end of the financial year, 31st of March, £20,000 would be spent in labour and materials on these vessels. I was at Portsmouth a few days ago, and I was informed that about £8,000 had been spent in labour. I do not think it is possible that anything like £20,000 has been spent in labour alone. Possibly a large amount of materials may have been ordered for the vessels; but then that material will not be thrown away; it will be available for other work. My right hon. Friend (Mr. Hibbert) hopes that the Committee will not condemn these vessels. All I ask is that the work upon the ships should be suspended until inquiry takes place. The noble Lord the late First Lord of the Admiralty (Lord George Hamilton) has practically admitted the main portion of my argument. He has admitted that the designs of these vessels have been disapproved of by the scientific advisers of the Admiralty. [Lord GEORGE HAMILTON: I said Sir Nathaniel Barnaby.] Did he not enter his protest on behalf of the other Constructors? Will the noble Lord deny that the late Chief Constructor and the present Chief Constructor sent in the Memorandum which has been referred to in the debate, and which the noble Lord, I think, treated as a private document, and not as an official one. I ask—Will the noble Lord deny that? No; it is admitted that both the late and the present Chief Constructor protested against the designs of these vessels as being of an inferior character. And, furthermore, it is admitted that both of them asked that a Committee of Designs, similar to that which sat in 1871, might be appointed to consider the types of vessels for the Navy. That, I think, is a very strong case to present to the House of Commons.

SIR EDWARD J. REED: It is admitted that these are the most powerful ships ever laid down.

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE: What I have said is this—and the noble Lord (Lord George Hamilton) did not deny it when I put the question to him—that the late Chief Constructor and the present Chief Constructor signed a joint protest or Memorandum, which was sent to the noble Lord's Board, not as a private document, but as an official document, and in that document they protested against these vessels on the ground that they were of an inferior type, declined to be responsible for them, and begged that their names might not be attached to the designs. That is the information I have received, and I believe it to be accurate; at any rate, the noble Lord has not denied it. The Constructors also asked that a Committee of Designs might be appointed for the purpose of considering the designs of these vessels. That, I say, is a strong case to present to the House of Commons. I do not think that such a case has ever been presented before in respect of any vessels laid down; and what I ask the Committee to do, before committing the country to such an enormous expenditure, is to insure a reconsideration of the designs by a Committee of the character I have mentioned. My hon. Friend the Member for Cardiff (Sir Edward J. Reed) has again expressed his disapproval of iron-clads of the *Admiral* class. His view, however, is not concurred in either by the late or the present Chief Constructor of the Admiralty. The question is a very technical one, and really is unfit for discussion in the House of Commons, and I must decline to be drawn into a discussion upon it. I have my own view upon it; but I should hardly venture to put myself forward as an authority at all equal to my hon. Friend (Sir Edward J. Reed). But if the House were to agree to the course I have suggested—namely, to appoint a Committee similar to that appointed in 1871 to report upon the designs of these vessels, the design of the vessels of the *Admiral* class would be one of the questions which would come before the Committee; and I think, considering all that has been said on the subject, it is extremely desirable that the question as to the real value of the vessels to which my hon. Friend objects should be set at rest once and for ever. I am persuaded it would be of the utmost advantage to the country that a Committee such as I have suggested should investigate the question. My hon. Friend (Sir Edward J. Reed) has said that the alternatives before the House are two vessels of this great size, or two vessels of an obsolete type such as the vessels of the *Admiral* class. That is not the question before us. What I have suggested is that we should suspend operations on these two vessels until a Committee of Designs, taking into counsel the best constructive and scientific opinion, should advise as to what the type of the vessel of the future should be. That appears to me to be the most prudent course under all the circumstances. The noble Lord (Lord George Hamilton) has referred to the fact of these two vessels having been the subject of a compact between the Board of Lord Northbrook and the House of Commons. That, no doubt, was the case. It is, no doubt, the fact that Lord Northbrook's Board promised in their programme two vessels of large type; but I have ventured to point out to the Committee that circumstances have considerably altered since then. At that time we were under the impression that the French Government were acquiring a very large Iron-clad Fleet, and that other Governments were also increasing the number of their iron-clads. I have pointed out very clearly that every country in Europe has stopped the building of iron-clads, and that France has actually suspended the building of two large vessels of war. I entirely disputed with my hon. Friend the reason for that cessation. I quoted the official reason of the French Government for stopping operations upon the *Brennus* and the *Charles Martel*, and it is for the same reason—namely, that the value of vessels of this large type is so doubtful that I now ask the Committee to suspend the building of the *Nile* and the *Trafalgar*. No doubt the *Inflexible* cost something not far short of what each of these ships is estimated to cost; but that is the only vessel we have of similar type. I shall feel it my duty to divide the Committee upon my Motion, and I hope I shall have the support of a sufficient number of Members to justify the course I have taken.

CAPTAIN VERNEY (Bucks, N., Buckingham): I hope that before the Committee goes to a division someone on the Treasury Bench will tell us whether it is or is not the case that both the late Chief Constructor and the present Chief Constructor disapproved of the types of the these vessels, and declined to be responsible for them. I do not think the Committee ought to be asked to divide until that question is answered; if it is not answered we ought to take it that these vessels are being proceeded with in the teeth of the opinion of the efficient and responsible experts of the Admiralty.

THE CIVIL LORD OF THE ADMIRALTY (Mr. R. W. DUFF) (Banffshire): If the hon. and gallant Gentleman had been in the House during the whole of the discussion he would have heard the question answered.

Question put.

The Committee *divided*:—Ayes 86; Noes 160: Majority 74.—(Div. List, No. 125.)

Original Question again proposed.

COLONEL NOLAN (Galway, N.): There is one feature of this Estimate to which I wish to draw the attention of the Committee, and that is the great discrepancy between the amount allowed for the Dockyards in England and that allowed for the one Dockyard in Ireland. As much as £1,238,000 was expended upon the Dockyards of England, while only £1,000 was expended upon the Dockyard in Ireland. Of course, I cannot expect that the Estimate will be changed this year; but I direct attention to the discrepancy for the information of the new Parliament; 1,238 to 1 is altogether out of proportion to the contributions which Ireland pays to the Imperial Exchequer, which has been reckoned at 1-15th or 1-19th, and altogether out of proportion to the difference of the populations of the two countries. It is not owing to the lack of harbour accommodation that so little is spent upon the Irish Dockyards. There is Cork Harbour, in regard to which many naval officers have spoken in most satisfactory terms, and there is Galway Harbour, which is admirably adapted to naval purposes. I hope that in the new Parliament this great discrepancy will be remedied.

THE SECRETARY TO THE ADMIRALTY (Mr. HIBBERT) (Oldham): I think the hon. and gallant Gentleman has made a mistake. There is no naval shipbuilding at all in Ireland.

COLONEL NOLAN: What I object to is that money is not spent in Ireland on the building of ships. While, as I have said, £1,238,000 is spent upon the Dockyards in England, only £1,000 is spent upon the one Dockyard in Ireland.

Original Question put, and *agreed to.*

(3.) £623,700, New Works, Buildings, Yard Machinery, and Repairs.

MR. J. O'CONNOR (Tipperary, S.): I desire to recall the attention of the Committee to the fact that the Haulbowline Docks have now been in course of construction for 20 years or more. I can quite understand that these works have been continued so long for the purpose of employing the surplus convict labour. But the convicts have now been distributed over other establishments in Ireland, consequently it can no longer be urged that the Haulbowline Works are kept on for the purpose of employing the convicts. It is many years since Mr. Maguire, the Member for Dungarvan, brought forward a Motion in favour of the construction of these Docks. The work has been carried on in the slowest possible fashion, no serious effort having been made to complete it. There is, indeed, every reason to believe—the belief is very generally entertained by the people in the neighbourhood—that the Government have no intention whatever of completing the Docks, or of bringing them to such a condition that they can be made available for carrying on shipbuilding to any appreciable extent. Shipbuilding at Haulbowline would be a great advantage to the people of the locality, for it would afford much more employment than the mere construction of the Dock now does. It is a matter of wonderment to the visitors of the country that, year after year, these Docks should remain in the same unfinished condition; the work does not seem to be a bit more advanced than it was five years ago. Besides the reason that plenty of employment would be afforded to the people of the district, there is another reason why these Docks should be completed as soon as possible. There is, at the present time, in the river or the harbour at Cork another Dock that might be made an adjunct to the Haulbowline Dock. The present Dock is fitted with the most perfect machinery, and is very suitable for the building of vessels of light draught. This Dock is known as the Passage Dock or the Victoria Shipbuilding Dock, and it was inspected by the Lords of the Admiralty under the late Conservative Government. The noble Lord (Lord George Hamilton) who occupied the position of First Lord of the Admiralty was one of the Inspectors, all of whom pronounced the Dock suitable for the holding of vessels of light draught. Now, Mr. Courtney, taking into account the fact that the Haulbowline Docks have now been in course of construction for over 20 years and that they are not yet completed, it is time the Government were asked what they intend to do in regard to these Docks. Do they intend to finish them at all? Do they intend to do any shipbuilding at all in Ireland? Do they intend to expend any of the money they extract from that country upon naval works? I hold that the people of Ireland are entitled to know what it is intended to do with these Docks.

THE CIVIL LORD OF THE ADMIRALTY (Mr. R. W. DUFF) (Banffshire): The original Estimate for these Docks was £550,000. Of that amount £491,000 has been spent, and the works are proceeding to the satisfaction of the Admiralty.

MR. PULESTON (Devonport): I should like to know what are the intentions of the Government in regard to the seamen's barracks at Devonport? I see that towards the erection of these barracks £8,000 is appropriated this year. That seems a very small sum. Some time ago I called the attention of the hon. Gentleman the Member for Hastings (Sir Thomas Brassey), who was then Secretary to the Admiralty, to the advisability of acquiring the adjoining land. I was then told that the question would receive the consideration of the Admiralty. I should like to know whether any decision has been arrived at?

MR. R. W. DUFF: I believe that these baracks, which are intended to accommodate 1,000 men, will very soon be occupied. The question of the acquisition of the land adjoining and the enlargement of the barracks is still engaging the attention of the Admiralty Authorities.

MR. PULESTON: Is there any present intention of enlarging the barracks?

MR. R. W. DUFF: We wish to try experiments before embarking upon a larger scheme.

ADMIRAL FIELD (Sussex, Eastbourne): Mr. Courtney, I desire to call the attention of the Committee to a great want of Dock accommodation at Bombay. The Dock arrangements at that place are simply disgraceful to a country like this. When I was in India a few years ago the flag-ship needed repair; but she was obliged to be brought to Malta to be docked. All that was wanted at Bombay was that two Docks should be knocked into one and the sill deepened. Recommendations had been sent home time after time by the Admirals commanding at that Station; but no notice had been taken of them. We are at present in this deplorable condition—that there is no Dock on the Indian Station in which an iron-clad can be accommodated. This is a matter of the greatest Imperial concern, and I hope that it will be immediately attended to.

MR. R. W. DUFF: We have nothing to do with the Dock at Bombay.

ADMIRAL FIELD: But it is an Imperial question.

MR. R. W. DUFF: It is entirely a question for the Indian Government.

ADMIRAL FIELD: Surely we are not to be told that it is no concern of the Admiralty that there is no Dock accommodation at such an important Station as that of India? The Admiralty send ships there, and, therefore, it is their bounden duty to see that there is Dock accommodation.

Vote *agreed to.*

(4.) £905,800, Military Pensions and Allowances.

(5.) £333,300, Civil Pensions and Allowances.

(6.) £252,000, Extra Estimate for Services not Naval.—Freight, &c. on Account of the Army Department.

Resolutions to be reported *To-morrow.*

Committee to sit again *To-morrow.*

## MEDICAL ACTS AMENDMENT BILL.

(*Sir Lyon Playfair, Mr. Mundella, The Lord Advocate.*)

[BILL 163.] COMMITTEE.

[*Progress 31st May.*]

Bill *considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Clause 7 (Members of General Council).

THE VICE PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL (Sir LYON PLAYFAIR) (Leeds, S.): I beg to move, in page 5, line 5, to leave out "two" and insert "three," the object being to give one more representative on the Medical Council to England.

Amendment *agreed to.*

SIR LYON PLAYFAIR: I beg to move to leave out the word "Durham," in consequence of the Committee having agreed to give the University of Victoria a separate representative.

Amendment *agreed to.*

Clause, as amended, *agreed to.*

Clause 8 (Regulations as to election of representatives of the medical profession).

THE VICE PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL (Sir LYON PLAYFAIR) (Leeds, S.): There are a series of Amendments here, Sir, which are purely technical, the object being to leave out the words "representatives of the profession," in order to insert the words "direct representatives."

Page 5, lines 35 and 36, leave out "the representatives of the profession," and insert "direct representatives;" page 6, lines 2 and 3, leave out "representatives of the profession," and insert "direct representatives;" line 4, leave out "representative of the profession," and insert "direct representative;" line 9, leave out "registrar," and insert "president;" lines 11 and 12, leave out "representatives of the profession," and insert "direct representatives."

Amendments *agreed to.*

SIR LYON PLAYFAIR: I beg to move in page 6, line 30, leave out from "returning officer," to "voting paper," in line 33, both inclusive, and insert—

> "branch council in any part of the United Kingdom in which an election is to be held, to cause a voting paper to be forwarded by post to each registered medical practitioner resident in that part at his registered address."

This Amendment and the next two or three refer to the fact that in the Bill the election of the direct representatives are to be made by a Central Council. It has been represented to me that the Branch Council in Ireland should be allowed to elect its own representative, and the Branch Council in Scotland its own representative, and the Council in England its representative, instead of the whole of the elections being centralized in London. The following Amendments are to carry that out.

Amendment *agreed to.*

Page 6, lines 34 and 35, leave out "returning officer to forward such voting paper," and insert "branch council to cause such voting paper to be forwarded;" line 38, leave out "returning officer," and insert "registrar of the said branch council;" line 40, after "two," insert "or more."

Amendments *agreed to.*

On Motion of Dr. FOSTER (Chester) the following Amendments made:—Page 6, line 40, leave out "two," and insert "one or more;" line 42, leave out "two," and insert "as many candidates as there are representatives to be elected."

Clause, as amended, *agreed to.*

Clause 9 *agreed to.*

Clause 10 (Revision of Constitution of General Council).

THE VICE PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL (Sir LYON PLAYFAIR) (Leeds, S.): I propose to leave out this clause, in order that, subsequently, a new clause may be moved.

Motion made, and Question, "That the Clause stand part of the Bill," put, and *negatived.*

Clauses 11 and 12 *agreed to.*

Clause 13 (Medical diploma of colonial and foreign practitioner when deemed to be recognized).

SIR HENRY HOLLAND (Hampstead): I wish to ask whether the

Privy Council should have any right to interfere in this case? The Medical Council is made the judge as to whether a diploma is sufficient or not; and I should like, therefore, to know why this power should be given to the Privy Council? I beg leave to move to leave out sub-section (2).

Amendment proposed to leave out sub-section (2).—(*Sir Henry Holland.*)

Question proposed, "That sub-section (2) stand part of the Clause."

THE VICE PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL (Sir LYON PLAYFAIR) (Leeds, S.): The reason is this. It is important that foreign diplomas should be recognized; and, therefore, it is necessary to give the Privy Council this power.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Clause *agreed to.*

Clauses 14 to 17, inclusive, *agreed to.*

Clause 18 (Default of General Council).

THE VICE PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL (Sir LYON PLAYFAIR) (Leeds, S.): I move, Sir, that the clause be left out, in order to bring it up in a new form.

Motion made, and Question, "That the Clause stand part of the Bill," put, and *negatived.*

Clauses 19 and 20 *agreed to.*

Clause 21 (Saving as to practice of existing practitioners).

MR. J. B. ROBERTS (Carnarvonshire, Eifion): On behalf of my hon. Colleague (Mr. Rathbone), I beg to move in page 13, line 24, at the beginning of the clause, to insert—

> "(1.) Every person who on the day preceding the appointed day is registered as a medical practitioner in respect of any qualification granted by any of the colleges or other bodies mentioned in Schedule (A) to "The Medical Act, 1858," and who as a condition of obtaining such qualification was required by the college or body granting the same to pass, and did pass, an examination conducted by such college or body in medicine, surgery, and midwifery, shall be entitled on and after the appointed day to all the powers, privileges, and immunities conferred by the Medical Acts on persons registered thereunder in respect of a qualification or qualifications to practise both medicine and surgery, or conferred by this Act on medical practitioners registered on or after the said appointed day, anything to the contrary in the Act of the fifty-fifth year of the reign of King George the Third, chapter one hundred and ninety-four, or in the Medical Acts contained notwithstanding.
>
> (2.) A certificate purporting to be under the seal of such college or body, and stating that such person, as a condition of obtaining the qualification in respect of which he is registered, was required to pass and did pass such examination as in this section mentioned shall be primâ facie evidence in all legal proceedings of the truth of the matter therein stated.
>
> (3.) Except as is by this section provided."

The object of the Amendment is this. The Bodies referred to in the Amendment not only examine in medicine, but also in surgery and midwifery, and the object is that the examination being extended to the two latter as well as the former the qualification shall also be so extended. I do not understand that there is any objection to the principle, although most of the Corporations object to it because the candidates have to pass not only the University of Edinburgh, we will say, but also the College of Surgeons, and to pay an additional fee for it. The only advantage there is in it is that they are called upon to pay a double fee for practically the same issue.

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

THE VICE PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL (Sir LYON PLAYFAIR) (Leeds, S.): I am sorry to say that it is impossible to accept this Amendment, because it would practically be repealing various Charters which have from time to time been granted to Institutions throughout the Kingdom. Rightly or wrongly these Charters have been given, and exist at the present time; and the object of the hon. Member is, therefore, one which is outside the scope of this Bill.

THE CHAIRMAN: Does the hon. Member press his Amendment?

MR. J. B. ROBERTS: No.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Clauses 22 to 24, inclusive, *agreed to.*

Clause 25 (Repeal of enactments in schedule).

SIR HENRY HOLLAND (Hampstead): This clause says—

> "The Acts mentioned in the first part of the schedule to this Act are hereby repealed to the extent mentioned in the third column of the said part; and the Acts mentioned in the second part of the said schedule shall be repealed *on and after the appointed day* to the extent mentioned in the third column of the said last mentioned part; provided that the repeal enacted by this section shall not affect anything done or suffered, or any right or title acquired or accrued, before

such repeal takes effect, or any remedy, penalty, or proceeding in respect thereof."

I propose to omit the words in italic in order to insert—

"On and after the prescribed day as used in part two of this Act."

Amendment proposed,

In page 15, lines 31 and 32, to leave out the words "on and after the appointed day," and insert the words "on and after the prescribed day as used in part two of this Act."—(*Sir Henry Holland.*)

Amendment *agreed to.*

THE VICE PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL (Sir LYON PLAYFAIR) (Leeds, S.): I now propose the clause which I wish to substitute for Clause 10, which we have just struck out. This clause relates to the constitution of the General Council, and gives to it considerable powers to add to, or subtract from, its numbers according as it considers it expedient. I would call the attention of hon. Members to the provision for the election of a direct representative in Sub-section (*c*) as follows:—

"That it is expedient to confer on the registered medical practitioners resident in any part of the United Kingdom the power of returning an additional member to the General Council."

Therefore, the General Medical Council, if it thinks the number of direct representatives is not sufficient, is able to add to it.

Amendment proposed, in page 7, after Clause 9, insert the following Clause:—

(Revision of constitution of General Council.)

"(1.) The General Council may at any time represent to the Privy Council all or any of the following matters:—

(*a*) That it is expedient to confer on any university or other body in the United Kingdom capable of granting a medical diploma, not being one of the constituent bodies for the time being of the General Council, and being, in the opinion of the General Council, of sufficient importance to be worthy of such a privilege, the power of returning a member to the General Council, either separately or collectively, with any other body or bodies in the same part of the United Kingdom capable of granting a medical diploma;

(*b*) That it is expedient to confer on any constituent body for the time being returning a member to the General Council collectively with any other body or bodies, and being, in the opinion of the General Council, of sufficient importance to be worthy of such a privilege, the power of returning a member to such Council separately;

(*c*) That it is expedient to confer on the registered medical practitioners resident in any part of the United Kingdom the power of returning an additional member to the General Council;

(*d*) That it is expedient that any constituent body having, in the opinion of the General Council, so diminished in importance as not to be entitled to such privilege, should either be wholly deprived of the power of returning a member to the General Council, or be deprived of the power of returning a member separately, and permitted to return a member collectively with some other body or bodies.

(2.) The Privy Council, before considering such representation, shall cause the same to be laid before both Houses of Parliament.

(3.) If either House of Parliament, within forty days (exclusive of any period of adjournment for more than one week) next after any such representation has been laid before such House, present an Address to Her Majesty declaring that such representation or any part thereof ought not to be carried into effect, no further proceedings shall be taken in respect of the representation in regard to which such Address has been presented, but if no such Address is presented by either House of Parliament within such forty days as aforesaid, the Privy Council may, if they think fit, report to Her Majesty that it is expedient to give effect to such representation, and it shall be lawful for Her Majesty by Order in Council to give effect to the same, and any Order in Council so made shall be of the same validity as if it had been enacted in this Act."—(*Sir Lyon Playfair.*)

Clause *brought up*, read the first and second time, and *added* to the Bill.

SIR LYON PLAYFAIR: The next clause I have to move deals with the default of the General Council, and is in place of Clause 18. It puts the interference of the Privy Council in default of the General Council in a more moderate way.

Amendment proposed, in page 12, after Clause 18, insert the following Clause:—

(Default of General Council.)

"If at any time it appears to the Privy Council that the General Council has failed to secure the maintenance of a sufficient standard of proficiency at any qualifying examinations, or that occasion has arisen for the General Council to appoint assistant examiners under this Act for the purpose of examinations held by any medical corporation, or to exercise any power or perform any duty or do any act or thing vested in or imposed on or authorized to be done by the General Council under the Medical Acts or this Act, the Privy Council may notify their opinion to the General Council; and if the General Council fail to comply with any directions of the Privy Council relating to such notification, the Privy Council may themselves give effect to such directions, and for that purpose may exercise any power or do any act or thing vested in or authorized to be done by the General Council, and may of their own motion do any act or thing under the Medical Acts or this Act, they are authorized to do in pursuance of a representation or suggestion from the General Council."—(*Sir Lyon Playfair.*)

Clause *brought up*, read the first and second time, and *added* to the Bill.

SIR LYON PLAYFAIR: The next clause is designed to include a degree given by the King's and Queen's College of Physicians in Ireland, a degree lately adopted and not provided for in the Act of 1858.

Amendment proposed, after the last new Clause, to insert the following Clause:—

(Addition to qualifications under 21 and 22 Vict. c. 90.)

"The diploma of Member of the King's and Queen's College of Physicians in Ireland, and the degree of Master in Obstetrics of any university in the United Kingdom, shall be deemed to be added to the qualification described in Schedule A of the Medical Act, 1858."—(*Sir Lyon Playfair.*)

Clause *brought up*, read the first and second time, and *added* to the Bill.

SIR LYON PLAYFAIR: The next clause, with a small M.S. addition, is one that has excited considerable interest. It is to enable medical practitioners who have diplomas or certificates for proficiency in sanitary science, public health, or State medicine to have those diplomas or certificates registered. The clause, as it is upon the Paper, says—

"Every registered medical practitioner to whom a diploma for proficiency in sanitary science, public health, or State medicine, has, after special examination, been granted by any college or faculty of physicians or university in the United Kingdom shall, if such diploma appears to the Privy Council or to the General Council to deserve recognition in the medical register, be entitled, on payment of such fee as the General Council may appoint, to have such diploma entered in the said register, in addition to any other diploma or diplomas in respect of which he is registered."

The MS. addition I propose is to insert, after the words "United Kingdom," the words—

"or by any such bodies acting in combination."

Amendment proposed, to insert the following new Clause:—

(Registration of diploma in sanitary science.)

"Every registered medical practitioner to whom a diploma for proficiency in sanitary science, public health, or State medicine, has, after special examination, been granted by any college or faculty of physicians or university in the United Kingdom, or by any such bodies acting in combination, shall, if such diploma appears to the Privy Council or to the General Council to deserve recognition in the medical register, be entitled, on payment of such fee as the General Council may appoint, to have such diploma entered in the said register, in addition to any other diploma or diplomas in respect of which he is registered."—(*Sir Lyon Playfair.*)

Clause *brought up*, read the first and second time, and *added* to the Bill.

MR. PULESTON (Devonport): Does this make registration compulsory?

SIR LYON PLAYFAIR: No; the registration will take place if the General Council thinks that such recognition is deserved.

SIR HENRY HOLLAND (Hampstead): I may, perhaps, be allowed to ask a question, the answer to which may cover a good many of the Amendments. Does the right hon. Gentleman consider that the word "diploma," as defined in the Definition Clause, will have a sufficiently wide application to cover "qualification." The clause says—

"The word 'diploma' means any diploma, degree, fellowship, membership, licence, authority to practise, letters, testimonial, certificate, or other status or document granted by any university, corporation, college, or other body, or by any departments of or persons acting under the authority of the Government of any country or place within or without Her Majesty's dominions."

SIR LYON PLAYFAIR: The term "qualification" is only used in the Bill in regard to qualifying examinations in respect of which degrees are given qualifying persons to practise. A man may be an efficient medical officer of health for a town, although he does not possess a qualifying degree. A degree is in addition to having passed an examination under the Act.

SIR HENRY HOLLAND: I understand that; but I am told that the word "qualification" is used in reference to sanitary science, public health, or State medicine. I wish to know whether the document which is called a "qualification" will be covered by the word "diploma?"

SIR LYON PLAYFAIR: Yes; because the words "or other status or document" are in the definition.

DR. FARQUHARSON (Aberdeen, W.): The explanation given by the right hon. Gentleman is quite satisfactory, and after it I do not propose to move my Amendments.

Bill *reported;* as amended, to be considered *To-morrow.*

## TURNPIKE ROADS (SOUTH WALES) BILL.—[Bill 260.]

(*Mr. Maitland, Mr. Thomas Price, Mr. Warmington.*)

### SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

The SECRETARY to the LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD (Mr. Borlase) (Cornwall, St. Austell): I see no reason to object to this Bill. It has the assent of all the Local Authorities, including the Court of Quarter Sessions of Brecon. No person in the locality seems to object to it.

Bill read a second time, and *committed* for *To-morrow.*

## TITHE RENT-CHARGE (EXTRAORDINARY) REDEMPTION (*re-committed*) BILL.—[Bill 264.]

(*Mr. Thomas Bolton, Mr. Thorold Rogers, Mr. Borlase, Sir John Lubbock.*)

### COMMITTEE.

Order for Committee read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair."—(*Mr. Thomas Bolton.*)

Mr. J. G. TALBOT (Oxford, University): This Bill deals with most important interests, and if the hon. Member in charge of it insists in bringing it on I shall be obliged to move the adjournment. I understand the Bill has not been reprinted. It has been considered, and very carefully considered, by a Select Committee; but I object to its being discussed before it is reprinted.

Sir JAMES FERGUSSON (Manchester, N.E.): I rise to Order, Sir. I heard the hon. Member, when he first rose, move the adjournment of the debate. Probably it escaped your notice, Mr. Speaker.

Mr. SPEAKER: No words to that effect reached my ears.

Mr. J. G. TALBOT: I said that if the hon. Member in charge of the measure insisted in going on with the Bill I should move the adjournment of the debate.

Mr. T. H. BOLTON (St. Pancras, N.): My object in moving that the House should go into Committee was not with the view of proceeding with the Bill to-night; but I wished to get into Committee upon it and then to report Progress, so that we may discuss it in Committee to-morrow. That course would afford ample opportunity for having the Bill reprinted. I am in hopes that we may be able to deal with the measure this Session. In those counties to which it particularly applies there is a consensus of opinion that the matter should be dealt with as soon as possible. The Bill is the result of an understanding arrived at between all parties in the Select Committee which sat to consider the matter. It would be an unfortunate thing if it should fail to pass, especially seeing that it is unopposed by all who are materially interested.

Mr. GATHORNE-HARDY (Kent, Medway): I heard the hon. Gentleman (Mr. Talbot) say that he would move the adjournment of the debate, and I certainly believed that he had done so.

Mr. SPEAKER: The hon. Member says he did not move it.

Mr. GATHORNE-HARDY: I heard his remark, and I understood him to say that he moved it. Personally, I was sorry to hear the adjournment moved, for I agree very much with the hon. Gentleman opposite (Mr. T. H. Bolton) that in this Bill, as it has passed the Select Committee, we have arrived at a conclusion satisfactory to all parties. I hope we shall be able to pass it. If there is any opposition, however, we must all admit the impossibility of dealing with a measure that has not been reprinted. I trust we shall be able to have it printed and to pass it this Session.

The SECRETARY of STATE for the HOME DEPARTMENT (Mr. Childers) (Edinburgh, S.): The best plan would be to move Mr. Speaker out of the Chair as a matter of form, so that the Bill can be printed. It ought not to be considered before it is reprinted, and an undertaking ought to be given that it will not be. There is no doubt it passed the Committee with general approval.

Mr. STANLEY LEIGHTON (Shropshire, Oswestry): Sir, I must object to the course proposed by the hon. Gentleman in charge of this Bill. The hon. Gentleman says it is not a contentious matter; but I beg to say that on that point I differ from him entirely, inasmuch as there were very serious contentions in the Committee; and the reconstructed Bill, which hon. Members have not yet seen, will be opposed from various quarters of the House. But, Sir, this Bill has not been printed, and there has been no opportunity for full examination. It will be remembered that four Bills were sent before the Committee; they have only reported on one Bill; and, what is more, the Committee have adjourned till this day four weeks in order to complete their Report. Well, Sir, it does seem to me to be a most extraordinary proposal that you should now leave the Chair, and that one of the Bills that were sent before the Select Committee should be pressed forward with indecent haste, while the other Bills dealing with the same subject remain to be considered and reported upon by the Select Committee upstairs. Not only is the Bill not reprinted, but the Report of the Committee is not in the hands of Members. Therefore, on the ground that the Bill has not been printed, which is admitted to be a good ground for delay, and that it is a contentious Bill, and that there were serious differences of opinion in the Select Committee with regard to it, I appeal to hon. Members not to proceed in the matter any further at the present moment, but to agree to the adjournment of the debate, which, if I am in Order, as I presume to be the case, I now beg to move.

Motion made, and Question put, "That the Debate be now adjourned."—(*Mr. Stanley Leighton.*)

The House *divided*:—Ayes 32; Noes 153: Majority 121.—(Div. List, No. 126.)

Main Question, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair," put, and *agreed to.*

Bill *considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Clause 1 (Limitation of extraordinary charge).

Motion made, and Question, "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again," put, and *agreed to.*

Committee report Progress; to sit again *To-morrow.*

*Mr. Stanley Leighton*

## PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS (RETURNING OFFICERS) ACT (1875) AMENDMENT BILL.—[BILL 241.]

(*Mr. T. M. Healy, Mr. Chance.*)

CONSIDERATION.

Further Proceeding on Consideration, as amended, *resumed.*

MR. T. M. HEALY (Londonderry, S.): I am aware that, with regard to the consideration of this Bill, a number of hon. Gentlemen are looking at it not in relation to my Amendments, but in relation to Amendments moved by hon. Gentlemen opposite. When the scale now in vogue was proposed, the number of voters in the constituencies differed greatly as between one and the other; but now the principle is, that all the Electoral Divisions are equal in respect of the number of voters. I propose, then, that the Returning Officer should have security in accordance with the number of Divisions in his charge. In Cork County the Returning Officer would pocket something like £2,000 for the elections. There are seven divisions, and he would take the elections on several days, and use the plant in each case. A change has been made in the amount of security required by the Act, a little more being required in the case of the boroughs than in the case of the counties. My proposal is that the maximum security that may be required by the Returning Officer shall be in counties or boroughs containing only one Parliamentary Division, £200; where there are two Divisions, £150 for each Division; where there are three or more, £100 for each Division; and in case no more candidates stand nominated than there are vacancies to be filled the maximum amount of security to be deposited by each candidate shall be £10. In Dublin and in Belfast, where there are four Divisions, the Returning Officer would in each case get £400 as security. I do not know why we should be more tender in the matter of Returning Officers than we are for other electoral purposes; and it should be borne in mind that we propose that candidates should be required to pay in advance for value which they have not received. For my part, I think it a stigma on the character of Members of Parliament to suppose that they would be so lax as to make off without paying the Returning

Officer. The Returning Officer gets a substantial sum down and anything over and above that he can easily collect. I would point out also that if Members of Parliament do not pay their debts they would lose their seats; because if £50 were owing from them they could be made bankrupts; and, therefore, I say that the Returning Officers have much better security than ordinary creditors. It must not be supposed by the House that this Schedule contains a limit of the amount which a Returning Officer may receive; on the contrary, he can collect any further sum which he can prove to be due from the candidate. Unfortunately, however, there is an idea in the minds of Returning Officers that Members of Parliament are so many pigeons to be plucked. In the case of an uncontested election in Ulster—where £25 was the maximum for an uncontested election—the Returning Officer sent in a bill for £100. But I do not direct my observations against the class of Returning Officers alone; I must say that our Sheriffs are often as great plunderers as the Returning Officers. It does not matter what are the politics of the man; he will try to get as much out of the candidates as the others—that is to say, a Nationalist Sheriff in Dublin will try to get just as much out of the candidate as a Tory Sheriff in Belfast.

New Clause:—

"The Third Schedule of the principal Act is hereby repealed, and, instead thereof, it is hereby enacted that the maximum amount of security which may be required by a returning officer, in cases where more candidates stand nominated than there are vacancies to be filled, shall be in accordance with the following scale:—

| | £ |
|---|---|
| In Counties or Boroughs containing only one Parliamentary Division, in each Division . . . . | 200 |
| In Counties or Boroughs containing two Parliamentary Divisions, in each Division . . . . . . . | 150 |
| In Counties or Boroughs containing three or more Parliamentary Divisions, in each Division . . . | 100 |
| In case not more candidates stand nominated than there are vacancies to be filled, the maximum amount of security to be deposited by each candidate shall be . . . . . . . . . . . | 10," |

—(*Mr. T. M. Healy,*)

—*brought up*, and read the first time.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Clause be read a second time."

Sir JAMES FERGUSSON (Manchester, N.E.): Sir, it may be a very right thing to limit the security required by Returning Officers; but it is very inconvenient to bring up a number of new clauses to effect great changes in the Act of 1875 at this stage. The Bill before the House underwent considerable changes in Committee, no doubt for the better; it went through Committee, and now stands for the consideration of the House. There is no reason that I can perceive why these beneficial changes should not have been introduced in Committee, when Members could have thoroughly considered and decided upon them. I venture to remind hon. Members that the understanding was that non-contentious matter alone should be discussed during the remaining days of Parliament. My opinion is that it is not desirable that these changes should be introduced at the present time; and I think, therefore, I shall be doing rightly in opposing the Motion for the second reading of this clause.

Mr. TOMLINSON (Preston): This clause affects the rights of persons not alone in Ireland. I do not know whether the right hon. Gentleman the Home Secretary has inquired whether the amounts in the clause will be a fair security for Returning Officers throughout the United Kingdom; but I shall be glad to hear his opinion on that point.

The SECRETARY of STATE for the HOME DEPARTMENT (Mr. Childers) (Edinburgh, S.): The hon. Member opposite (Mr. Tomlinson) has appealed to me; but I must point out that the Bill is not one which comes under my control. As, however, he asks my opinion, I may say that I think the further consideration of the Bill might with advantage be adjourned till to-morrow.

Mr. LABOUCHERE (Northampton): I protest entirely against the proposal of the right hon. Gentleman. When the Prime Minister is not here Gentlemen who are supposed to represent the Prime Minister do not represent him—they come down to the House and shirk and evade on every matter when a real issue is raised. This is a matter on which people outside the House feel strongly; and if the Members of the Government choose to adopt this course, I can only say that the sooner they are turned out the better.

Mr. CHILDERS: The hon. Member for Northampton has entirely misunderstood me. What I said was that we had better take up the subject to-morrow.

Mr. RAIKES (Cambridge University): Sir, I think, after the words which have fallen from the right hon. Gentleman, it is obvious that further consideration of this question is desirable. On the understanding arrived at to-day the House is not to be troubled with any contentious Government matters. If, then, the Government undertake, so far as they are concerned, that contentious Business is not to be proceeded with, *à fortiori* Private Business should be treated in the same manner. I express no opinion on this particular Amendment; but hon. Gentlemen below the Gangway who take an interest in the matter will surely not lose by having it considered by the Government. I am unwilling to go further into the matter now, which has been the subject of frequent and heated debate, and therefore beg to move the adjournment of the debate.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Debate be now adjourned."—(*Mr. Raikes.*)

Mr. CONYBEARE (Cornwall, Camborne): It is all very well for the right hon. Gentleman, who represents a University constituency, to move the adjournment of the debate. His argument that this question has been the subject of frequent and heated discussion is a strong argument why it should not be so any longer, and that it is time to come to a rational decision about it. No doubt, the right hon. Gentleman is one of those to whom a few hundred pounds are of no consequence whatever.

Mr. SPEAKER: I must remind the hon. Gentleman that the subject before the House is not the Main Question, but the adjournment of the debate.

Mr. CONYBEARE: I only wish to express my view strongly against the adjournment of the debate. This is a matter of great importance to many hon. Members; so much so, that I think we ought not to lose the opportunity we have of proceeding with the settlement of this question. I am bound to say that I shall support, as well as I am able, the earnest protest of my hon. Friend the Member for Northampton (Mr. Labouchere). It was quite understood that this question was to come on, and it is surprising, under the circumstances, that the Law Officers of the Crown are not in their places.

Mr. WILLIAM REDMOND (Fermanagh, N.): It is very inconvenient that hon. Members above the Gangway, who are not concerned in such small things as this question, should come down night after night and oppose the Bill. Hon. Gentlemen came down the other night for the purpose of having this Bill discussed; it came on at 4 o'clock in the morning, and then, owing to the lateness of the hour, although we were prepared to go forward, in deference to those who thought it was too late to proceed, the hon. and learned Member for South Londonderry (Mr. T. M. Healy) consented to postpone the discussion of the measure. We are here now at a comparatively early hour; we have come down to discuss the matter; and it is simple nonsense to tell us that it should be postponed because the Law Officers of the Crown are not in their places. If that is the sole reason, the Government can despatch messengers to the Law Officers, and tell them that the House of Commons is waiting for their presence.

Sir JOSEPH M'KENNA (Monaghan, S.): I am of opinion, Sir, that this is a matter which ought to be decided now, for it is hardly possible to proceed with the new Election if this important reform is not carried out.

Mr. T. P. O'CONNOR (Liverpool, Scotland): I must express surprise that the right hon. Gentleman the Home Secretary proposes the adjournment of the debate. I do not know why we should agree to that. This is the second night that a large number of hon. Members have stopped out of bed for the purpose of this discussion. When it was last brought forward the Conservative Party was largely represented in the House, and it is largely represented now. On the last occasion the noble Marquess the Member for Rossendale (the Marquess of Hartington) was in his place to a very advanced hour; and passing through the Lobby a few minutes ago I saw the noble Marquess, who, I believe, is in the House at the present moment. I fancy that the presence of the noble Marquess at this somewhat advanced hour for a man of his steady habits is, to some extent, associated with the Bill now before us; so that I cannot see that any unfairness is done to any Member of the House by proceeding with the debate. Let me call the attention of the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State for the Home Department to the facts. The Bill was last brought on between 3 and 4 o'clock in the morning; we had the fullest House I have ever seen at that time; we have now almost the fullest House I have ever seen at a quarter past 2 in the morning, and therefore I repeat that there cannot be the least unfairness in bringing on this question. If these facts do not convince the right hon. Gentleman I have other arguments in support of my contention. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for the University of Cambridge (Mr. Raikes) said that Her Majesty's Government had undertaken not to bring forward any contentious Business. What the Government said was that they would not bring on any contentious Business of their own. But this Business is brought forward by private Members. It is brought forward by my hon. Friend (Mr. Chance), and not by the Government. My last argument is that a few minutes ago we had a Motion for Adjournment on another Bill, which Motion was rejected by a very large majority, and in which a large number of Conservative Members voted. Thus, 20 minutes ago, Conservative Gentlemen thought it right that we should go on with the discussion of the Bill. This question, Sir, is one of urgent and pressing importance. We shall be before our constituents in a short time. This is a Bill of very considerable importance to very many Members of this House—to very many Members of the aristocratic part of the House as well as to the plebeian part of the House. In face of these facts it is perfectly monstrous that at 20 minutes past 2, when we have a full House, and when we are all fresh, and apparently in the best of spirits, and with a General Election advancing upon us, we should be asked to adjourn this debate.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE HOME DEPARTMENT (Mr. CHILDERS) (Edinburgh, S.): It is quite true that, speaking upon the course of Business, the Government said we would not ourselves prosecute Bills which we had in hand and which contained any contentious matter; and we also stated that we should ask the House to deal with other Bills in the same way. This Bill, undoubtedly, does not come under that heading because it has already passed through its principal stages and is now in its penultimate stage. So far I am quite with hon. Members below the Gangway. On the other question I am bound in fairness to myself to say I was not aware what took place the other morning. I have been away from the House for some time, and I was not present on the occasion when the House sat until something like 4 o'clock in the morning dealing with this Bill. If I had been I should not have suggested the adjournment of the debate.

MR. STUART-WORTLEY (Sheffield, Hallam): I must object to this mode of conducting the Business of the House. We were told that no contentious Business would be taken, and yet it is now proposed to proceed with a Bill which everybody admits contains most contentious matter. I propose to support the Motion for Adjournment; and I think that the hon. and learned Member for South Londonderry (Mr. T. M. Healy) would be well advised if he would consent to the postponement of this clause until to-morrow, because this is a clause in regard to which the House really does require advice. ["No, no!"] Of course, there are some hon. Gentlemen opposite who never require any advice at all. I hope that the hon. and learned Member will see that he would stand in a much better position in regard to this clause to-morrow night. The merits of the clause I do not wish now to prejudge.

MR. FORWOOD (Lancashire, Ormskirk): I desire to say one word in favour of the adjournment, not on account of the time of night, but on account of the importance of the clause. As an illustration of the importance of this clause, I may say that I have consulted a gentleman who has more experience in electoral matters than any other man in this country—namely, the Town Clerk of Liverpool. That gentleman informs me that the basis of this clause——

MR. SPEAKER: The hon. Gentleman is not entitled to go into the merits of the question upon the Motion for the adjournment of the debate.

MR. T. M. HEALY (Londonderry, S.): Perhaps I may be allowed to remark that a week ago I followed the advice of the Party to which the hon. Gentleman the Member for Sheffield (Mr. Stuart-Wortley) belongs. I did so against the wishes of my own Colleagues, and, as a consequence, I have delayed my Bill for a week. I am now advised by the hon. Gentleman to delay the progress of the Bill still further. I do not think that this is exactly a fair way of treating this question. The least hon. Gentlemen could have done would have been to consider this clause on its merits. I am quite certain that if the right hon. Gentleman the Home Secretary had been aware of what took place a week ago he would not have suggested an adjournment of the debate. The House is just as capable of dealing with this question now as it would be to-morrow; besides, I have no guarantee that to-morrow night hon. Gentlemen upon the Opposition Bench will not meet me in exactly the same way they have done to-night. I may be permitted to say that "once bitten twice shy."

SIR JAMES FERGUSSON (Manchester, N.E.): I was in the House the other night when this Bill was under discussion, and I rather imagine that this Amendment has been put in the proper sense. Then the hon. Member for South Kilkenny (Mr. Chance), who is in charge of the Bill, was allowed, without any objection on our part, to make Amendments to the Bill, and he then consented to the adjournment. ["No, no!"] I think I am correct in saying that the hon. Member was allowed to make his Amendments; but we objected to go on at that late hour of the night. If I am not very much mistaken, this Amendment is a second thought. I do not think the House ought to encourage the introduction of important Amendments at this stage, and I think there is every reason for adjournment.

Question put.

The House *divided*:—Ayes 63; Noes 113: Majority 50.—(Div. List, No. 127.)

Original Question, "That the Clause be read a second time," again proposed.

MR. PLUNKET (Dublin University): We have taken a division on the question of adjournment as a protest against proceeding further, under the circumstances, with the consideration of this

clause; but I am bound to say that this particular clause differs in some respects from the clauses which it is proposed shall follow it. In the first place, it is in some sense germane to the principal purpose of the Bill in which it is proposed to introduce it; and as I understand there will be a further stage after the second reading of this clause, if the House should see fit to sanction the second reading, I do not think there would be any use in pressing further the question of adjournment. I should be disposed to advise anyone, who is willing to take my advice on the subject, not to press the question of adjournment any further. But, before I sit down, I wish to enter a protest against the course which the right hon. Gentleman the Home Secretary (Mr. Childers) has seen fit to adopt. First of all, the right hon. Gentleman supported the adjournment of the debate on the ground that the Government had promised that they would not only themselves abstain from pressing forward contentious matter under the present circumstances, but also advise the House against doing so in the case of Private Bills. Having received a sound lecture from his political Friends, however, the right hon. Gentleman gave way, upon the ground that this was not new matter introduced for the first time. The fact is, that this is new matter introduced for the first time; but I shall not inconvenience the House by pressing the question of adjournment further upon this stage, which I understand is only the second reading of the clause.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE HOME DEPARTMENT (Mr. CHILDERS) (Edinburgh, S.): The right hon. and learned Gentleman takes me to task because I did not take the same course when the matter was explained to me that I took in the first instance. I was asked by an hon. Gentleman—I think the hon. Member for Preston (Mr. Tomlinson)—what course the Government proposed to take with regard to this Bill, and I stated my views; but I must confess I did so without knowing what had already taken place.

MR. TOMLINSON (Preston): I did not ask what course the Government proposed to take with regard to the Bill, but whether they could give us any information as to the operation of the clause.

Mr. CHILDERS: I do not quite see the difference. An appeal certainly was made to me to make some declaration on the part of the Government as to the Bill before the House. Having been absent from the House for some time, and having no idea what had previously occurred, my view was that it was rather late at night to go on with this Bill. I was not aware that a week or 10 days ago the question had been discussed; if I had been aware of that, I should not have taken the view I did.

Mr. THOROLD ROGERS (Southwark, Bermondsey): I hope this is the first and last time that we shall find that when a right hon. Gentleman on the Treasury Bench gives as his reason for not knowing the particular circumstances of a case his enforced absence from this House—an absence which in this case all Members of the House must deplore — he will have indecent reproaches levelled against him.

Mr. FORWOOD (Lancashire, Ormskirk): I hope the House will pause before passing this Bill. We are in this clause dealing with a class of gentlemen who have very onerous and responsible duties to perform—namely, the Returning Officers of the country, and on behalf of that body of gentlemen I wish to say a word. This is a matter that affects them very seriously. I remember that some years ago, before Parliament passed an exactment requiring security to be given, the Returning Officer for Liverpool did not receive from one of the candidates the sum of money which was due from him in regard to his candidature. A clause was subsequently adopted requiring deposits from candidates. I have been informed by a gentleman who has had a larger experience in electoral matters than any other gentleman—the Town Clerk of Liverpool—[“Oh!”]—and I may say as regards that gentleman's experience that he obtains no personal benefit whatever from any electoral contest, but in many cases he has absolutely been out of pocket—that an election in any one of the nine Divisions of Liverpool cannot possibly be conducted for the amount allowed by this Bill. Anything over and above what is here allowed would have to come out of the private pocket of the Mayor for the time being. I am sure it cannot be the wish of the House to mulct a gentleman holding the position of Mayor for the time being of any sum of money because he is compelled to act as Returning Officer. Therefore, I do think that we ought to pause before passing a clause of this character.

Mr. CONYBEARE (Cornwall, Camborne): There are two answers to the argument of the hon. Member for Ormskirk (Mr. Forwood). One is that this clause simply specifies the amount of security to be required, and in no sense limits the amount of money to be paid to the Returning Officer; and the other is that a later Amendment, if we get to it to-night, and I sincerely trust we shall, standing in the name of the hon. Member for Northampton (Mr. Labouchere), is to the effect that all these charges shall be paid out of the county rates. Under the latter clause the Returning Officers would be able to recover whatever was due to them. There can be no objection to this clause, which is but a very small instalment of that reform which we all desire to see.

Mr. HOWELL (Bethnal Green, N.E.): I may not have had as much experience in electioneering as the Town Clerk of Liverpool, but I have had some little experience of electoral contests, and, in my opinion, so far from the amount allowed by Parliament being insufficient, in most cases it is more than sufficient. This subject has been before the country, and before Parliament, if not in this particular manner, at least in general terms, for a very considerable time, and I think that hon. Members have a capacity for understanding the bearings of this question, notwithstanding the fact that the Law Officers of the Crown are not present.

Original Question put, and *agreed to.*

Motion made, and Question proposed, “That the Clause be added to the Bill.”

Mr. HALSEY (Herts, Watford): Before the clause is added to the Bill, I should like to ask the hon. and learned Member (Mr. T. M. Healy) how he has arrived at these amounts? I have not taken part in this discussion previously, and I think that perhaps Returning Officers' charges in many cases might very fairly be cut down; but I want to point out that in many cases the Returning Officer cannot protect himself at all. For instance, a man of straw may come down to a constituency and get somebody to nominate and somebody to second him—I think hon. Members will agree that there have been such cases—and the Returning Officer may be out of pocket by the actual amount that he spends if the deposits are not large enough. I believe the hon. and learned Member proposes presently to move a Schedule giving the charges which may be made in future; but it does not appear to me that the security which he proposes to give by this clause is anything like fairly proportionate to the amounts which the Returning Officer will be allowed to charge. It seems to me that there should be some proportion between the two, and, therefore, I do not think that I am taking up the time of the House unnecessarily in asking for some further explanation.

Mr. T. M. HEALY (Londonderry, S.): It appears to me, if anything, my accounts are too high. If the hon. Member knows anything about these matters, and if he has had to tax the Returning Officer's charges, as unfortunately I have had to do, he will find that this Schedule allows the Returning Officer much more than the County Court Judge would be likely to allow him. I want to show also that under this Schedule the Town Clerk of Liverpool would receive no less than £900. Well, the Returning Officers already have all the fittings for the polling booths, the ballot boxes, and so forth; and they have really nothing to provide but a few printed notices, and a few notices in the newspapers. Am I to be told that that cannot be done in a town like Liverpool for £900? Why, the thing is absurd. I admit that no injustice ought to be done to Returning Officers, and I quite admit that the Returning Officer might be mulcted; but, on the whole, I am sure that taking one thing with another the work can be amply done for these amounts.

Mr. STUART-WORTLEY (Sheffield, Hallam): I quite admit that these maximum amounts may be cut down; but, so far as my experience goes, I believe that the amounts in this scale will practically amount to less than the Returning Officer's expenses at the large elections. Under these circumstances, and in the absence of the Law Officers of the Crown, and having regard to the fact that this Amendment was not put down on the Paper at all——

Mr. T. M. HEALY (Londonderry, S.): It has been on the Paper since Saturday.

Mr. STUART-WORTLEY: Well, that may be so; but, what chance have the Returning Officers of the country had to consider these amounts? And, under these circumstances, considering that those who alone can advise us have not had an opportunity of doing so, I think the matter ought not to be gone on with now.

Mr. ESSLEMONT (Aberdeen, E.): The great idea at present seems to be to fill the places of Returning Officers with high professional gentlemen—to provide men of great professional ability to perform a simple duty which can be done easily by an ordinary Registrar, or which might be done very well by an ordinary Superintendent of Police. It is because we have imagined a state of things requiring a professional experience that the whole thing is out of harmony with the Ballot Act, which ought to work with the greatest simplicity. The Returning Officer ought to be recouped; but when his charges are taxed it is generally found that they have been fixed much too high. To say that the work cannot be done under the scale in this Bill is altogether out of the question.

Mr. T. P. O'CONNOR (Liverpool, Scotland): I wish to protest against what has been said by the hon. Member for Sheffield (Mr. Stuart-Wortley), who said that any important measure like this ought not to be brought on at this hour of the morning without the presence of the Law Officers of the Crown. That is merely a paltry excuse for the other House to throw out the Bill. This is a matter in which every Member is an expert, and I protest in the strongest possible manner against these constant threats that "another place," which is in no way responsible to the people of the country, will throw out this Bill. I would point out that the average expenses in the nine Divisions was only £71, so that the £100 proposed in the Bill would be amply sufficient. I should be very glad if hon. Gentlemen who object to this proposal, instead of making general appeals to a majority "elsewhere," or threats intended to be used for future purposes, will take the clause bit by bit, and item by item, and point out where the amounts are too small. I hope my hon. and learned Friend (Mr. T. M. Healy) will resist the attempt to defeat the clause which is now being made.

Mr. J. H. A. MACDONALD (Edinburgh and St. Andrew's Universities): This clause is one upon which, if we are to go to a division, we ought to have some practical help from Her Majesty's Government. This is certainly a Bill to make important alterations in matters affecting the conduct of elections, and I should like to know if Gentlemen on the Front Bench opposite have any information to give us on the subject we are now discussing. Have they ascertained what is a reasonable amount to fix as that for which security must be given? I can quite believe that the amounts charged by Returning Officers are higher than they ought to be; but it is surely not to be said that a matter of this kind, which affects directly the interests of Returning Officers, is to be settled without any formal inquiry of any kind. I am quite sure that the House is satisfied that the hon. and learned Member for South Londonderry (Mr. T. M. Healy) is quite certain in his own mind that the sums put down are quite sufficient; but is it proper for the House to settle such a matter as this without a very careful inquiry? I do not think we can have any better proof that inquiry is necessary than the speech which we have just listened to from the hon. Member for Liverpool (Mr. T. P. O'Connor), because while he told us the actual expense of the election at Liverpool came to £71—£71 for each candidate, I presume—I understand him to say that for each Division of Liverpool £100 would be sufficient. As under this clause the actual sum to be divided would be only £900 for the whole of Liverpool, and as the hon. Member is aware that there were two candidates in nearly all the constituencies, the hon. Member will see that the actual expense would be much more than £900. There were two candidates in each Division; there may have been more than 20 candidates. ["No!"] Well, at any rate, there were 18 candidates, and each of these 18 candidates had to pay £71. Well, 18 times £71 comes to a much larger sum than £900. I am quite sure that if I had not brought this matter before the attention of the House, after what was said by the hon. Member for Liverpool, many Members might have given their vote under a misconception. It is perfectly certain that under this clause the amount to be given as security will not be sufficient to place the Mayor of Liverpool in a safe position in the case of a contested election. But, beyond this, I press for some statement from the Government that they are satisfied that these sums are sufficient. They may be satisfied; but it seems to me to be rash to go to a division, and place a division on record as the wisdom of Parliament, when Her Majesty's Government and all their Followers are unable to give us any opinion on the subject before us.

Sir JOSEPH M'KENNA (Monaghan, S.): I think the right hon. and learned Gentleman who has just spoken has altogether mistaken the meaning of this clause. Will any hon. Member assert that if the Returning Officer of Liverpool was secured by a sum of £900 that he would have any difficulty in recovering the additional £200 or £300 if he could show that he had properly spent that sum? I have an objection to give over security to Returning Officers. They do their best to swamp the sums they obtain as security by bringing up every charge which it is possible for them to bring up. I hope that the House will not take the view that we should wait for the Law Officers of the Crown or for the Government to give any opinion upon this matter. We are all experts in the matter ourselves, and I hope that we shall not again have to place ourselves in the hands of these Returning Officers, who do everything they can to bring the expenses up to the maximum amount.

Mr. THOROLD ROGERS (Southwark, Bermondsey): This is the first time I ever heard a Member for a University speaking on the subject of Returning Officers' charges. The right hon. and learned Gentleman (Mr. J. H. A. Macdonald) does not pay anything. We do not pay anything at Oxford.

Mr. J. H. A. MACDONALD: I wish that was so.

Mr. THOROLD ROGERS: Well, then, all I can say is that the Vice Chancellor at the Scotch University must be meaner than our Vice Chancellor at Oxford. Our Vice Chancellor charges nothing. In my own constituency the Returning Officer is some minor official of that dreadful Institution called the Corporation of London. We have to pay £150; and I know that he multiplied every charge that he possibly could. If you reduce the amount which they can receive as security, you do not reduce the charges. The candidate can have the charges recovered from him if it can be shown that they have been properly incurred. But, on the other side, if you put down a larger sum, he considers that he has a right to interpret the clause as he thinks fit, and to spend all the money he has obtained as security. As to these Law Officers of the Crown telling us what we ought to pay, all I can say is that the Law Officers, as a rule, merely know what they have got to receive, and I do not think that their advice is necessary. In my mind, the system of Returning Officers' fees is a system of brigandage, and it is quite time that it was put a stop to.

Sir ROBERT FOWLER (London): The hon. Member who has just sat down has attacked the Corporation; but I can tell him that the person who is responsible for the charges which he complains of is a gentleman much respected in this House—Sir Thomas Chambers.

Mr. THOROLD ROGERS: No, no; his name is Prodgers, or Dodgers, or something of that sort.

Sir ROBERT FOWLER: Perhaps the hon. Gentleman is thinking of Mr. Pritcher?

Mr. THOROLD ROGERS: Something of that sort.

Sir ROBERT FOWLER: He did act in that capacity before the last Election; and I know that he was a man who was much respected by a great many Members in this House.

Mr. THOROLD ROGERS: I think that he was a Secondary, or some curious animal of that kind?

Sir ROBERT FOWLER: I believe that over the water the Election is conducted by the High Bailiff of Southwark, and he, as I have said, is Sir Thomas Chambers. However, I need not pursue that matter. I will point out that elections used to be much more expensive than they are now, and that at present I think there is little to complain of. I wish to remind the House also that we are debating this important question in the absence of the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for Bury (Sir Henry James), who has been so closely identified with this subject, besides the absence of the Law Officers of the Crown.

The UNDER SECRETARY of STATE for the HOME DEPARTMENT (Mr. Broadhurst) (Birmingham, Bordesley): Might I make a suggestion which I think will be approved of by the whole House, which is that we should consent to strike out the figures in the clause and insert that in all contested boroughs in each Division a deposit of £200 shall be made. I only make this suggestion in order to relieve the House from what we believe to be a deadlock. It is very desirable that we should pass this Bill at this Sitting. We have had many late Sittings in order to get through this Bill, and I only make this suggestion in order to relieve the House. Before I sit down may I say, as to the remarks which have been made as to the absence of the Law Officers of the Crown, that this is essentially a question in which the Law Officers could not possibly be higher authorities than any Gentleman who has been through an election. I would appeal to my hon. Friend the Member for Shoreditch (Mr. Cremer), who is a practical carpenter, and who I venture to say, therefore, is a much higher authority on these matters than the Law Officers of the Crown. I hope the House will accept the suggestion which I have made.

Mr. CREMER (Shoreditch, Haggerston): I had desired to say a few words on this question, not as a practical carpenter, but as a Member of this House. A great deal has been said as to the absence of the Law Officers of the Crown; but, for my part, I think it is rather fortunate that they are absent, because we all know the old saying that a "fellow feeling makes us wondrous kind;" and I think that if they had been here to-night it is possible they might have thrown in their voices for the maximum charges in favour of the Returning Officers. Therefore, I think we may congratulate ourselves upon their absence. My experience is that Returning Officers always demand the maximum charges, and in most instances they demand more. I do not know many instances in which they have not had to return some of the amount deposited with them; but it is only fair to them to say that they generally make an effort, and they generally succeed in it, to spend the whole of the amount which has been placed in their hands. I, therefore, think it is necessary that we should reduce the amount very considerably. I am sorry that the hon. Gentleman who has introduced the Bill has not proposed to limit it still more. I think the Returning Officers are very well able to take care of themselves and look after their interests, and there need not be the slightest apprehension in their regard. I shall cordially support the Motion.

MR. T. M. HEALY (Londonderry, S.): To end the controversy I will accept the proposal of the Government.

MR. SPEAKER: Before the Amendment is made the hon. and learned Member will withdraw his Motion?

MR. T. M. HEALY: No; I will allow it to be negatived.

MR. SPEAKER: I have put the Question that the clause be added to the Bill. That must be withdrawn before the Motion can be made. Is it your pleasure that the Motion be withdrawn?

Motion, by leave, *withdrawn.*

MR. HOWELL (Bethnal Green, N.E.): I should be sorry to see the Amendment accepted as proposed——

MR. STUART-WORTLEY (Sheffield, Hallam): I rise to Order. Is there any Motion before the House?

MR. T. M. HEALY: I ask leave to withdraw the Amendment, in order to move a fresh one.

MR. SPEAKER: Does the hon. and learned Gentleman move?

MR. T. M. HEALY: Yes; in line 6 of the clause I would insert the word "all" after "In," so that the line would read—"In all counties or boroughs in each division, £200."

Amendment proposed,

In line 6, after the word "In," to insert the word "all," and omit the words "containing only one Parliamentary Division."—*(Mr. T. M. Healy.)*

Question proposed, "That the word 'all' be there inserted."

MR. T. H. BOLTON (St. Pancras, N.): That would make it clear that the sum of £200 is not to be charged to each candidate.

MR. T.M. HEALY: That is governed by the Act of 1875, of which this is only an Amending Act.

SIR JAMES FERGUSSON (Manchester, N.E.): We have double scales. It was £100, and now it will be £200, for each candidate for each Division. I feel bound to protest against the accusation of the learned Professor (Mr. Thorold Rogers) as to the Returning Officers being brigands. What occurred in Manchester at the last Election? There was a deposit of £160 taken from each candidate, and after the Election £50 was returned to each of us. That, I think, was the experience of every Member. If £200 had been allowed there would have been nearly £100 to return. There is a confusing element in the present discussion. We have two Members of the Government getting up and saying different things. The Home Secretary says that as the Law Officers of the Crown are not present we cannot deal with the matter; and then the Under Secretary (Mr. Broadhurst) tells us there is no necessity for the opinion of the Law Officers. I complain that the matter is brought before us now for the first time. It was only put on the Paper since the Bill was last before us, which entirely removes the excuse of the Under Secretary. There ought to be time for a proposal of this kind to be sent down to the country and for us to obtain the views of others outside with regard to it. It ought not to be sprung upon us like this. It is unfortunate that we should have to legislate in such a manner; and we ought not to proceed further in the matter before we have had an opportunity of hearing all the facts and considering them on their merits.

MR. SPEAKER: I find that the Question has not been put correctly. The Amendment to the proposed Amendment should be to leave out the words in line 5 "in accordance with the following scale," in order to insert the words "as follows." There will be no scale, so that line 5, as it stands, will be inapplicable. Then you will omit lines 8, 9, 10, and 11 with the figures, so that the latter part of the clause will run—"Shall be as follows:—In counties or boroughs in each division," and so on.

Amendment proposed to the proposed Amendment, to omit line 5, in order to will be able to recover from him the few pounds he has expended. If he does not recover, he will be able to make the Member a bankrupt, and, if he does that, the Member will lose his seat.

Motion *agreed to.*

Clause *added.*

MR. LABOUCHERE (Northampton): The next clause upon the Paper was to have been moved by my hon. Colleague (Mr. Bradlaugh). It is as follows:—

"Where there are more candidates than vacancies to be filled and any unsuccessful candidate fails to receive more than one-fourth of the lowest number of votes received by a successful candidate at the election, the charges authorised by section two of the principal Act, as amended by this Act, shall be paid by the candidate so failing; and, if more than one candidate so fails, then by the candidates so failing in equal shares."

The object of this Amendment was to divide the candidates into two categories, one consisting of those who have received a considerable number of votes, and the other of those who have only received a small number, and to inflict a sort of fine upon those who have received a small number. I consider such a clause very doubtful policy, and, therefore, I am not sorry that my hon. Friend does not happen to be here this evening. I must explain that I have a clause on the Paper which I intended to move on the supposition that this would be passed. I propose to leave out the first part of my clause, and to move—

"The charges authorised by section two of the principal Act, as amended by this Act, shall be paid in manner provided in the Second Schedule to this Act."

MR. SPEAKER: The hon. Member will not be entitled to do that—he must move the clause in the name of the hon. Gentleman the Member for Northampton (Mr. Bradlaugh).

MR. LABOUCHERE: I am afraid I have not explained myself. I am not moving my hon. Friend's clause. I am asking to be allowed to leave out the first line of my clause, because, as it stands, it is drawn up on the supposition that the clause preceding it, that of my hon. Friend, would have been moved and passed. If that clause is not moved, I propose to move my clause as it stands on the Paper, omitting the words "Save as is provided by section . . . of this Act," and beginning with the words "The charges."

MR. SPEAKER: I thought the words "the charges," the hon. Member referred to, were those in the Clause standing in the name of the hon. Gentleman's Colleague.

MR. LABOUCHERE: No, Sir. The clause will stand thus—

"The charges authorised by section two of the principal Act, as amended by this Act, shall be paid in manner provided in the Second Schedule to this Act."

I need not say that at this hour of the morning (3.30 A.M.) I am not going to make a long speech. I think by this time everyone in the House ought to know what this means, and to have formed his conclusion on the matter. A few days ago, as the House will remember, I asked the Prime Minister whether he contemplated bringing in a Bill to give effect to this principle, and the right hon. Gentleman said he was in favour of it, but could not see his way, at this time of the Session, to proposing legislation. The Bill has passed some of its stages, but a mode has been found consistent with the Rules of the House, and with due propriety, to give effect to the wishes of the Prime Minister and the majority of the House, and those, too, who are out of the House. A clause like this is all the more important when there is a General Election about to take place, and when an attempt is made——

MR. SPEAKER: I must interrupt the hon. Gentleman. I understand him to move the second paragraph standing in his name?

MR. LABOUCHERE: Yes.

MR. SPEAKER: That cannot be moved with the Speaker in the Chair. It can only be moved with the Speaker out of the Chair. It has reference to the Returning Officer's expenses.

MR. LABOUCHERE: Must I move, Sir, that you do leave the Chair?

MR. SPEAKER: The Bill might be re-committed in respect of that particular clause.

MR. LABOUCHERE: Then I now move that you do leave the Chair.

MR. T. M. HEALY (Londonderry, S.): The hon. Member could bring up the clause on third reading.

MR. SPEAKER: The hon. Member can move to re-commit the Bill if he desires.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be re-committed in respect of a new Clause."—(*Mr. Labouchere.*)

An hon. Member asked whether it was competent to re-commit the Bill for a purpose such as this—a purpose totally foreign to the principle of the Bill—without moving an Instruction to the Committee?

Mr. LABOUCHERE: If it were possible for me to move this clause on the third reading of the Bill, it would, perhaps, be more convenient to Members present. If I can move it on the third reading, I would ask to be allowed to withdraw the proposal I have made.

Mr. SPEAKER: As a point of Order, the House must judge whether the clause is pertinent to the Bill or not.

Sir JULIAN GOLDSMID (St. Pancras, S.): I thought the practice was, if a Bill was re-committed even as to a single clause it should be done on the Order for the third reading, and not on the Order for going into Committee.

Mr. HALSEY (Herts, Watford): It is in the discretion of the House. It would be in Order to re-commit the Bill. Such a thing has been repeatedly done. It is for the House to judge whether or not the thing shall be done after the Motion is made.

Mr. STUART-WORTLEY (Sheffield, Hallam): Should not the other clauses on the Paper be proceeded with?

Mr. LABOUCHERE: Yes; I will withdraw the Motion.

Motion, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Mr. T. M. HEALY (Londonderry, S.): I beg to move the clause in my name. It is a purely formal Amendment—

"The Schedule of this Act, and the directions therein, shall be construed and have effect as part of this Act."

New Clause (Effect of Schedule,)—(*Mr. T. M. Healy,*)—*added.*

Amendment proposed, Clause 1, page 1, line 6, at end, insert "and shall be read as one with the principal Act."—(*Mr. T. M. Healy.*)

Question, "That those words be there inserted," put, and *agreed to.*

Mr. CHANCE (Kilkenny, S.): I beg to move the Schedule which stands on the Paper in my name. I need not trouble the House with any lengthened remarks. I have had considerable experience in election matters, and I can say that this Schedule will be found fair in every case, and to give the Returning Officer a reasonable amount of recompense for his trouble.

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## Schedule.

### Charges of Returning Officers.

The following are the maximum charges to be made by the returning officer, but the charges are in no case to exceed the sum actually necessarily paid:—

| | £ *s.* *d.* |
|---|---|
| For preparing and publishing notice of election . . . | 2 2 0 |
| * For hire and necessary fitting up of rooms for polling (this item includes damages or expenses for or by the use of such rooms). | The necessary expenses not to exceed the sum of £2 where not more than 400 voters are assigned to such room, with 10*s.* for every additional 100 voters assigned to such room. |
| * For constructing a polling station or booth with its fittings and compartments.<br>(This item is for the construction of a booth in the open air where no pre-existing structure is available as a polling station.) | The necessary expenses not exceeding the sum of £4 4*s.* where not more than five hundred voters are assigned to such station or booth, and 10*s.* for each hundred electors so assigned above 500. |

In Ireland the returning officer shall use a court house where one is available for polling, and his maximum charge for using and fitting the same shall not exceed 10*s.* for each 100 voters assigned to such court house.

| | *£ s. d.* |
|---|---|
| There shall not be in any polling district more than one polling station to which less than 400 voters shall be assigned. | |
| * For each ballot box required to be purchased . .<br>Ballot boxes purchased for any election shall be kept by the returning officer for the time being for use (without charge) at subsequent elections in the same county or borough | 0 10 0 |
| * For the use of each ballot box when hired . . . | 0 2 6 |
| * For stationery at each polling station . . . | 0 2 6<br>for each 100 voters assigned to such polling station. |
| * For printing and providing ballot papers, per 1,000 . .<br>No greater number of ballot papers shall be chargeable than is ten per centum greater than the total number of voters registered. | 0 15 0 |
| * For each stamping instrument . . . . | 0 2 6 |
| * For copies of the register . . . . . | The sum payable by statute for the necessary copies. |
| * For every person employed in counting votes, not exceeding four such persons where the number of registered electors does not exceed 4,000, and one for every additional 2,000 . . | 1 1 0 |
| For making the return to the clerk of the Crown . . | 1 1 0 |
| * For the preparation and publication of notices (other than notices of election). | Not exceeding for the whole of such notices £10, and £1 for every additional 2,000 electors above 5,000. |
| * For professional and other assistance in and about the conduct of a contested election. | Not exceeding £20, and an additional £1 for every 1,000 registered voters above 6,000 |
| For services and expenses in relation to receiving and publishing accounts of election expenses in respect of each candidate . . . . . . | 2 2 0 |
| * For all other expenses in the case of a contested election. | Not exceeding £10, and an additional £1 for every 1,000 electors above 3,000. |
| * For each presiding officer in counties . . . | 5 0 0 |
| * For each presiding officer in boroughs . . .<br>This sum includes all travelling allowances and expenses, and the presiding officers are to convey the ballot boxes to and from the polling station at their own expense.<br>There shall not be more than one presiding officer for each 400 voters registered. | 4 0 0 |
| * For one clerk at each polling station where not less than 400 voters are assigned to such station . . . .<br>This sum includes all travelling allowances and expenses. | 1 1 0 |
| * For an additional clerk at a polling station for every 500 voters or fraction thereof beyond the first 500 assigned to such polling station . . . . . . .<br>This sum includes all travelling allowances and expenses. | 1 1 0 |

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The items marked * shall be chargeable only in the case of a contested election,—(*Mr. Chance,*) —*brought up*, and read the first time.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Schedule be read a second time."

MR. PLUNKET (Dublin University): It is quite impossible for us to discuss the real advantages or disadvantages of the change which would be effected by the proposed Schedule at this hour of the night. I do not know what course the Government will take; but certainly I shall oppose the Schedule.

MR. T. M. HEALY (Londonderry, S.): Perhaps I might be allowed to explain that this Schedule has been on the Paper for a fortnight, and that I consulted the right hon. and learned Gentleman's Colleague the junior Member for the University of Dublin (Mr. Holmes) with respect to it. He promised me that if he had any fault to find with it he would let me know. Well, he has not stated to me that he has any fault to find with it; and as it has been a long time on the Paper, and has been carefully considered by a large number of Members, I trust the House will pass it.

MR. FORWOOD (Lancashire, Ormskirk): Would it not be possible for the hon. Gentleman (Mr. Chance) to give us some practical idea of the alterations which will be brought about in the existing scale of charges by this Schedule? Not only are we discussing this matter under peculiar circumstances, but it might fairly have been expected that nothing of this kind could have come on at all. It would be fair to ask that this Schedule should not be proceeded with. I would inform the hon. Gentleman who moved it that it would have an unfair operation. Take the case of Liverpool. [*Laughter.*] Hon. Gentlemen may laugh; but the only way to enlighten hon. Members' minds on the subject is to quote instances which have actually occurred. In two Divisions in Liverpool, where rooms are not to be obtained for polling and booths have to be erected, this Schedule will not apply. In one Division the cheapest contract that could be made was £18 for the erection of a booth, and in the other Division it was £20. In other districts, no doubt, the amount would be sufficient.

MR. CHANCE (Kilkenny, S.): I shall be prepared, if necessary, to defend this Schedule line by line. In reply to the hon. Gentleman, I would draw his attention to the line "For all other expenses in the case of a contested election," &c. I will give a short statement as to some of the changes that this Schedule will make. In the first item — "For preparing and publishing notice of election, £2 2*s*."—no change is made. The second item in the Schedule—"For hire and necessary fitting up of rooms for polling, and for construction of polling station"—reduces the expenditure very slightly. It reduces it to an amount for which, to my own personal knowledge, the work can be done. The next paragraph refers to Ireland only; therefore, I do not think the hon. Member can be much interested. The following paragraph fixes the price to be paid for ballot boxes at 10*s*. I know that ballot boxes capable of holding from 600 to 800 ballot papers can be purchased at from 6*s*. to 10*s*. each, and I do not see why the price allowed in the Schedule should be higher. The next item is 2*s*. 6*d*. for the use of each ballot box when hired. The old charge was 5*s*.; but it seems to me that half that sum will be amply sufficient. I do not make any practical change in the next item. I allow 2*s*. 6*d*. for stationery, no matter how large or small the station. The move is one in the right direction, and no one has objected to it. Then, for printing and providing ballot papers, I allow 15*s*. per 1,000 instead of 30*s*. They can be obtained at from 6*s*. to 12*s*. per 1,000 to my certain knowledge. For a stamping instrument I allow, in the next item, 2*s*. 6*d*., which sum is ample unless the Returning Officer procures an expensive die, which is not at all necessary. As to the sum for copies of the Register there is no alteration. I make no difference in the fee allowed to the Clerk of the Crown; and for the preparation and publication of notices (other than notices of election), I say—

> "Not exceeding for the whole of such notices £10, and £1 for every additional 2,000 electors above 5,000."

I am puzzled to know what these notices can be, and it seems to me that we have here a very good opportunity for extortion. For professional and other assistance in and about the conduct of a contested election, I say—

> "Not exceeding £20, and an additional £1 for every 1,000 registered voters above 6,000."

I reduce the amount for receiving and

publishing accounts; and the item—"For all other expenses in the case of a contested election," I reduce to about two-thirds of what it was originally. The main alteration comes in on the next item—"For each presiding officer in counties." Formerly, in England, they got £4, and Ireland, £3 3*s*., with travelling expenses in each case. I allow £5, the sum to include travelling expenses, and my object is to induce the Returning Officer to employ Presiding Officers resident in the district. That is desirable in order to prevent personation, gentlemen from the district being much more likely to detect attempts at personation than strangers. The result of the Schedule will be that the charge will be reduced by 45 per cent.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE HOME DEPARTMENT (Mr. CHILDERS) (Edinburgh, S.): Sir, we have now been for two hours discussing this Bill, and I confess I think I was right in giving way at first. But, Sir, it is quite impossible at 4 o'clock in the morning to discuss the details of the Schedule, upon which I am aware that there will be a great difference of opinion. The discussion, if we were to continue it, would last till 7 o'clock in the morning, and, therefore, I appeal to the hon. Member not to proceed further with the Schedule to-night, I undertaking that we will go on with it this day (Friday).

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Debate be now adjourned."—(*Mr. Secretary Childers.*)

Motion *agreed to.*

Debate *adjourned* till *To-morrow.*

### PETERHEAD HARBOUR OF REFUGE [EXPENSES, &C.]

*Considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

*Resolved,* That it is expedient to authorise the payment, out of moneys to be provided by Parliament, of the cost of building a prison for convicts, and also of any Expenses which may be incurred by the Admiralty under the provisions of any Act of the present Session to empower the Admiralty to form a Harbour of Refuge at Peterhead.

Resolution to be reported *To-morrow.*

### EAST INDIA RAILWAYS [LOANS] BILL.

Resolution [June 4] *reported* and *agreed to*:—Bill *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. Stafford Howard and Mr. Hanry H. Fowler.

*Mr. Chance*

### CUSTOMS BILL.

*Considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

*Resolved,* That the Chairman be directed to move the House, That leave be given to bring in a Bill to alter certain Duties of Customs, and to amend the Laws relating to the Customs; and for other purposes.

Resolution *reported*: — Bill *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. Henry H. Fowler and Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer.

## *MOTIONS.*

### PRIVATE BILLS.

*Ordered,* That Standing Orders 39 and 129 be suspended, and that the time for depositing Petitions against Private Bills, or against any Bill to confirm any Provisional Order, or Provisional Certificate, and for depositing duplicates of any Documents relating to any Bill to confirm any Provisional Order, or Provisional Certificate, be extended to the day on which the House shall first sit after the Adjournment.—(*The Chairman of Ways and Means.*)

### LOCAL GOVERNMENT PROVISIONAL ORDERS (NO. 10) BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Borlase, Bill to confirm certain Provisional Orders of the Local Government Board relating to the Boroughs of Gateshead and Kingston-upon-Hull, the Local Government District of North Bierley, and the Boroughs of Stockport and Wigan, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. Borlase and Mr. Stansfeld.

Bill *presented,* and read the first time. [Bill 269.]

### MERCHANT SHIPPING (FISHING BOATS) ACTS AMENDMENT BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Mundella, Bill to amend the provisions of the Merchant Shipping (Fishing Boats) Acts, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. Mundella and Mr. Acland.

Bill *presented,* and read the first time. [Bill 274.]

### GLEBE LANDS (NO. 2) BILL.

On Motion of Dr. Foster, Bill to facilitate the letting of Glebe Lands on lease for allotments by Incumbents of Ecclesiastical Benefices, *ordered* to be brought in by Dr. Foster, Mr. Cobb, Lord William Compton, Mr. Shirley, Captain Verney, and Mr. Pilkington.

Bill *presented,* and read the first time. [Bill 275.]

House adjourned at Four o'clock in the morning.

# HOUSE OF COMMONS,

*Friday, 11th June,* 1886.

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MINUTES.] — Select Committee — *Report*— Endowed Schools Acts [No. 191].

Supply—*considered in Committee*—£6,879,764, on Account, Civil Services and Revenue Departments; Army Estimates; Navy Estimates.

Ways and Means—*considered in Committee* — Consolidated Fund £26,993,652.

Private Bill (*by Order*)—*Second Reading* — Hull, Barnsley, and West Riding Junction Railway and Dock.

Public Bills—*Resolutions in Committee*—Public Works Loans [Advances].

*Ordered — First Reading* — Revising Barristers (Ireland) * [283]; Westminster Abbey Restoration * [284]; Metropolitan Board of Works (Money) * [285].

*First Reading*—Oxford University (Justices) * [280]; Law of Evidence Amendment * [286].

*Second Reading*—Sea Fishing Boats (Scotland) * [270]; Public Works Loans (Tramways Ireland) [259]; Merchant Shipping (Fishing Boats) Acts Amendment [274], *debate adjourned;* Customs [276]; Probation of First Offenders * [39].

*Special Report of Select Committee*—Employers' Liability Act (1880) Amendment [No. 192]; Employers' Liability Act (1880) Amendment (No. 2).

*Committee*—Tithe Rent-Charge (Extraordinary) Redemption (*re-comm.*) [264]—r.p.; Coal Mines * [92]—r.p.

*Committee—Report*—Returning Officers' Charges (Scotland) [188-281]; Poor Law Loans and Relief (Scotland) * [252]; Peterhead Harbour of Refuge (*re-comm.*) [266]; Salmon and Freshwater Fisheries (*re-comm.*) [244].

*Committee — Report — Third Reading* — Turnpike Roads (South Wales) * [260], and *passed.*

*Considered as amended—Re-committed—Committee —Report—Considered as amended*—Parliamentary Elections (Returning Officers) Act (1875) Amendment [282].

*Considered as amended—Third Reading*—Medical Acts Amendment * [163], and *passed.*

*Third Reading*—Conveyancing (Scotland) Acts Amendment [251]; Land Tax Commissioners' Names * [113], and *passed.*

*Withdrawn*—Burial Grounds * [131]; Lunacy Acts Amendment * [198]; Coal Mines Regulation * [217]; Glebe Lands * [93].

Provisional Order Bills — *Ordered — First Reading*—Local Government (No. 11) * [277]; Public Health (Scotland) (Urray Water) * [279]; Electric Lighting * [278].

*Considered as amended*—Local Government (Ireland (Fermoy) * [226].

*Third Reading*—Local Government (Ireland) (Public Health Act) * [239]; Local Government (County Divisions) * [225]; Local Government (Highways) * [235]; Local Government (Poor Law) (No. 7) * [236]; Local Government (No. 3) * [223]; Local Government (No. 4) * [224]; Local Government (No. 5) * [237], and *passed.*

## *PRIVATE BUSINESS.*

—o—

### HULL, BARNSLEY, AND WEST RIDING JUNCTION RAILWAY AND DOCK BILL [*Lords*] (*by Order*).

SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."—(*Sir Charles Forster.*)

Mr. CODDINGTON (Blackburn): Sir, I feel it my duty as an independent Member of this House to oppose the second reading of this Bill, and in doing so I think it is necessary that I should tell the House what the history of this Hull and Barnsley Railway is. I believe it is very well known to the House that there have already been some extraordinary proceedings, giving rise to great scandal, in connection with this line. The Company were incorporated in 1880 for the purpose of making and maintaining railways in the West Riding of Yorkshire, and thence to Hull, with a dock and other works in connection with them at Hull. The share capital was fixed at £3,000,000, with a borrowing power of £1,000,000. In 1882 the Company were authorized to extend their railways to Huddersfield and Halifax, to raise further capital amounting to £2,400,000, and to borrow £800,000. In 1883 the Company were authorized to raise an additional sum of £600,000, and to borrow on mortgage £200,000. In the following year—1884—the Hull and Barnsley Railway Company applied for power to borrow £1,500,000 on debenture stock, which was to be first debenture stock; but the Committee to whom the Bill was referred decided that it should be second debenture stock, and at that time it was stated by the representatives of the Company that no further money would be wanted. The Company now, however, come to Parliament again and ask this House for power to raise further capital to the extent of £500,000. They do not seek to raise this £500,000 in the ordinary form by the issue of stock to the amount of £500,000, but they ask the House to allow them to raise the money in the following form:—

"That the Company may, from time to time, create and issue preference shares or preference stock to such nominal amount as shall be sufficient to produce at the price at which the same are issued the sum of £500,000."

So that if this Company is, as it is notorious it is, in a state of bankruptcy and cannot raise this £500,000 at the ordinary price, they must raise it at any price they can. I think they will do very well if they raise it at 50 per cent discount; and, presuming that they succeed in raising it at a discount of 50 per cent, they will have to create preference stock over the ordinary shareholders to the extent of £1,000,000. That £1,000,000 will in reality only produce £500,000; but I think I am even taking a most favourable view of the prospects of the Company in regard to the raising of the money when I say that they will be able to raise it even at a discount of 50 per cent. Some people estimate that they will have considerable difficulty in raising it even at a discount of 75 per cent, so that it may require the creation of preference stock to the extent of nearly £2,000,000 before the Company will succeed in obtaining the £500,000 they ask for. There is another fact which I desire to place before the House. The railway was opened for traffic in July, 1885, and the traffic receipts have been £54,000, but out of that sum £48,000 are estimated to be necessary to cover the working expenses of the line. If so, the net receipts of the first five and a-half months after the opening of the line have amounted only to £6,000. Even that is simply an estimate, after allowing for certain sums which ought to have been placed to the account of revenue, but which have really been placed to the capital account—consisting of auditors' fees, rates and taxes, land tax, interest on bank balance, and various other items. The total amount of these items is £12,700, so that instead of the Hull and Barnsley Company having made a net profit of £6,700, which they show upon their balance account, they have made an absolute loss of £6,000—that is to say, that the working expenses were £6,000 more than the absolute receipts. Out of the working expenses of £48,000, it is estimated that more than £20,000 go in the salaries of directors, secretary, manager, clerks, and other officers, so that nearly one-half of the whole expenditure upon the line is consumed on what is called non-profitable work. The amount of money already received by the Company has been £5,500,000, and allowing £1,485,000, which they say the dock works at Hull cost, there has been an expenditure of £4,000,000 of money upon the construction of the line alone. The line is 66 miles in length, so that it has cost upon the average £58,000 a-mile. When I tell the House that this line runs entirely through an agricultural district, that the town of Hull is the only important town which it touches, that in that town there is as yet only a temporary station, that with the exception of Hull there is not a single town of any importance, or containing more than 2,000 inhabitants, upon the line, that all the rest of it runs through a purely agricultural district, and that the present terminus of the railway is in the middle of a field, I think the House will be prepared to agree with me that an outlay of £58,000 a-mile is a most extravagant one. Then, again, this expenditure includes nothing on account of rolling stock, because almost the whole of the rolling stock has been bought on deferred payments, and the money is still owing for that stock. While this line, passing exclusively through a purely agricultural district, has cost for construction £58,000 a-mile, the Lancashire and Yorkshire Railway, which goes through a series of large towns from one end to the other, only cost the same sum per mile; the London and North-Western Railway cost £48,000 per mile; the London and North-Eastern, £41,000 per mile; and the Great Northern, £32,000 per mile; so that it must be clear to the House that the expenditure upon the construction of the Hull and Barnsley Railway has been at a most extravagant rate. The contractors and everbody connected with it must have got enormous sums out of it. But what is the object of raising this additional capital? The original capital of the Company was fixed at £3,000,000, and the original debenture stock was £1,000,000. At the time of the passing of the Act in 1883 to authorize a second issue of debenture stock to the amount of £1,500,000 the original shares were worth from £35 to £40 per £100. Therefore, out of the £5,500,000 of capital the original shares were only worth £1,100,000. To-day they are marked at £17, so that the total value of the original shares is only some £510,000, thus showing that the issue of £1,500,000 of Debenture Stock in 1884 with the sanction of this House has resulted in the depreciation of the ordinary share capital from more than £1,100,000 to something like £500,000. The interest upon the two Debenture Stocks amounts to £120,000 a-year, and the Company propose to pay out of the capital which they now propose to raise—namely, £500,000—a sum of £180,000 for

"The payment of interest already due or about to become due upon any Debentures or Debenture Stock of the Company for the time being, but not exceeding in the whole £180,000."

It must, therefore, be quite clear to the House what the object of the Company is in raising this additional £500,000—namely, to enable them to pay interest upon the Debenture Stock, and thus prevent them from going into bankruptcy. Now, I admit that this may possibly enable them to carry on the line for a year and a-half or two years; but I maintain that they will be doing so at the expense of the original shareholders. The £3,000,000 of original Stock, now worth £500,000, will probably, if this additional sum of money is raised, not be worth £100,000. But it is incredible to suppose that if this Bill is passed the public will be induced to subscribe their money. But we know how dull they are; and, therefore, I feel it my duty, as an independent Member of this House, to raise my voice against what I consider to be a Bill which, if passed, will lead to the total loss of the money which these unfortunate people have been induced to subscribe towards the capital of this railway. I think it is only right that the House should protest against any such unfair proceeding, and I therefore trust that the Bill will be thrown out upon the second reading. In order to afford the House an opportunity of expressing its opinion I beg to move, as an Amendment, that the Bill be read a second time upon this day three months.

SIR RICHARD TEMPLE (Worcestershire, Evesham) seconded the Amendment.

Amendment proposed to leave out the word "now," and at the end of the Question to add the words "upon this day three months."—(*Mr. Coddington.*)

Question proposed, "That the word 'now' stand part of the Question."

MAJOR DICKSON (Dover): I rise for the purpose of moving the adjournment of the debate. The opposition to this Bill has taken the promoters entirely by surprise. They were not aware that there was going to be any opposition raised to it until about 3 o'clock this afternoon. Perhaps I may inform the House that the Bill has already passed through the House of Lords, where it was carefully examined, and all its provisions investigated by the late Lord Redesdale, and we all know with what a critical eye he looked into these matters. It has also passed through a Committee under the Duke of Buckingham; and, therefore, I had hoped that when the Bill came on for a second reading in this House the House would have been prepared to endorse the action of those two noble Lords. In order to give time to the promoters of the Bill to meet the opposition which has been suddenly sprung upon them, I beg to move that the debate be adjourned until Wednesday next.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Debate be now adjourned."—(*Major Dickson.*)

SIR JOSEPH PEASE (Durham, Barnard Castle): In reference to the Motion of the hon. and gallant Member for Dover (Major Dickson), I wish to point out that the adjournment of the debate until Wednesday next would entail considerable inconvenience upon Members of the House, many of whom, in the peculiar circumstances of the hour, feel it incumbent on them to go down into the country to look after their constituents. It certainly seems to me that if the House is to deal with the provisions of this Bill it is better to deal with them at once, while there is a good attendance of Members in the House, rather than a week hence, when the attendance of Members is likely to be very much less. If the Bill has any merits at all they had better be discussed now. As my hon. Friend the Member for Blackburn (Mr. Coddington) has pointed out, there is no objection to the working provisions of the Bill; but the measure also involves a question of railway morality and finance. That is the question which my hon. Friend has brought before the House, and I believe that we are in a position to consider it fully now. I therefore trust that the hon. and gallant Member for Dover (Major Dickson) will allow us to go on with the discussion, and withdraw the Motion for the adjournment of the debate.

THE CHAIRMAN OF WAYS AND MEANS (Mr. COURTNEY) (Cornwall, Bodmin): I think the hon. and gallant Member for Dover (Major Dickson) should have stated some more adequate reason than that which he has given for proposing the adjournment of the debate. No doubt, under ordinary circumstances, it might be a good and sufficient reason that the opposition raised to the Bill has come upon the promoters by surprise; but I am afraid that the House will not be in any degree in a better position to consider the provisions of this Bill next Wednesday than it is now. I would, therefore, suggest to the hon. and gallant Member that he should withdraw the Motion, and allow the Bill to be discussed on its merits. There is nothing whatever to prevent the House from coming to a decision now. No doubt, this is the case of a Railway Company which finds itself in a very embarrassed position; but although the facts stated by the hon. Member for Blackburn (Mr. Coddington) are undoubtedly correct, it must be remembered that the Bill has already been carefully considered and passed by the House of Lords. It therefore appears to me that it would be a rather strong measure to reject the Bill, which, after all, may be the best way out of a serious difficulty. It is quite evident that something must be done if this Railway Company are to be prevented from falling into bankruptcy.

MR. CODDINGTON (Blackburn) was understood to say that in the end bankruptcy was inevitable.

MR. COURTNEY: That may be so; but, nevertheless, it may be the best course to defer it for a time. The only question, however, that is now before the House, is whether we should come to a decision upon the merits of the Bill at once, or delay it until Wednesday. Although the hon. Member for Blackburn has shown that this is the case of an embarrassed Railway Company, he has not shown that this is not the best mode of dealing with the difficulty.

SIR WALTER B. BARTTELOT (Sussex, North-West): I had not the slightest intention of saying a single word on this question; but I was a Member of the Committee which sat upon the Bills which were promoted last year and the year before in reference to this railway. We made, as we thought, a very fair and equitable arrangement in regard to the Hull and Barnsley Railway; and we were in hopes that the Directors might be enabled, under the provisions of those Acts, to have tided over their difficulties. But it appears that this line has been most unfortunate in more than one respect.

MR. SPEAKER: I must remind the hon. and gallant Gentleman that the Question now before the House is the adjournment of the debate.

SIR WALTER B. BARTTELOT: Then I will turn to the other point. Considering the magnitude of the interests at stake in a railway of this kind, I think it would be hardly right or justifiable to propose to discuss it on its merits to-day without anyone being prepared to state the case of the promoters. I do not think the hon. Baronet the Member for Durham (Sir Joseph Pease) will feel that it would be quite right to reject a scheme which has cost so much money, and in which the interests of so many people are at stake, or that it should be dealt with in a hurried way in a thin House. It may be that Wednesday next may be an awkward day for taking the discussion. I say nothing upon that point; but, unfortunately, we have no other day—no other day is so available; but it might be put down for Thursday or Friday if that is thought better. I have no interest whatever in this railway. I do not care a single farthing about it, except in the general interest of the public. At the same time, I think it would be both unwise and unfair, considering the magnitude of the undertaking, to deny to the Company the only opportunity they may ever have of making, at any rate, another attempt to place the railway upon a satisfactory basis.

Question put.

The House *divided:*—Ayes 57; Noes 67: Majority 10.—(Div. List, No. 128.)

Original Question again proposed, "That the word 'now' stand part of the Question."

Sir JOSEPH PEASE (Durham, Barnard Castle): In the few remarks which I made just now on the Motion for the adjournment of the debate, I pointed out that the question before the House is really one of railway morality. By the general Railway Law, as the House is probably aware, a Railway Company is allowed to issue one-fourth of the amount of its capital in Debenture Bonds. This Hull and Barnsley Company, in its original Act, obtained power to raise capital to the extent of £3,000,000, and £1,000,000 in Debenture Stock on the strength of that ordinary share capital. They next came to the House of Commons with an application to allow them to pay interest out of capital during the construction of works; but that proposition was negatived by a considerable majority. They next came to the House, as my hon. Friend opposite (Mr. Coddington) has pointed out, with a Bill empowering them to raise a preferential sum of £1,500,000 in addition to the £1,000,000 already authorized to be raised in the original Bill. That proposal, as introduced, placed the new Preference Stock practically upon the same level as the original Debenture capital. The House sent that Bill to a Committee upstairs, by whom the provisions of the measure were amended. It was also altered by making the additional sum of £1,500,000 a second charge. The financial position of the Company, at the present moment, is this. It has an ordinary share capital of £3,000,000, but the shares are only worth £500,000; £1,000,000 of Original Debentures and £1,500,000 of Second Security Shares in Debentures, which are a second Preference Stock. The present Bill proposes to enable the Company to raise a further sum of £500,000 in any way they can, and it provides that one-fifth of the amount of a share shall be the greatest amount of a call; that three months at least shall be the interval between successive calls, and three-fourths of the amount of a share shall be the utmost aggregate amount of calls made in any year upon any shares; but the shares may be issued at any premium required to get them out. Therefore, it is quite possible that the Company may have to incur liabilities to the extent of another £1,000,000 before they are able to obtain the £500,000 they desire to raise. And when they have got that £500,000, how do they propose to expend it? £180,000 is to be spent in paying interest upon the first and second charge of £2,500,000 for Debenture and Preference Stock. My hon. Friend the Chairman of Ways and Means, who spoke upon the question of adjournment, seemed to think that this may be the best means of enabling the Company to get out of the mess in which they find themselves involved. That may be so; but what I wish to call attention to is that this is another instance of the inconvenience and danger of allowing interest out of capital during the construction of works. I believe that the original Stock of £3,000,000 is held largely by the working classes of Hull. The average holding in the Company is £250 per shareholder, whereas the ordinary range of the shareholders' obligations extends to £1,700 per shareholder. These poor people are almost ruined at present; but if this additional charge, which may probably, in the end, amount to £1,000,000, is to be placed in front of them, there can be nothing left of the original shares. There may be nothing left whether we pass this Bill or not; but I desire to point out to the House that while the general law allows a solvent Railway Company to raise Debenture Stock to the extent of one-fourth of its share capital, this Company was, in the first instance, allowed to raise £1,000,000 upon a share capital of £3,000,000, and that it has since been permitted to supplement its Preference Stock by an additional sum of £1,500,000. The House is now asked to sanction the creation of further Preference Shares or Stock to such nominal amount as shall be sufficient to produce £500,000, so that the preference liabilities of the Company will then be exactly equal to the amount of the original share capital. I may add that, whether the House consents to pass this Bill or not, it will make very little difference to me, or to the Railway Company with which I am connected in the immediate neighbourhood of this line. I have simply felt it my duty, in the interest of the general public, to point out these considerations to the House.

Mr. C. H. WILSON (Hull, West): The hon. Baronet who has just addressed the House is the Representative of another Railway Company which is connected with the district through which this line runs. The hon. Baronet is a Director of the North-Eastern Railway, of which I at one time was also a Director; and I know as well as he does that the reason this railway and the Docks at Hull were made was on account of the dissatisfaction of the people of Hull with the conduct of the North-Eastern Railway Company as to the way in which they conducted their business at the Port of Hull. The North-Eastern Railway possesses an unfair monopoly of the railway system of the North-Eastern Coast of England, and they have a connection with other Docks which are in direct competition with the Port of Hull. But Hull is an ancient port, with long-standing mercantile connections, and it has an enormous trade. But what have the North-Eastern Railway Company done? They have endeavoured to divert the trade of Hull to their own Northern ports, not to create a new trade, but, to a great extent, to take away the trade from Hull and to prevent its natural development.

SIR JOSEPH PEASE (Durham, Barnard Castle): Allow me to interrupt my hon. Friend. I think he is labouring under a mistake. The rates of the North-Eastern Railway at Hull for goods are exactly the same as those of the Hull and Barnsley Railway.

MR. C. H. WILSON (Hull, W.): May I give an instance? The North-Eastern Railway carry from Hull to the Barnsley Colliery District, a distance of 120 miles, by their system; whereas by the Hull and Barnsley Railway the distance is only 60 miles; but yet rates in both cases are the same. The consequence of the operations of the North-Eastern Company is that the trade which would naturally go to Hull is diverted to the Northern ports. The North-Eastern Company have also another advantage—that they have another district to serve, and they are enabled to get cargoes of coal at a cheaper rate than they could procure them in Hull, and the tolls they impose on the carriage of coals to Hull are higher than those which they impose in other parts of their Northern system. For these reasons, Hull has always been intensely dissatisfied with the conduct of the North-Eastern Railway Company, and they have endeavoured to get rid of the monopoly which that Company has so long enjoyed. At length they have succeeded in doing so by establishing the Hull and Barnsley Railway and Dock Company. But the works of the Hull and Barnsley line, like those of too many other railways, have cost a great deal too much in construction; and I do not know whether the North-Eastern Railway Company have not been, to a considerable extent, responsible for the position of the Hull and Barnsley Company at this moment in increasing the costs to which that Company have been put. It is quite true that the shares of the Hull and Barnsley Company are at this moment very much depressed; and, unless this Bill is passed, the effect will be that the Hull and Barnsley Company will have great difficulty in carrying on their business at all. No doubt, that would be all very well for the North-Eastern Railway Company, because they would get rid of a formidable competitor, and very possibly the North-Eastern Railway Company would only be too glad to continue their monopoly by buying up the Hull and Barnsley undertaking at a great sacrifice to the Hull and Barnsley shareholders. At the present moment the Docks of the Hull and Barnsley Railway at Hull are the finest on the East Coast of England. They can afford accommodation for ships of very great draught of water, and, indeed, are capable of taking in the largest of Her Majesty's ships of war, which no other Docks on the East Coast can do. The undertaking has been one of great enterprize. The arrangements made by the Bill are the best for the interests of all concerned; and I trust and feel convinced that, in making this appeal to the House in favour of the second reading of the Bill, the House will not consent, by refusing its sanction, to play into the hands of the North-Eastern Railway Company.

THE CHAIRMAN OF WAYS AND MEANS (Mr. COURTNEY) (Cornwall, Bodmin): I spoke just now on the question of adjournment, and I shall be glad now, if the House will permit me, to say a word or two on the merits of this Bill. After all, the case is a very simple one. This Company is extremely embarrassed. It owes money upon its Debenture debt, and if it is unable to effect this, or some other arrangement, the railway will be obliged to be placed in the hands of a receiver, and will have to be liquidated in bankruptcy. That, I am afraid, is the only alternative. This Bill is promoted in order to increase the borrowing powers of the Company. It proposes to create Preference Stock to the extent of £500,000 in cash to enable the Company to pay the interest already due upon the Debenture Stock of the Company, to discharge the liabilities of the Company in respect of rolling stock, and for the purchase of such new rolling stock as may be necessary for the efficient working of the line, to pay for the purchase or compensation money for lands acquired or to be acquired, and to defray the expenses of constructing warehouse and other buildings in connection with the Docks at Hull. It is believed that this sum will enable the Railway Company to weather the storm and to get into smooth water, which is impossible without this Bill or some such arrangement. The Bill itself comes down to us from the House of Lords, where it was first considered by the late Lord Redesdale, and since by the Duke of Buckingham, both of whom approved of its provisions. It is further approved by the shareholders and creditors of the Company. That being so, it does appear to me that it would be rather a strong measure for the House to refuse to this Company, dealing with its own affairs, the power of entering into a satisfactory arrangement, and to say—"You shall go into bankruptcy." Therefore, I think the burden of presumption is in favour of reading the Bill a second time. The Bill came before me some time ago; but in the event of the House consenting to read it a second time it will have to come before me again. I have no doubt that everything that ought to be considered has been considered carefully in "another place." I do not know whether what I am going to throw out will meet the views of the opponents of the measure. The proposal is to raise £500,000 in cash upon Preference Stock; but there is no limit fixed as to the terms upon which the money is to be raised. It may be that the Company are too sanguine in their anticipations, and that they think they can raise the money in the market at a lower rate of interest than will be possible. I will, therefore, make this promise to the House—that if the Bill does come before me I shall require the promoters to give me some good ground for believing that the money will be raised at something less than a ruinous rate of interest. I shall certainly be prepared to suggest that there shall be some limitation of the terms upon which the money is to be raised. These are my views upon the matter, and I have felt it my duty to explain to the House the conditions under which I should be prepared to approach the consideration of the Bill. On the whole, considering the exceptional and peculiar circumstances of the case, I think the best course would be to assent to the second reading of the Bill.

MR. J. ELLIS (Leicestershire, Bosworth): I only desire to say a word on behalf of the second reading of the Bill. I believe that the new railway was an absolute necessity, and that its construction has been for the great convenience of the traders in the centre of England. Whatever may be said about the money question, I am certain that it would be a great public advantage if the Bill should pass.

Original Question put, and *agreed to.*

Main Question put, and *agreed to.*

Bill read a second time, and *committed.*

## *QUESTIONS.*

### CRIME AND OUTRAGE (IRELAND)—THE RIOTS AT BELFAST.

MR. DE COBAIN (Belfast, E.) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If he is aware that the exasperated feeling in Belfast at present is due in great measure to the fact that in some of the concerns connected with that town Roman Catholic overseers had threatened the men under them belonging to a different faith with immediate dismissal upon the establishment of a Home Rule Parliament for Ireland; whether any information has reached him of misconduct on the part of the country police draughted into Belfast for the preservation of order in the disturbance which took place on the Shankhill Road; if an indignation meeting of the citizens of that locality, attended in great numbers by the traders and clergy of the various churches and others, has been held, calling upon the authorities to have these police removed and the military substituted for them, and demanding that investigation should be promptly made into recent occurrences in Belfast; and, what steps Her Majesty's Government propose to take in the matter?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE HOME DEPARTMENT (Mr. CHILDERS) (Edinburgh, S.): My right hon. Friend the Chief Secretary having gone to Ireland, he has asked me to reply to the Question of the hon. Member. The Government have received no official information in the sense of the first paragraph of the hon. Member's Question. As regards the second paragraph, no information of a reliable character has reached the Government of any misconduct on the part of any member of the county constabulary now serving in Belfast. As regards the third paragraph, it appears from the newspapers that such a meeting was held, and that resolutions were passed to the effect stated. But these have not been officially brought under the notice of the Government; therefore the Government can express no opinion in the matter. A resolution was, however, passed yesterday at a meeting of magistrates, presided over by the Mayor, which was brought under the notice of the Government by the senior Resident Magistrate. It was in the following terms—

> "That it is the opinion of this meeting that the county constabulary should not be used in disturbed districts unless it should become absolutely necessary, and that the local magistrates be directed to assist the resident magistrates in maintaining the peace of the town. Also that, the aid of the military having been called in, it be approved of."

On receipt of this the following message was sent by the Irish Government to the senior Resident Magistrate—

> "While the views of the local magistrates should have every attention paid to them, it is absolutely necessary that the most energetic measures should be taken to preserve the peace of the town, and the large extra force of police sent there for this purpose must, of course, be further utilized for that purpose. The association of local magistrates with the resident magistrates will, it is hoped, be productive of good."

This instruction was acted upon, and all the available force with police and military were employed in the streets. The Government have the fullest confidence in the Royal Irish Constabulary, and have no intention, so long as disturbances continue in Belfast requiring the presence of an extra force, that their services should not be utilized to the fullest extent.

MR. T. M. HEALY (Londonderry, S.): I should like to ask the right hon. Gentleman, whether he is aware that the Mayor of Belfast, who presided over the meeting of magistrates yesterday and called for the removal of the police, is himself a proprietor of the works of Harland and Wolff, which contain almost every one of the rowdies who were attacked by the police?

MR. W. O'BRIEN (Tyrone, S.): I should like to know, whether it is not notorious that several of the local magistrates who passed this resolution are themselves Orangemen, some of them being Grand Masters of Orange Lodges; and whether the conduct complained of on the part of the county constabulary was not caused by their attempt to protect defenceless Nationalist families and to repel the ruffians who attacked them?

MR. CHILDERS: As to the first Question, I presume the answer would be yes; but I have no official information on the subject. All the information I have is that supplied by the newspapers. As to the second Question, I am afraid I cannot answer it, because at the Home Office we do not keep lists of Orangemen or Orange Lodges in Ireland.

MR. SEXTON (Sligo, S.): I beg to ask the right hon. Gentleman, whether the Government have any information that there was further wrecking and pillaging of houses last night; whether the movement has now assumed the threatening and serious aspect of plunder; and whether the meeting referred to by the hon. Gentleman above the Gangway (Mr. De Cobain) passed this resolution—

> "That this meeting strongly condemns the conduct of those who attacked the houses and destroyed the property of innocent and inoffensive people residing in their midst;"

and in the opinion of the gentlemen who moved that resolution the fault of the police appeared to be that they fired on the mob, because he said if the shots had been fired in the direction of the rowdies it would have been all right?

MR. CHILDERS: I am afraid that it is not quite germane to the Question, and that I ought not to answer it at this moment. If the hon. Member will ask me whether we have received information from Belfast as to what happened last night or to-day, I will give him all the information we possess.

Mr. T. M. HEALY: Is the right hon. Gentleman in a position to say whether the man shot at Monaghan by the Orangemen has since died?

Mr. CHILDERS: I am not quite certain. Certainly one man injured has not died.

## PALACE OF WESTMINSTER—VENTILATION OF THIS HOUSE.

Mr. RADCLIFFE COOKE (Newington, W.) asked the honourable Member for North West Staffordshire, Whether the recommendations in the Second Report of the Select Committee on the Ventilation of the House, which said recommendations involve remedial works which the Committee declare it to be urgently necessary to proceed with without delay, inasmuch as

> "the health of Members of Parliament and of the Officers who reside within the precincts of the Palace at Westminster is seriously imperilled by the defective drainage and sanitary arrangements which now exist in the building,"

will all or some of them, and, if so, which of them, be carried out between the date of the Dissolution of the present Parliament and the assembling of the new Parliament; and, whether in the Vote on Account it is proposed to include the sum of £13,265, that being the estimated cost of such remedial works?

Mr. LEVESON GOWER (A Lord of the Treasury) (Stafford, N.W.): As I have already stated to the House, orders have been given for the carrying out of those recommendations of the Committee which it was possible to undertake immediately. These works cannot, of course, now be completed, as had been intended, during the Whitsuntide Recess; but they can be carried on when the House is not actually sitting, and will be finished without delay. With regard to the larger operations recommended by the Committee, I have to point out that the Estimates are approximate only, and that the period of two years is stated in the Report as the time that will be required for the execution of the works. The First Commissioner has thought it desirable to obtain more precise information on the question of cost, and he has requested Mr. Shone, the inventor of the system recommended by the Committee, to furnish him with a Report on this subject, and as to how the system, if adopted, could be most speedily and effectually brought into operation. He hopes to obtain this Report before the Dissolution, and to be in a position to lay a definite statement before the House. As no payment is likely to be made in respect of these works at present, it will be unnecessary to include any special sum in the Vote on Account.

## WAR OFFICE—REGIMENTAL (YEOMANRY) BAND AT A POLITICAL MEETING.

Mr. LABOUCHERE (Northampton) asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether he is aware that, at a meeting of the Hertfordshire Primrose League Habitations, to be held in Hatfield Park on Saturday 12th June, it is announced that the "Hertfordshire Band will march from Hatfield Station to Hatfield Park," and that this Band is, it is understood, a Yeomanry Band; and, whether he will take steps to prevent this Band appearing in the uniform of Her Majesty's Forces at this Conservative Demonstration?

The SECRETARY of STATE (Mr. Campbell-Bannerman) (Stirling, &c.): No, Sir; I was not aware of the circumstances referred to by my hon. Friend. I have no reason to suppose that the Herefordshire band is identical with the Yeomanry band. I cannot believe that the Yeomanry band could have been granted leave to attend at such a meeting after the Circular Letter which His Royal Highness the Commander-in-Chief has recently sent to officers commanding districts calling their attention to the Regulations on this subject.

## EAST INDIA RAILWAYS (LOANS) BILL.

Mr. BUCHANAN (Edinburgh, W.) asked the Under Secretary of State for India, Whether he intends to proceed with the East India Railways (Loans) Bill; if so, whether he will state on what Railways the Indian Government intend to spend the money borrowed; and, what is the amount of unexpended borrowing power under previous Acts at present in the hands of the Secretary of State in Council?

The UNDER SECRETARY (Mr. Stafford Howard) (Gloucester, Thornbury): No, Sir; it is not intended to proceed with the East India Railways (Loan) Bill. The money which it is proposed to take powers to borrow under the

Bill would not be spent directly by the Indian Government. Large sums have been raised from time to time by Guaranteed Companies on Bonds or Debentures for the purpose of constructing, extending, and equipping railways in India; and the Secretary of State is advised that the charge on the Revenues of India would be less if such moneys were in future raised by him directly, and lent to the respective Companies. The object of the Bill was to enable him to raise money accordingly, its application being limited to this specific purpose, and to the discharge of Debentures already issued by Companies. The amount of unexpended borrowing power under previous Acts, at present in the hands of the Secretary of State in Council, is about £7,500,000; but it was never intended by Parliament that this money should be devoted to the purposes contemplated in the Bill.

### ARMY (AUXILIARY FORCES)—VOLUNTEER CAPITATION GRANT.

MR. DONALD CRAWFORD (Lanark, N.E.) asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether he has obtained the Returns relative to the Volunteer Capitation Grant, which he announced his intention of calling for; and, when there is a prospect of a decision being come to as to the increase of the Grant?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN) (Stirling, &c.): A decision cannot be formed until all the Returns have been received and duly analyzed for consideration. At present I have only received 170 answers out of 290; but I hope that the corps which have not yet sent in their Returns will furnish them without much longer delay.

### ROMAN CATHOLIC DISABILITIES REMOVAL ACT—THE VICEROY OF IRELAND.

MR. JOHNSTON (Belfast, S.) asked the First Lord of the Treasury, If it is a fact that, on the occasion of his recent visit to Cork, the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland knelt before the altar in the Roman Catholic Cathedral; and, if so, whether such an act was in consonance with the Law which requires that the Viceroy of Ireland should be a Protestant?

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR: Before the right hon. Gentleman answers that Question, I should like to ask whether he is aware that the late Lord Beaconsfield, on the occasion of an interesting marriage at Kensington, attended the Roman Catholic Pro-Cathedral, and was seen to kneel before the altar?

THE FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY (Mr. W. E. GLADSTONE) (Edinburgh, Mid Lothian): I am equally unable to answer the supplementary Question put by the hon. Member, although I think I have heard something to that effect; and the original Question, which I was in hopes that the hon. Member opposite, upon further consideration, would not attempt to put. My answer to the Question is that I know nothing upon the subject, and that I entirely decline to make any inquiries. As a Question of this kind seems to be put with some hope of lighting anew the fire of religious discord in Ireland, and of leaving upon the person to whom it refers some shade of suspicion, I take the liberty of saying from my own knowledge, beginning at a very early period, that as I have never known a better Christian than the present Viceroy of Ireland, so, in addition to that, I have never known a more perfect Protestant.

MR. JOHNSTON: I beg to give Notice that in consequence of the answer of the right hon. Gentleman I shall call attention to this matter in the new Parliament, should the present Government, unfortunately, be then in power.

### PARLIAMENT—THE DISSOLUTION.

#### MINISTERIAL STATEMENT.

THE FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY (Mr. W. E. GLADSTONE) (Edinburgh, Mid Lothian): I wish to take the opportunity of re-stating, as the matter is one of importance, as clearly as I can the substance of what I said yesterday on the subject of the re-assembling of Parliament. What I said, I believe, was this—at all events, this I can venture without hesitation to say—if when the elections have taken place the Irish policy of the Government should have been found to be disapproved by the country, or if there should be room for doubt on that point, without question, on that ground the new Parment ought to be assembled forthwith.

SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH (Bristol, W.): So far as I am concerned, the right hon. Gentleman's statement is perfectly satisfactory.

## CUSTOMS AND INLAND REVENUE BILL —DUTIES ON SPANISH WINES.

SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH: I wish to ask the Chancellor of the Exchequer a Question with reference to the Customs Bill, the second reading of which is down for to-night—namely, Whether we are distinctly to understand that the raising of the standard of Spanish wines from 26 to 30 degrees will depend upon the confirmation by the Cortes of the Commercial Treaty with Spain?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT) (Derby): Yes, Sir; most certainly that is the case. The Treasury, as the right hon. Gentleman knows, parts with money very reluctantly, and the Government would only part with the benefit they receive from the Wine Duties at present levied in consideration of the advantage to British manufacturers. The Commercial Treaty will also be a benefit to many of our Colonies.

## CRIME AND OUTRAGE (IRELAND)— THE RIOTS AT BELFAST.

MAJOR SAUNDERSON (Armagh, N.): I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury a Question of which I have given private Notice. It is, Whether his attention has been called to a paragraph in *The Times* of this day to the effect that the Orangemen have not taken part in the recent riots in Belfast; and whether the Government intend to have a sworn inquiry into the whole circumstances?

THE FIRST LORD (Mr. W. E. GLADSTONE) (Edinburgh, Mid Lothian): I received a private note from the hon. and gallant Gentleman two or three hours ago, and I have sent him an answer which I am afraid he cannot have received. My reply, however, is this—that my right hon. Friend the Chief Secretary left London last night for Dublin for the purpose, in great part, of considering the grave occurrences which have unfortunately happened in the North of Ireland. I think the hon. and gallant Member will agree with me that it would be quite premature on my part if I were to announce until he has had the opportunity of considering the whole matter in conjunction with the permanent officers of the Government on the spot, or if I were to anticipate what conclusion may be arrived at. I do not intend, however, in the least degree to cast any reproach or any shade of disapproval on the suggestion which appears to be made by the hon. and gallant Member.

MR. SEXTON (Sligo, S.): I understood that the Home Secretary would be ready at the close of Questions to make a further statement with reference to the grave state of affairs in Belfast. I wish particularly to ask him whether the Catholics whose houses were pillaged gave any provocation; whether they or their friends have indulged in any retaliation; and whether the officials in Belfast do not recognize that the whole of these proceedings—the riots, the pillage, and the siege of the police barracks —have been conducted by the Orange faction, and have been commenced by provocative rejoicings over the defeat of the Government of Ireland Bill?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE HOME DEPARTMENT (Mr. CHILDERS) (Edinburgh, S.): I will read to the House, in reply to the hon. Member's Question, the whole of the information which has reached me from my right hon. Friend the Chief Secretary. My right hon. Friend telegraphed to me at 1 o'clock this afternoon the following:—

> "In addition to the statement made by me in the House last night, the only official information received goes to show that the rioting was continued in Belfast last night over a more extended area than on the previous night, that all available police and military were employed, and that there were no fatal results. One policeman is reported to have been shot in the face. We have a large number of very experienced magistrates in Belfast, and every requisition made by them has been promptly attended to. There are now over 1,600 constabulary in the town, the normal force being 502, and the military have been augmented by 250 men despatched from Dublin last night.

I received a second telegram at 4 o'clock this afternoon, which is as follows:—

> "Further telegrams from Belfast show no material change of any sort. The most serious rioting last night took place at York Street and Henley Street, at the junction of which the police were obliged to fire on the mob who were stoning the police and wrecking houses, and several men were more or less injured, but none seriously, so far as at present ascertained. Several of the police were knocked down before they fired. The rioting spread to other parts of the town, and several public-houses were wrecked and liquor carried away. This rioting was more directed against public-houses than against the police. Public-houses will be closed this evening, and the Mayor will

issue a notice with a view of preventing assembling of people in the streets."

That is every word I have received from the right hon. Gentleman, and I am unable to answer anything further.

Mr. SEXTON: Are we to understand that the Government find it impossible to say from what section of the populace of Belfast the riots originated?

Mr. CHILDERS: That is a totally different Question. The information I have given is all I have received. I am not in charge of the Irish Department. I have read verbatim the telegrams sent by my right hon. Friend; but when my right hon. Friend returns to his place in Parliament then will be the time for the hon. Member to put such a Question.

## *MOTION.*

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### BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE — PRECEDENCE OF COMMITTEES OF SUPPLY AND WAYS AND MEANS, AND MONEY BILLS.

Mr. STANLEY LEIGHTON (Shropshire, Oswestry) asked the hon. Member for St. Pancras, Whether he would postpone further dealing in Committee with the Tithe Rent Charge (Extraordinary) Redemption Bill until a reprint of the Bill and the Report of the Select Committee were in the hands of hon. Members?

Mr. T. H. BOLTON (St. Pancras, N.) said, he was unable to accede to the request of the hon. Member. To accept the suggestion would be equivalent to the abandonment of the Bill. He was informed that the reprint of the Bill would be in the House in the course of an hour or two.

Mr. STANLEY LEIGHTON, appealing to the Government, asked whether it was in conformity with the understanding that contentious legislation would not be pushed forward that the Government Whip should assist in a division on a Bill in charge of a private Member as occurred last night?

The SECRETARY of STATE for the HOME DEPARTMENT (Mr. Childers) (Edinburgh, S.) said, the Government considered that, in giving the support they did to the Bill in question, the principle of which was affirmed by a very large majority of the House, they were acting quite consistently with the understanding referred to.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That for the remainder of the Session the Committees of Supply and Ways and Means and all stages of Money Bills have precedence of Notices of Motion and Orders of the Day on every day on which they may be set down by the Government."—(*Mr. Gladstone.*)

Mr. T. M. HEALY (Londonderry, S.) asked what the Government proposed to do with regard to Private Bills, and he referred more especially to the Belfast Main Drainage Bill? He understood that the Government intended to give a stage to the Municipal Franchise (Ireland) Bill.

The FIRST LORD of the TREASURY (Mr. W. E. Gladstone) (Edinburgh, Mid Lothian) said, his impression was that the Municipal Franchise (Ireland) Bill was one which had received the general assent of the House. If that was not the case he was afraid he must reserve to the Government the right to consider further what course they should take in regard to it. He wished it to be remembered, however, that his statement the previous night referred to Public Bills.

Sir MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH (Bristol, W.) said, he hoped the Government would exercise such influence as they could in order to prevent any private legislation being proceeded with that could be called opposed, because it was obvious that a Parliament which was to last only for some 10 days longer ought not to undertake any such Business, whether it was in the hands of a private Member or of the Government. That was the general feeling not only in the House, but in the country; and they knew very well that if that view were not taken here it would be taken in "another place."

Mr. SEXTON reminded the Government that the Belfast Main Drainage Bill was postponed to the 21st instant, with the view that, in the meantime, the House of Lords might be afforded an opportunity of dealing with the general question of the Municipal Franchise in Ireland. If that opportunity were not afforded, or if, being afforded, the House of Lords should not make use of that opportunity, he wished to know whether they could not make further progress with the Private Bill?

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER (Sir William Harcourt) (Derby) thought they ought to have some intimation as to the attitude taken, especially on the opposite side of the House, with reference to the Irish Municipal Franchise Bill. If Gentlemen opposite were not opposing the Bill, then it would practically become a non-contentious Bill and might go on. But if they were opposing the Bill, and the Municipal Franchise (Ireland) Bill was not to be proceeded with, then, of course, hon. Members below the Gangway were restored to their former position with reference to the Belfast Main Drainage Bill.

Mr. PLUNKET (Dublin University) observed, that he knew nothing about the Belfast Main Drainage Bill; but the Municipal Franchise (Ireland) Bill was opposed both by one of the hon. Members for the City of Londonderry (Mr. Lewis) and also by the hon. and gallant Member for the Isle of Thanet (Colonel King-Harman). As he understood, their opposition was on the ground that there was a great deal of very serious matter in the Bill, and that there would not be time properly to consider it before the end of the Session. He had himself received various communications in reference to the clauses of the Bill, and it was clear it would take a good deal of time adequately to consider and discuss them. It might be taken, therefore, as an opposed Bill.

Sir JAMES FERGUSSON (Manchester, N.E.) said, he felt bound to complain that the Government had supported private Members in bringing on contentious Business at an early hour that morning, in contravention of the Prime Minister's statement. An Amendment to a Bill raising novel and contentious matter had been brought forward and discussed last night.

Mr. CHILDERS explained that the Bill, which had been taken up the previous night, had been before the House on a previous occasion, and had been read a second time and passed through Committee. Some Amendments to be added on Report had been left over.

Mr. T. M. HEALY: At the request of the Tories.

Mr. CHILDERS said, that these Amendments were considered and advanced a stage the previous night. The clause to which reference had been made was passed without a division. Considering the circumstances, he thought they were strictly bound to abide by the undertaking given.

Sir WALTER B. BARTTELOT (Sussex, North-West) said, he objected to the course which it was proposed should be adopted with regard to the proposal of the hon. Member for Northampton (Mr. Labouchere). He thought it would be strongly opposed.

Mr. PLUNKET said, it had been his privilege to be there at 4 o'clock that morning, and he had tried to understand the proposal of the Home Secretary. What they objected to was that these changes—especially of the hon. Member for Northampton, which was a very important one—should be brought forward for the first time under such circumstances. Especially so, considering what had taken place in the course of procedure upstairs.

Mr. T. M. HEALY asked, was the right hon. and learned Member in Order in referring to the proceedings of a Committee which had not yet circulated its Report among Members?

Mr. PLUNKET said, the Report had been circulated.

Mr. SPEAKER: The Report has been laid on the Table of the House, and therefore, I apprehend, the right hon. and learned Member would be in Order.

Mr. LABOUCHERE (Northampton) said, that with regard to the clause which stood in his name, he believed that they had a majority of the House last night, and could have passed it if they liked; but a desire had been expressed by hon. Members opposite that the discussion should be taken to-night, and, therefore, they had withdrawn the clause on the understanding that it should be taken to-night.

Mr. CHILDERS said, that the hon. Member was right; they had never got to the discussion of the clause last night.

Mr. STUART-WORTLEY (Sheffield, Hallam) said, it was true that he and his Friends had agreed that it should not be taken last night; but not upon any understanding that it should be taken to-night.

Sir HENRY JAMES (Bury, Lancashire) remarked that a very important question had been raised by this discussion. Two Bills had been introduced dealing with the payment of Returning Officers. One of these had been a harmless Bill which had not met with opposition, and to which he had himself given such assistance as he could in order to effect a satisfactory amendment of the Act of 1875; but now, on the Report stage of that harmless Bill, the gravest possible question of principle had been raised, and it had been sought to add a clause to the Bill which had never been the subject of discussion either on the second reading or in Committee, and which involved the very grave principle that official expenses of elections should be cast on the rates instead of upon the candidate. There was another matter. There was a Schedule coming on to alter all these charges; they could not go into Committee on that subject, but would have to deal with it on the Report stage, in which they would only be able to speak once, and would, therefore, be unable to discuss the matter properly. He did not wish to offer any factious opposition; but he had considered it right to call attention to the grave question involved in commencing on the Report stage the discussion of an entirely new matter.

Mr. DWYER GRAY (Dublin, St. Stephen's Green) said, that there had been an understanding arrived at with reference to the principle of franchise in connection with the Belfast Main Drainage Bill. The Bill was adjourned for three weeks on the general understanding, very strongly urged by hon. Gentlemen above the Gangway, that they approved unanimously of a reform in the municipal franchise in Ireland, and preferred that the larger Bill should pass the Upper House, instead of the reform being introduced into a Private Bill, referring only to a single town. The Irish Members yielded to that suggestion, and the Bill was now adjourned for three weeks. Now that they had secured that position for the Belfast Main Drainage Bill they were told hon. Members were opposed to the Municipal Franchise (Ireland) Bill, and wanted to obtain a full discussion of it. They knew what that meant. They wanted to kill the Bill. The adjournment of the Belfast Main Drainage Bill would be of no avail if it was to be included in the general Resolution which the right hon. Gentleman at the head of the Government announced—that he intended giving to Private Bills in the new Parliament the same status and position which they had occupied in this Parliament. The result would be, therefore, this—that while the Belfast Bill would be then in a position to go on, the Municipal Franchise (Ireland) Bill, notwithstanding its position, and it having passed its second reading unanimously, would be lost. He thought it was therefore only fair that the Government should give an undertaking—seeing that the Conservatives had changed their plan—that the Belfast Main Drainage Bill should not come under the Resolution regarding Private Bills which it was intended to bring forward. The only way, in fact, to do justice in regard to this matter was that if the Conservatives now thought fit to destroy the Municipal Franchise Bill, they should make them responsible by refusing to allow the Belfast Bill to pass.

Sir JAMES CORRY (Armagh, Mid) thought the proposition just made a most extraordinary one. He believed it would be most mischievous to punish the promoters of the Belfast Drainage Bill because a great many hon. Gentlemen might have something to say regarding the Municipal Franchise Bill before it passed the House.

Mr. CHANCE (Kilkenny, S.) said, he would remind the House that in connection with the contention of the right hon. and learned Member for Bury (Sir Henry James) it should not be forgotten that the Schedule was not brought on unexpectedly. The matter had been the subject of discussion for a whole Wednesday, and received the favourable consideration of a large majority of the House. At that moment he did not believe 10 Members had a single objection to the Schedule. It was a mistake to think that they would not have the fullest opportunity of discussing the Bill, in addition to the Schedule, on Report. It was competent to move an Amendment to each single item.

Mr. STANLEY LEIGHTON (Shropshire, Oswestry) complained that the Government had taken up extremely contentious matters in the small hours of the morning. What he wanted was that the right hon. Gentleman should tell them now what was going to be done, and not keep them up till 2 o'clock in the morning before they knew what was going to be done.

Mr. DILLON (Mayo, E.) said, he thought the discussion should not be allowed to drop until they got some information from the Government as to whether, in the event of the rejection of the Municipal Franchise Bill, they could defeat the Belfast Main Drainage Bill. They had no desire to defeat the Bill, but they wished hon. Gentlemen to show how much there was of *bona fides* in their promises. When they saw the Belfast Bill in danger they declared their desire to see the question of the franchise settled on a broad basis. A fair and reasonable compromise was entered into; but the moment this was done blocking Notices were put down on this Municipal Franchise Bill, so that the very Gentlemen who had expressed their desire to see the Municipal Franchise Bill were the men to come forward to block it. They wanted to know whether, if this opposition was persisted in, the Government would accept the Belfast Main Drainage Bill?

Mr. BRADLAUGH (Northampton) said, there was no doubt that there had been a vast majority of Members in the House at the time who would have supported the hon. Member who moved the rejection of the Bill if a precise understanding had not been come to. He trusted that the Government would prevent what would undoubtedly be a breach of faith.

Sir JOSEPH M'KENNA (Monaghan, S.) said, that this was really a public question, inasmuch as it was proposed that a large sum of public money should be levied and expended by a small and by no means popular body.

Mr. T. P. O'CONNOR (Liverpool, Scotland) said, he could confirm what had been said regarding the compromise come to with reference to this Bill.

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER (Sir William Harcourt) (Derby) thought there could be no doubt that in this matter those who were opposing the Belfast Main Drainage Bill were placed in a position of the most unfair disadvantage, because two different kinds of language had been held on the Front Bench opposite. The right hon. Member for Hampshire (Mr. Sclater-Booth) had strongly supported the extension of the Irish municipal franchise, and the right hon. and learned Member for the University of Dublin (Mr. Plunket) had declared war against it. The question, however, was how they were to deal with the Belfast Drainage Bill. He did not know whether the opponents of the Bill desired that it should be rejected entirely, or only that a clause should be grafted upon it. He understood that they would be satisfied with the latter course. The Order might be discharged; but it was for those who were interested in the matter, and who knew more about it than he did, to say what course ought to be taken under the circumstances of the breaking of the engagement which had been made.

Mr. SCLATER-BOOTH (Hants, Basingstoke) thought it would be extremely unjust to the promoters of the Bill now to discharge the Order, which had been postponed till a certain day.

Mr. BIGGAR (Cavan, W.) said, he held that the promoters of the Bill would not, under the circumstances, have the slightest right to complain of the entire loss of the Bill this Session.

Motion *agreed to.*

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## SUPPLY — MINISTERIAL STATEMENT.

The SECRETARY to the TREASURY (Mr. Henry H. Fowler) (Wolverhampton, E.) said, he wished to explain what the Government intended to do in Committee of Supply that night, as the House was anxious at the close of the Sitting to adjourn for the holidays. In Committee of Supply last night a considerable sum was voted for the Navy, and quite sufficient to carry them over for all purposes to the 31st of October; but there were several Votes for the Navy on account of which no sum had been voted already, and unless some money was voted for those Services, and the items appeared in the Appropriation Act, it would not be in their power technically to transfer money that had been voted under one head to another in the course of the financial year. Therefore, they wanted a nominal vote of £1,000 on each of those Navy Votes in order to comply with the technical requirements of the Appropriation Act. The Secretary of State for War would follow the same course in regard to the Army Estimates.

Mr. W. H. SMITH (Strand, Westminster) said, he assented to the course just indicated by the Secretary to the Treasury, by which he observed that no hon. Member would be precluded from hereafter raising any question of principle when the substantive Votes came to be taken in the new Parliament.

## ADJOURNMENT OF THE HOUSE—APPOINTMENT OF COMMISSIONERS UNDER THE CROFTERS (SCOTLAND) ACT.

Dr. RODERICK MACDONALD (Ross and Cromarty) rose in his place, and asked leave to move the Adjournment of the House for the purpose of discussing a definite matter of urgent public importance—namely, the appointment of Commissioners under the Crofters (Scotland) Act of this Session.

But, the pleasure of the House not having been signified,

Mr. SPEAKER called on those Members who supported the Motion to rise in their places:—

And, not less than 40 Members having accordingly risen in their places:—

Dr. RODERICK MACDONALD said, he was sorry to say that this was the only means left to him, as a Crofter Representative, to bring this matter before the House and the country. It was well known to the House that they had had some trouble on this subject some time back. They had heard that certain Commissioners had been appointed, and they made all the fight they could to prevent their appointment. A great delay took place, and in the meantime the votes of the Crofter Representatives were given for a certain Bill in that House; but the Government had adhered to their former tactics in this matter. He had often said to the House before that that the Act itself was bad enough; but it was now going to be made ten times worse by the appointment of Commissioners who had not got in any way the confidence of the crofters. He was afraid the Act would become a dead letter entirely. To his mind it was very doubtful whether, in a great many instances, the people would take any notice of the Commission at all, because they did not think it would do justice to them. They had heard a great deal in that House lately of the wishes of the people being expressed through their Representatives. He thought, if that was true of any part of this country, it was true of the Highlands of Scotland. But when they came to set this Act agoing they found that their wishes were ignored, and that they were not allowed to have any say whatever in the matter, although they were entirely at one in regard to it with one exception—that of the noble Marquess the Member for Sutherland (the Marquess of Stafford). The Prime Minister, speaking on the Irish Question the other evening, said he had no right to assume that the Parnellite Members did not speak the mind of the decided majority of the Irish people. But, although the Crofter Members spoke the mind of the majority of the people in the Highlands, their wishes were entirely ignored and scouted by the Government. They found that the Commissioners who were appointed to carry out this Act were the nominees of landlords in the Highlands, and not only so, but, as the people believed, the nominees of landlords who were unsuccessful at the recent elections in the Highland counties. If landlords, because they were landlords, were to wield the influence of the Government in this way, they might as well disfranchise the Highlands altogether, and the time of the House had been entirely thrown away in regard to this matter. Let them look at the difference between the Crofter Representatives and the Irish Representatives. The former were weak, and it was supposed that they could be trampled on by the Government as they liked. There was a day when Ireland was weak and was trampled upon, and this was the best means the Government could use to increase the number of Crofter Representatives from the Highlands, and from other parts of the country in which the crofters had not yet risen against the landlords' tyranny. The proposed message of peace to the Highlands had been cut and carved in every way during its progress through that House, and now it was to be worked in an impossible way. The Lord Advocate for Scotland had done more to alienate the people of the Highlands from Radicalism, and from the present Government, than anything else that had been done in that House, because everything had been done against the wishes of the Crofter Representatives. He dared say Gentlemen on the opposite side of the House would not be sorry to hear that opinion in the Highlands was going over to their side. The belief was that they had got the Bill, bad as it was, from the Liberals, and when the Tories came in they would get the money, and it would be all right. That was the feeling in the Highlands now. The people of Scotland, and Highlanders in particular, were simply in the position of the Irish. They had a Dublin Castle in Scotland, too, in the form of an Edinburgh Parliament House, who did as they liked. It was an Augean stable which Scottish Home Rule would very soon clear out, because they held that these Gentlemen were not in accord with the people in any way whatever. They had asked the Government—and they thought it a very reasonable proposal—that they should at least have some representation on this Commission in whom the people would have confidence. They had tried all they could to get two Representatives on the Commission, for they knew that the Gentlemen at the head of the Commission would be in favour of the landlords. They had not succeeded in that, and the matter had gone so far that he himself, no later than Saturday last, had asked the Secretary for Scotland to give them one Representative on the Commission, and they would be satisfied. But they had not got even one man, and those who had been appointed were the friends and *protégés* of the landlords. He hoped the House would show its sense of the disgraceful manner in which they had been treated by the Government in giving them this one-sided Commission, that would only cause irritation, instead of doing any good. He moved the adjournment of the House.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That this House do now adjourn."—(*Dr. Roderick Macdonald.*)

Mr. E. ROBERTSON (Dundee) said, that when the Question was put he rose for the purpose of giving his hon. Friend the opportunity he desired to call attention to the subject; but he must express his disappointment that the hon. Member was one of only two Crofter Representatives who took sufficient interest in the question to be present on the occasion. [Dr. Macdonald: There is another.] He would go with his hon. Friend so far as to say that he thought the Government, both in the conduct of the Bill through the House and in the appointment of the Commissioners, would have acted wisely if they had given a little more consideration to the Crofter Members, and, he would say, to the Radical Party. He observed that the Legal Commissioner was to have a salary of £1,200 a-year, and that the gentleman nominated for the appointment was Mr. Brand, who was described as Sheriff of Ayrshire. He did not mean to say that Mr. Brand was an inmate of the Augean stable to which his hon. Friend had referred; but he wished to know whether the Government had made any special arrangement with the learned gentleman? He understood that Edinburgh was more fortunate than they were in this part of the world, inasmuch as there was an office for every three members of the Profession. Apparently, from the pluralism that was exhibited on this occasion, there were more offices than candidates. What he wanted to know was whether they were going to give Mr. Brand the total aggregate salary of the two offices for duties which, put together, were not likely to be excessive?

The SOLICITOR GENERAL for SCOTLAND (Mr. Asher) (Elgin, &c.) said, he regretted the Lord Advocate was unavoidably absent to-night, because, from the close attention he had given to matters connected with the Crofters Bill, he would have been more competent to reply to the observations that had just been made. But he was glad to think that those observations were not of such a serious character as to impose any great difficulty upon the Representative of the Government who required to reply to them. He also regretted that the hon. Member for Ross-shire (Dr. Macdonald) had thought it necessary to bring this matter forward, because he quite agreed with him that it was extremely desirable that this Commission and the Crofters Bill should be started under circumstances calculated to inspire confidence throughout the whole of the crofter community; and he hoped, in spite of what was taking place now, that the Commission, when it did enter upon its duties, would possess and receive that confidence. He was not quite sure, from his hon. Friend's remarks, whether he took exception to the Commission as a whole or only to one or more Members of it. With regard to the appointment of Mr. Brand, anyone who had to do with legal matters in Scotland would not hesitate at once to acknowledge that the Government and the crofters were extremely fortunate in having been able to secure the services, as Legal Commissioner, of Mr. Brand. He had been a member of the Scottish Bar for upwards of 20 years, and had filled the office of Advocate Depute for a considerable number of years, during which he (Mr. Asher) had had numerous opportunities of appreciating his high legal qualifications. Mr. Brand had also filled the office of Principal Sheriff of Ayrshire, and he had only heard one account of the admirable manner in which he had discharged the duties of that office. In regard to Mr. Hossack, he had been very much surprised to hear the hon. Member declare that the gentlemen who had been chosen were the nominees of landlords, and defeated landlords. Amongst other recommendations which were put before the Government in support of Mr. Hossack's appointment were one by the hon. Member for Argyllshire (Mr. Macfarlane), and another by the hon. Member for the Wick Burghs (Mr. Macdonald Cameron), who was sitting at that moment beside the hon. Member for Ross-shire. Besides these recommendations, there was a body of testimony absolutely irresistible in support of the ability and capacity of Mr. Hossack to discharge the duties of a Commissioner under the Bill. With regard to the appointment of Mr. M'Intyre, farmer, of Findon, in Ross-shire, there had also been a very large body of testimony in his favour, and that of an extremely varied character. His hon. Friend was quite aware that a very short time ago opposition was offered on behalf of certain representatives of the crofters to Mr. M'Intyre's appointment, and it had also got abroad that certain other gentlemen were specially favoured by certain representatives of the crofters. It was, of course, the duty of the Secretary for Scotland to take into consideration all the material brought under his notice affecting the eligibility of the different gentlemen who were suggested; and he thought it right to say that his noble Friend (the Earl of Dalhousie) had for a considerable time past devoted great attention to this matter, with, he was certain, the single and sole desire to secure the services of the very best men. But what he wanted to point out was this—that when it got abroad that opposition was being offered to the appointment of Mr. M'Intyre, of Findon, a very curious circumstance took place. A small number of communications were received, chiefly by telegram, at the Scottish Office objecting to the appointment, and it was observed that these came chiefly from the neighbourhood of the other two gentlemen whose names had been suggested. On the other hand, there came an overwhelmingly larger number of telegrams from a great variety of places in Ross-shire, Sutherlandshire, Skye, and other parts of Inverness-shire, from single crofters, and from several crofters telegraphing together, stating that they had unbounded confidence in Mr. M'Intyre, and that the Government could not by any possibility get a man who would be be more acceptable to the crofter community. He did not for a moment suggest that Mr. M'Intyre's appointment was founded upon these telegrams; there was much more reliable material than that available to the Secretary for Scotland to enable him to make up his mind in this important matter; but it certainly was satisfactory that there was this perfectly voluntary and independent testimony from such a large number of quarters in support of the view which the Secretary for Scotland had made up his mind to adopt. He had stated all that he had to say in support of what the Government had done. He repeated that the matter had received the most careful and anxious consideration with the view of securing the very best men possible; and he had the greatest hope that it would be found that those who had been selected were perfectly qualified for the office, and that they would by their action immediately secure the confidence of the whole community interested in the effective administration of the Act.

Mr. E. ROBERTSON reminded the Solicitor General for Scotland that he had not answered his question with regard to the financial arrangement.

Mr. ASHER said, that the financial arrangements were not absolutely completed at that moment. The terms of the remuneration, he understood, had not yet been adjusted with the Commissioners; but he might say that it was in the contemplation of the Government that the salary of the Legal Commissioner should be £1,200 a-year, which would secure that the services of Sheriff Brand would be given to the utmost extent necessary for the discharge of his duties under the Act.

Mr. E. ROBERTSON said, his question was whether Sheriff Brand was to receive the aggregate salary of the two offices.

Mr. ASHER said, that was so; and he might add that the Government contemplated fixing the salary of £800 a-year to each of the Lay Commissioners.

Dr. CAMERON (Glasgow, College) wished to call attention to the unbusiness-like manner in which this arrangement had been made. They had got Commissioners appointed, and a formal announcement was made on the subject; but no financial arrangement had been made with regard to their salaries. It turned out that it was intended to pay a double salary to the Legal Commissioner.

Mr. ASHER said, it was certainly not contemplated that Sheriff Brand should resign his office as Sheriff of Ayrshire. Hon. Members from Scotland must be aware that the office of Principal Sheriff was held by a practising member of the Bar, and his exclusive services could not be obtained for £700 a-year. Sheriff Brand would retain his appointment as Sheriff, while at the same time performing his duties as Legal Commissioner; but, of course, the other duties which he had performed along with those of the Sheriffship would now have to give way.

Mr. E. ROBERTSON asked whether it was proposed to give the Legal Commissioner, as reported among the Scottish Members, not £1,900 a-year, which was the aggregate of the two salaries, but some smaller amount?

Dr. CAMERON said, he did not object to the appointment of Sheriff Brand, who was an excellent and capable man; but he thought it would have been most desirable, when they were entering into an engagement of this exceptional character, if the Representatives of the Scottish Office had been able to assure the House that the arrangement had been gone about in a business-like fashion.

The SECRETARY to the TREASURY (Mr. Henry H. Fowler) (Wolverhampton, E.) said, that the Treasury were responsible for the financial arrangement, and not the Scottish Office. The Treasury had not had a conflict with the Scottish Office on the subject. They had dealt with them as they dealt with other Departments, and they had endeavoured to apportion what they considered proper salaries for the work to be done. The Irish Land Commissioners had £3,000 a-year; but the Treasury in this case considered that they would not be justified in allowing a maximum salary of more than £2,000 a-year to the Chief Commissioner. They required the Chief Commissioner to abstain from all private practice; they did not interfere with his Sheriffship. His salary as Sheriff would be taken into consideration, and in no case would he be allowed to receive more than £2,000 a-year. He believed the present emolument of Mr. Brand as Sheriff was £700; and the Treasury considered that they had made a business-like and economical bargain.

Motion, by leave, *withdrawn.*

## *ORDERS OF THE DAY.*

—o—

### SUPPLY.—COMMITTEE.

Order for Committee read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair."

### ARMY—REGIMENTAL CANTEENS.

#### OBSERVATIONS.

Mr. SCLATER-BOOTH (Hants, Basingstoke) said, he rose to call attention to the management of regimental canteens. A very strong feeling had arisen against what was regarded as an unfair system of exclusive trading. The officers who managed the canteens obtained their supplies from the Army and Navy Stores; and, as they were presumably shareholders in those stores, there was reasonable irritation on the part of local traders, who otherwise might supply the canteens. It was desirable that the conduct and motives of the officers who managed the canteens should be above suspicion, particularly as the soldiers were, if not obliged, yet induced by circumstances which amounted almost to pressure, to spend their money at the canteens. He hoped the subject would receive attention during the Recess.

The SECRETARY of STATE for WAR (Mr. Campbell-Bannerman) (Stirling, &c.) said, his attention had been drawn to this subject by the right hon. Gentleman and also by some other Members of the House; and he had found in the War Office a somewhat lengthy correspondence between the right hon. Gentleman and the late Secretary of State for War. The military canteens were maintained by the troops themselves, who, he believed, upon the whole were very well content with the way in which they were managed. The right hon. Gentleman had brought forward a side of the question which injuriously affected his constituents in Aldershot, and against which it was alleged the soldiers sometimes protested. It was that, instead of being allowed to deal with the local traders, the canteens obtained their goods from cooperative societies and other such establishments. He was himself entirely in favour of the system of open tender as far as it could be employed; but a canteen was under the control of a canteen committee, who were practically independent of the authorities. He did not wish to dissociate himself from responsibility in the matter, or to throw responsibility upon others; neither did he desire to interfere more than was absolutely necessary with the discretion of the canteen committees. At the same time, he had every disposition to see that the whole system was managed in such a way as not only to avoid abuse, but also to give satisfaction and contentment to the soldiers who dealt with the canteens.

Mr. CRILLY (Mayo, N.) protested, in the name of some Irish traders in garrison towns in Ireland, against the system of procuring supplies for the military from English firms.

## INCOME TAX.—RESOLUTION.

Mr. HICKMAN (Wolverhampton, W.), in rising to move—

> "That, in the opinion of this House, all persons in any way concerned in the assessment of the Income Tax should be paid by salary and not by poundage or in proportion to the amounts of such assessments,"

said, that it had become necessary for the House to affirm such a Resolution as this, in order to compel the attention of the authorities to what was really a substantial grievance. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, in his Budget Speech, stated that during the last nine years an increase of taxation amounting to £11,600,000 had been put upon the Income Tax payers of this country. Looking at that fact, it was essentially necessary not only that the assessments should be fair, but that the taxpayer should believe them to be fair. The number of assessments made in the year 1883-4 was 1,600,000; and with respect to no less than 1,200,000 of these either exemption or abatement was granted in consequence of the income being less than £150, or under £400 per annum. All these 1,200,000 persons were admittedly over-assessed. It might be said that they were not obliged to pay; but in many cases they did pay from ignorance of the law; and if they did not pay it was a substantial grievance that they should have to appeal, and so lose time and money. Then it might be said that the Commissioners had to decide the matter. But it should be remembered that the clerks, who were paid by poundage, practically decided, because as experts they were acquainted with all the circumstances of each case, and naturally exercised over the Commissioners a preponderating influence. In some cases the over-assessment had been distrained for; and, where it was proved to be unfair after the distraint had been made, the Treasury recouped the amount. In these cases, however, the persons did not receive the costs of the distraint; and it was a poor consolation to a man who had his goods sold that he should only have the amount over-assessed returned to him, while his credit was injured, and he lost the costs and expenses of the distraint. He believed that the Commissioners were as good men as could be chosen; but he complained that in his particular district their names were not made public. He submitted that they ought to know who their judges were. He had no complaint to make against the clerks or assessors; but what he did say was that they were placed in a false position, which was unfair to themselves as well as to the public. He moved the Resolution which stood in his name, and hoped that the House would agree to it.

Amendment proposed,

> To leave out from the word "That" to the end of the Question, in order to add the words "in the opinion of this House, all persons in any way concerned in the assessment of the Income Tax should be paid by salary and not by poundage or in proportion to the amount of such assessments,"—(*Mr. Hickman,*)

—instead thereof.

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question."

THE SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY (Mr. HENRY H. FOWLER) (Wolverhampton, E.) said, that his hon. Friend had raised two points, one referring to the administration of the Income Tax, and the other to a question of general principle. With regard to the administration of the tax, he had overlooked one or two matters as to over-assessment, and the amount reduced on appeal. The large amount which the Chancellor of the Exchequer referred to was not the amount reduced by reason of excessive charge, but the great bulk was in respect of incomes on which deductions were claimed. With regard to the suppression of the names of the Commissioners, he might say that that was done advisedly. The names of the General Commissioners who were responsible for the administration of the Income Tax were very well known. They sat as a Court of Appeal, and their decisions carried weight with them. But these Gentlemen had Commissioners to assist them in the assessment of the Income Tax, and the duties of the Assistant Commissioners were of a very private and important character. It was thought, rightly or wrongly, that these gentlemen would be subject to a great deal of unpleasant pressure on both sides if their names were generally known. A large number of these gentlemen would resign if their names were made public. The duty was one which they undertook without any remuneration whatever. It was the desire of the Treasury to remove as far as possible all friction in the assessment and collection of the tax; and every case brought before them had been investigated and dealt with, he believed, to the satisfaction of those gentlemen who had communicated with them. He thought the principle was not to be defended of paying assessors by poundage; and his right hon. Friend (Mr. Childers), when Chancellor of the Exchequer, did his utmost to induce the House to adopt an entirely different mode of payment, stating that £50,000 a-year might be saved by doing so; but, unfortunately, he was defeated in a very full House. People ought not only to be fairly assessed, but to believe that they were fairly assessed; but it was open to doubt so long as those who assessed them had a pecuniary interest in the matter. When Sir Robert Peel introduced the Income Tax he laid down the principle that, as far as possible, the assessment should be local, and should not pass into the hands of the Government. The Inland Revenue Authorities had carefully considered the question, and they thought that some other mode of payment not inconsistent with the local character of those officers and the local payment of the tax might be introduced. But the question was a very difficult one. The Government looked with the greatest possible sympathy upon the object his hon. Friend had in view. They believed the principle he had propounded was a good one. They would proceed further in the consideration of it on the lines indicated by his hon. Friend. He was satisfied that whether by the present or a future Government the matter must be dealt with, if, as he believed, the Income Tax was to remain a permanent part of our fiscal system. He hoped his hon. Friend would not press the Amendment to a division.

MR. GREGORY (Sussex, East Grinstead) said, he happened to know that the present mode of assessment had given rise to great suspicion and grave dissatisfaction. Payment by poundage was a vicious system. The same remark was applicable to the payment of architects. They were paid by commission; but nothing could be more objectionable, for though you might meet with honourable men among them the system gave rise to suspicion. He hoped his hon. Friend would be content with what had fallen from the Secretary to the Treasury.

MR. HICKMAN said, that after the appeal of the Secretary to the Treasury he would withdraw the Resolution.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Main Question, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair," put, and *agreed to.*

## SUPPLY.

SUPPLY—*considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

(1.) £1,000, Gratuity to Lady Gosset.

THE SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY (Mr. HENRY H. FOWLER) (Wolverhampton), E.): I hope the Committee will allow me to explain the circumstances under which this Vote is submitted. Members of this House who sat in the last Parliament will remember the late Serjeant-at-Arms (Sir Ralph Gosset), and the efficient services he rendered for a long series of years. When he retired, after serving the House for 50 years, a Vote of Thanks was moved by the late Chancellor of the Exchequer, seconded by my right hon. Friend the present Chancellor of the Exchequer, and supported by the hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell), as representing the Irish Party; and the House unanimously expressed its high appreciation of the services which Sir Ralph Gosset had rendered. The House desired that the most liberal terms of pension should be granted, and accordingly £1,200 per annum was awarded to Sir Ralph Gosset, and was to commence from the 1st of October, 1885. When the House passed the Vote of Thanks my right hon. Friend the Chancellor of the Exchequer expressed a hope that Sir Ralph Gosset might be spared for many years to enjoy his well-earned pension; but he lived for a very short time, and died within less than three months. Under the circumstances, the matter was brought before the late Government, with a view of ascertaining whether the House of Commons would not be disposed to mark its acknowledgment of his services by a grant to his widow. The Chancellor of the Exchequer and Lord Iddesleigh concurred in that view, and were of opinion that £1,000 ought to be given for that purpose. In that opinion the present Chancellor of the Exchequer and the First Lord of the Treasury also concur. I hope, therefore, that the House will make this recognition of the claim of an old and valuable servant who served the House for 50 years, whose father before him served the House for 30 years, and whose son, I trust, will be spared to serve the House for many years to come. No better case for a frank and generous recognition of faithful services has ever been submitted to the House, and I trust that the Vote will be unanimously acceded to.

Mr. STUART-WORTLEY (Sheffield, Hallam): I hope it will be understood that it is not from any want of sympathy with the Motion that my right hon. Friend the Member for West Bristol (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach) is not at this moment in his place, and that so few of my right hon. Friends are present. The fact is that the Motion was not expected to be made at this moment. I beg to assure the hon. Gentleman (Mr. Henry H. Fowler) and the Committee generally that Gentlemen on this side fully concur in the proposal which has been made, and entirely support it. They are of opinion that it is by no means in excess of what is due to one who did so much to earn the gratitude and win the affection of the Members of this House.

Sir WALTER B. BARTTELOT (Sussex, North-West): As an independent Member of the House, I desire to say that I cordially agree with what has fallen from the Secretary to the Treasury; and I venture to believe that the Vote will be granted unanimously by the House. All who knew the late Serjeant-at-Arms must have felt his retirement as a loss to the House; and if we can mark our appreciation of his services by a grant to his widow, it is only right and fitting that we should do so.

Mr. BRADLAUGH (Northampton): I hope the Committee will not deem it impertinent on my part if I obtrude a word or two in regard to this Vote. Unfortunately, from circumstances with which I need not trouble the Committee, I had no opportunity of personally joining in the vote to the Serjeant-at-Arms passed in the last Parliament. I am afraid that, during the sitting of that Parliament, I was often the cause of considerable anxiety and trouble to him. I therefore desire to bear my testimony to the very great courtesy which Sir Ralph Gosset always showed to me, sometimes under very trying circumstances. As becoming a young Member I will not say more, but that I cordially support the Vote.

Sir JOSEPH M'KENNA (Monaghan, S.): I can assure the Committee that the hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell) and his Colleagues from Ireland generally fully recognize the urbanity and kindness which the late Serjeant-at-Arms always displayed towards the Irish Members, and they also heartily support the Vote.

Vote *agreed to.*

## CIVIL SERVICES AND REVENUE DEPARTMENTS, VOTE ON ACCOUNT.

(2.) "That a further sum, not exceeding £6,879,764, be granted to Her Majesty, on account, for or towards defraying the Charge for the following Civil Services and Revenue Departments for the year ending on the 31st day of March 1887, viz:—

### CIVIL SERVICES.

### CLASS I.—PUBLIC WORKS AND BUILDINGS.

| Great Britain :— | £ |
|---|---|
| New Admiralty and War Office | - - |
| Dover Harbour | - - |
| Ireland :— | |
| Royal University Buildings | 4,000 |
| Science and Art Buildings, Dublin | 4,000 |

### CLASS II.—SALARIES AND EXPENSES OF CIVIL DEPARTMENTS.

| England :— | £ |
|---|---|
| House of Lords, Offices | 19,000 |
| House of Commons, Offices | 20,000 |
| Treasury, including Parliamentary Counsel | 21,000 |
| Home Office and Subordinate Departments | 30,000 |
| Foreign Office | 25,000 |
| Colonial Office | 13,000 |
| Privy Council Office and Subordinate Departments | 13,000 |
| Board of Trade and Subordinate Departments | 30,000 |
| Bankruptcy Department of the Board of Trade | - - |
| Charity Commission (including Endowed Schools Department) | 13,000 |
| Civil Service Commission | 10,000 |
| Exchequer and Audit Department | 18,000 |
| Friendly Societies, Registry | 2,000 |
| Land Commission for England | 6,000 |
| Local Government Board | 200,000 |
| Lunacy Commission | 6,000 |
| Mint (including Coinage) | 15,000 |
| National Debt Office | 4,500 |
| Patent Office | 15,000 |
| Paymaster General's Office | 8,500 |
| Public Works Loan Commission | 3,300 |
| Record Office | 7,000 |
| Registrar General's Office | 16,000 |
| Stationery Office and Printing | 190,000 |
| Woods, Forests, &c. Office of | 6,000 |
| Works and Public Buildings, Office of | 15,000 |
| Mercantile Marine Fund, Grant in Aid | 15,000 |
| Secret Service | 5,000 |
| Scotland :— | |
| Secretary for Scotland | 3,000 |
| Exchequer and other Offices | 2,000 |
| Fishery Board | 9,000 |
| Lunacy Commission | 2,000 |
| Registrar General's Office | 1,500 |
| Board of Supervision | 22,000 |
| Ireland :— | |
| Lord Lieutenant's Household | 3,000 |
| Chief Secretary's Office | 12,000 |
| Charitable Donations and Bequests Office | 700 |
| Local Government Board | 45,000 |
| Public Works Office | 15,000 |
| Record Office | 2,000 |
| Registrar General's Office | 6,000 |
| Valuation and Boundary Survey | 7,500 |

### CLASS III.—LAW AND JUSTICE.

| Ireland :— | |
|---|---|
| Law Charges and Criminal Prosecutions | 25,000 |
| Supreme Court of Judicature | 28,000 |
| Registry of Deeds | 4,500 |
| Registry of Judgments | 400 |
| Land Commission | 12,000 |
| County Court Officers, &c. | 26,000 |
| Dublin Metropolitan Police (including Police Courts) | 40,000 |
| Constabulary | 480,000 |
| Prisons, Ireland | 45,000 |

### CLASS IV.—EDUCATION, SCIENCE, AND ART.

| England :— | £ |
|---|---|
| Public Education | 1,000,000 |
| Science and Art Department | 130,000 |
| British Museum | 40,000 |
| National Gallery | 3,000 |
| National Portrait Gallery | 600 |
| Learned Societies, &c. | 8,500 |
| London University | 4,000 |
| University Colleges, Wales | 2,000 |
| Deep Sea Exploring Expedition (Report) | 1,500 |
| Scotland :— | |
| Public Education | 150,000 |
| Universities, &c. | 6,000 |
| National Gallery | 1,000 |
| Ireland :— | |
| Public Education | 250,000 |
| Teachers' Pension Office | 600 |
| Endowed Schools Commissioners | 200 |
| National Gallery | 1,200 |
| Queen's Colleges | 2,000 |
| Royal Irish Academy | 700 |

### CLASS V.—FOREIGN AND COLONIAL SERVICES.

| | |
|---|---|
| Diplomatic Services | 110,000 |
| Consular Services | 90,000 |
| Slave Trade Services | 5,000 |
| Suez Canal (British Directors) | - - |
| Colonies, Grants in Aid | 9,000 |
| South Africa and St. Helena | 20,000 |
| Subsidies to Telegraph Companies | 22,000 |
| Cyprus, Grant in Aid | 19,000 |

### CLASS VI.—NON-EFFECTIVE AND CHARITABLE SERVICES.

| | |
|---|---|
| Superannuation and Retired Allowances | 200,000 |
| Merchant Seamen's Fund Pensions, &c. | 8,000 |
| Pauper Lunatics, England | 10,000 |
| Pauper Lunatics, Scotland | 65,000 |
| Pauper Lunatics, Ireland | 14,000 |

| | £ |
|---|---|
| Hospitals and Infirmaries, Ireland ... | 5,000 |
| Savings Banks and Friendly Societies Deficiency ... ... ... | 51,364 |
| Miscellaneous Charitable and other Allowances, Great Britain ... ... | 500 |
| Miscellaneous Charitable and other Allowances, Ireland ... ... | 700 |

### Class VII.—Miscellaneous.

| | |
|---|---|
| Temporary Commissions ... ... | 11,000 |
| Miscellaneous Expenses ... ... | 2,000 |
| Total for Civil Services | £3,769,764 |

### REVENUE DEPARTMENTS.

| | |
|---|---|
| Customs ... ... ... ... | 270,000 |
| Inland Revenue ... ... ... | 540,000 |
| Post Office ... ... ... | 1,500,000 |
| Post Office Packet Service ... ... | 200,000 |
| Post Office Telegraphs ... ... | 600,000 |
| Total for Revenue Departments | £3,110,000 |
| Grand Total | £6,879,764 |

**Mr. PICKERSGILL** (Bethnal Green, S.W.): I desire to take this opportunity of drawing the attention of the Committee to a matter which has stood in my name upon the Notice Paper of the House for some time—I mean the appointment of Mr. Graham to the office of Clerk of the Parliaments. I thought, Sir, and I still think, it is desirable that there should be some discussion, at all events, in this House, with regard to an appointment which has been roundly characterized out-of-doors by Members of both political Parties as a "job." At the opening of the Session I placed upon the Paper a Notice asking for some explanation with reference to this appointment; but owing to the Ministerial crisis which ensued, and which was followed by the resignation of the late Conservative Government, I was not able, according to the Rules of the House, to press my Question. Although it was not competent for me to press the Question, still I apprehend that it would have been perfectly within the competence of the right hon. Gentleman the Leader of the Opposition to give me an explanation, if any satisfactory explanation was forthcoming; and I can only say that if any communication had been made to me it would not have been met by me in a carping spirit, but would have received the fullest and most candid consideration. In the first place, I desire to say a word with regard to the nature of the office of Clerk of the Parliaments. I do not apprehend that the duties of that office require any supernatural degree of abilities; but it does seem to me that it is distinctly an office in which great experience in the procedure of Parliament is imperatively required. But I need not rely upon any opinion which I myself might entertain with regard to the nature of the duties of the Clerk of Parliaments, because I may quote to the Committee what was stated by a very high authority upon the occasion of the demise of Sir William Rose, who preceded Mr. Graham in the office. It was then said that Sir William Rose possessed a profound knowledge of the precedents of the House of Lords, and that, consequently, he was able to render services to the Members of that House and to the country in the capacity he filled, which were specially required owing to the fact that the Speaker of the House of Lords does not possess authority over its Members, and that the disposal of all order in the House is vested in the House itself. An authority, therefore, like that of Sir William Rose, able and willing to furnish the Members of the House with guidance, was all the more essential. My first objection in regard to the appointment of Mr. Graham to this office is that, although it is one which requires almost more than any other office an experience of the duties to be performed, a gentleman was appointed who had had no experience of any kind whatever. My second point is, that it was a distinct departure from the usual practice of appointing to that office. Sir William Rose, who preceded Mr. Graham in the office of Clerk of Parliaments, entered the service of the House of Lords in 1835, and from 1848 until 1875 he was Deputy Clerk of the Parliaments; so that, in his case, there was appointed to the office a gentleman who, for 40 years prior to his appointment, had filled subordinate offices in the House of Lords, and in that way had acquired the requisite experience for the discharge of the duties of the office. Now, Sir, I think it is essential to a proper understanding of this case that I should briefly sketch the salient features in the official career of Mr. Graham. In 1869 Mr. Graham became the son-in-law of Viscount Cranbrook. It will be remembered that from 1869 to 1874 a Liberal Government was in Office, and during that time the ability of Mr. Graham does not appear to have been recognized; but in 1874 he was made Secretary to Lord Chancellor Cairns, and he continued in that office until 1880, when the Conservative Government went out of Office. Mr. Graham was then made one of the Masters in Lunacy, and he continued to be a Master in Lunacy until 1885. In the summer of last year a Conservative Government again came into power, and within a very few weeks Mr. Graham was appointed to the extremely lucrative office of Clerk of the Parliaments. Now, what are the qualifications which it can be contended Mr. Graham possessed for that office? He had been for more than four years previously a Master in Lunacy. I do not know whether it will be contended that there is any common ground of connection between a Master in Lunacy and the Clerk of the Parliaments in "another place;" but I have some reason to believe that the qualification which will be relied upon is that Mr. Graham was for some years Secretary to the Lord Chancellor. Now, Sir, I submit that the fact that Mr. Graham was Secretary to the Lord Chancellor does not, in any way, qualify him for the office he was afterwards appointed to fill. The duties of Secretary to the Lord Chancellor are distinctly different from, and altogether unconnected with, the procedure of the House of Lords; and if that qualification is relied upon, then I would press for an answer to this further question. If it be true that the Lord Chancellor's Secretary is engaged in the procedure of the House of Lords, for what purpose, and for the discharge of what duties, do we pay several thousand pounds a-year to the Clerk of the Parliaments and his two assistants in the other House? With regard to the general question of promotion, I think I am able to speak with some special knowledge as an old Civil servant. I do not stipulate that in all cases promotion should be by seniority; but I do strongly protest, knowing the mischief which arises from such a course, against the introduction into a lucrative office of a gentleman who is altogether a stranger to the office, when, in order to promote such stranger, it is necessary to pass over men who have spent a lifetime in the discharge of similar duties. In the present case, if there were good reasons why the assistants of the House of Lords should not be promoted to the higher office, I think, by universal consent, there was one distinguished man who was perfectly marked out for promotion. I refer to that eminent and much-regretted gentleman who, at that time, was Chief Clerk of this House. It does seem to me that it would have given some satisfaction, not only to this country, but far beyond the bounds of this country, if well-merited promotion had been bestowed upon a man whose reputation, as a high Parliamentary authority, was far more than European. Wherever free institutions exist, I think I may say, without exaggeration, the name of Sir Erskine May is known and appreciated. I have thought it my duty to ventilate this opinion before the Committee. Of Mr. Graham I know nothing, and I should be very sorry if I were to inflict any pain upon him; but in the performance of a public duty it is necessary sometimes to inflict pain upon individuals. I can only say that my object is simply to guard the interests of the Service to which I once belonged, and intimately connected with the interests of that Service are the interests of the public. From my own experience and observation, I know that when appointments of this kind are made there is left behind a feeling of rankling resentment which produces the worst possible effect in the Department in which the appointment is made, which tends to bring about great discontent, and ultimately to impair the efficiency of that great Service to which the welfare of the country at large is so much indebted.

After a pause,

MR. LABOUCHERE (Northampton) said: I wish to know whether anybody is going to answer my hon. Friend? Is anybody going to defend this scandalous appointment? I see on the opposite Bench a right hon. Gentleman who was a Member of the last Cabinet (Mr. W. H. Smith), and I think he ought to give us some explanation of this appointment. The point which my hon. Friend has dwelt upon is the appointment itself. He has entered a protest against the particular appointment of Mr. Graham; but what I wish to know is, why the Clerk of the Parliaments is paid £500 more than is paid to the Chief Clerk of the House of Commons?

Sir ROBERT FOWLER (London): A Notice of Motion has been given upon that point.

Mr. LABOUCHERE: I am quite aware of that; but it is not likely to come on, and as I may not be here in the next Parliament, I wish, in the present Parliament, to ask for some explanation on the subject. I want to know from my hon. Friend the Secretary to the Treasury why the Clerk of the Parliaments in the House of Lords receives something like £500 a-year more than the Chief Clerk of the House of Commons? No doubt, the Clerk of the Parliaments may be a superior officer; but his work is precisely the same in character as that of the Clerk of the House of Commons. In this House the Clerks have to sit for 12 hours at a stretch, whereas the Clerk of the Parliaments in the House of Lords sits sometimes for half-an-hour, and very seldom for more than three hours. I hope also to hear from the right hon. Gentleman opposite some explanation of this appointment. In my opinion, the appointment of Mr. Graham was one of the most scandalous jobs ever perpetrated, either by a Liberal or a Conservative Government. I am told that this gentleman is related to a number of Conservative Lords, and he appears to have been taken away from a Lunacy appointment and pitchforked into the House of Lords at a time when we had here Sir Erskine May, whose reputation, as my hon. Friend has said, was European. Sir Erskine May was a very old public servant, and it is very possible that he might still be alive among us if he had not been obliged to remain here and perform the arduous labours of Chief Clerk of this House, instead of going to what may be considered almost the retirement of the House of Lords. I trust that the late Conservative Government will not maintain silence on this matter, but that they will explain to us what, if not explained, will be regarded by the country as one of the grossest jobs that was ever perpetrated.

Mr. W. H. SMITH (Strand, Westminster): I think that when it is proposed to bring under the notice of either House of Parliament the conduct of any person connected with the Public Service it has been usual to give to the persons who are attacked some intimation of the intention to bring the matter forward. Now, it does not appear, from the Notices on the Paper to-day, that any reference would be made to this subject; and, therefore, no one who is in the slightest degree responsible for the appointment could have had any idea that the question was to be raised this evening. I have no hesitation, however, in saying that those who were charged with the duty of exercising Ministerial patronage in this case discharged that duty with a full sense of their personal responsibility, and in the full discharge of the right which belonged to them. Mr. Graham is a gentleman of known and proved capacity. It has been remarked that he was a Master in Lunacy, and that as a Master in Lunacy he had no special qualification for performing the duty of Clerk of the Parliaments. That observation may be correct enough; but the real fact of the case is that Mr. Graham was Secretary to successive Lord Chancellors during a long period, and in that capacity, in the judgment of those with whom he was brought in contact, he displayed abilities which it was thought might be usefully applied in higher positions in connection with the Public Service, when this appointment became vacant. I really do not know in whose hands the patronage was vested; but it was exercised with a full sense of responsibility and of duty, and with a desire to appoint a man who was in every way qualified to fill the important office of Clerk of the Parliaments, and it was rightly and fairly exercised. I will pass by altogether the observations of the hon. Member for Northampton (Mr. Labouchere) as to the question of Mr. Graham's relationship with Members of the other House of Parliament; but it must not be supposed by any person that, in this appointment, either relationship or personal interest was the real motive for the exercise of the patronage. For my own part, I believe that no such interests or motives had the slightest weight whatever in the selection of Mr. Graham for the office he fills. I believe that in making the selection a good appointment has been made; and I think it is somewhat questionable whether it is open to this House to review appointments which may be made by the other House of Parliament. I will, however, pass by that consideration altogether. Reference has been made by the hon. Member for Northampton to the late Sir Erskine May. The hon. Member said, I think, that if Sir Erskine May had been promoted to this office his life might have been spared, and that it was the hard work imposed upon him in this House which shortened his valuable life. No one can entertain a higher sense of the valuable services rendered by Sir Erskine May than I do; but I do not think that there is any ground for the assertion that his life was shortened by the services he rendered to this House during the last few weeks of his life, after the appointment of the Clerk of the Parliaments had been filled up. The assumption of the hon. Member has no foundation whatever. The illness of Sir Erskine May had unfortunately declared itself before this appointment was made, and it is notorious that Sir Erskine May received every consideration from the Speaker, and from his Colleagues in this House, which it was possible to afford to a gentleman occupying his position, and entitled by his past services to so much consideration. I think in this case the patronage has been exercised wisely and well, with due regard to those higher considerations of ability and capacity which the gentleman appointed will bring to bear upon the discharge of his duties.

THE SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY (Mr. HENRY H. FOWLER) (Wolverhampton, E.): I hope that my hon. Friend the Member for Northampton (Mr. Labouchere) will not think me guilty of discourtesy in not having risen as soon as the hon. Member for South-West Bethnal Green (Mr. Pickersgill) concluded his remarks. I may say that there has been a Notice down upon the Notice Paper for some time of the intention of the hon. Member to raise this question; and I believe that the Leader of the Opposition would have been desirous of defending the appointment, if due Notice had been given that the question would be raised to-night. There certainly was no anticipation that it would be raised to-night. I am aware that my hon. Friend the Member for Northampton has pointed out the peculiar circumstances under which we are now placed. We may not be Members of the next Parliament, and therefore it has been considered desirable to bring on this important question before the Dissolution takes place; but in the absence of the right hon. Gentleman the Leader of the Opposition I think it is desirable that I should reserve any remarks which I may have to make. I know nothing whatever myself about the appointment of Mr. Graham, and all questions in reference to the salaries of the officials of the House of Lords had better stand over until the whole Vote can be brought on for discussion. Certainly, if we are to discuss the manner in which the late Government exercised their patronage, Notice should be given, so that those who are familiar with the matter should have an opportunity of being present. I therefore hope that the question will now be allowed to stand over, with the full knowledge that the hon. Member for Northampton proposes on some future day to raise the question stripped of all personality, upon the broad principle why the Clerk of the House of Lords should have a larger salary than the Clerk of the House of Commons, who certainly has a much larger amount of work to perform.

SIR ROBERT FOWLER (London): I take it that there is no opposition to the present Vote; but I hope that at some future period the question of the salaries paid to of the officers of this House will be raised. I have made more than one appeal to the Predecessors of the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Treasury upon this subject; and I hope, if I am a Member of the next Parliament, to make a further appeal with some better effect. Of course, none of us know whether we are to come back here or not; but if I have the honour of being returned, I shall certainly appeal to the Secretary to the Treasury, whoever may happen to fill that Office, whether something cannot be done to rearrange the salaries of the officers of this House. I do not believe that the salaries of the officers of the House of Lords are at all too high. The hon. Member for Northampton (Mr. Labouchere) has pointed out that they do not sit as long as we do in this House. That is perfectly true; but I apprehend that the officers there have a good deal of work to do when the House is not actually sitting. They have frequently to go through the Bills presented to that House and amend the phraseology; and not very long ago the present Lord Chancellor told me, referring to a clause I had inserted in a Bill of which he, as Solicitor General, had charge, that it would be necessary to correct the phraseology in the House of Lords. At the same time, there can be no doubt that the officers of this House do a good deal harder work than the officers of the House of Lords; and it follows that as I do not believe the officers of the House of Lords are at all too highly paid, the officers of this House are very much under-paid. Let us only consider the long hours during which they are required to sit. We frequently find them sitting here from 4 o'clock in the afternoon until 3 o'clock in the morning, and not unfrequently for 12 hours consecutively. Any leisure time they can get is a matter of arrangement among themselves; but there must always be one of them in attendance at the Table. Therefore, I think that £2,000, £1,500, and £1,200 are very inadequate salaries for the three Clerks respectively. In regard to the Chief Clerk, he occupies a highly dignified post, and I certainly do not think that the salary he receives is at all sufficient for the duties performed. I would, therefore, make to the present Secretary to the Treasury the same appeal which I have made to some of his Predecessors — [Mr. HENRY H. FOWLER dissented.] The hon. Gentleman shakes his head. The matter, however, may not altogether rest with him, but even with greater men than himself, and therefore I would appeal to the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who sits near him. I cannot concur in the remarks which have been made that if the late Sir Erskine May had been promoted to the office of Clerk of the Parliaments his life might have been spared. Sir Erskine May was a man whom we all honoured, and whose memory we all respect; but he was long known to be in ill-health. No doubt, he was a man who well deserved the honour of promotion to a seat in the other House of Parliament, and if his life had been spared it is probable that he might have rendered useful services there.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT) (Derby): My hon. Friend (Sir Robert Fowler) has appealed to me, and, therefore, I am bound to say a word upon this matter. My hon. Friend is always generous. The public, however, are not so flush of money as the Corporation of London, and they cannot afford to apply the hon. Member's standard of payment to salaries or anything else. It must be remembered that the Lord Mayor of London has double the salary of the Prime Minister. We are obliged to be a little more moderate in these matters. We fully allow that the officers of this House serve us well; but we do not think that, at the present time, it would be expedient for the House of Commons to increase the salaries of all its officials, and thus to set an example which might soon have to be followed in all the branches of the Civil Service.

SIR ROBERT FOWLER: The right hon. Gentleman has made a reference to the salary paid to the Lord Mayor of London. I wish to remind the right hon. Gentleman that that allowance is hardly considered to be a salary, but merely what is called in the Army "table money."

MR. HANDEL COSSHAM (Bristol, E.): The hon. Member for Northampton (Mr. Labouchere) has described this appointment as a great job. It was one of the appointments made by the late Government when they were just going out of Office, and I am exceedingly sorry that they have not considered it necessary to justify the appointment which has been made in this particular instance. I would like them to answer this question—whether Mr. Graham's abilities would have entitled him to this appointment if he had not been related to Lord Salisbury? His appointment was far more due to his relationship to the Prime Minister of that day than to any qualifications he possessed for discharging the duties of the office. I notice that the hon. Member for South-West Bethnal Green (Mr. Pickersgill) made no Motion on the subject; but I hope that it will not be allowed to drop. If I have the honour and the privilege of a seat in the next Parliament, I will certainly support my hon. Friend in bringing the subject forward again. The right hon. Gentleman opposite (Mr. W. H. Smith) said he doubted whether it was open to this House to question any appointment made in the House of Lords; but I would remind the right hon. Gentleman that although this officer is appointed by the House of Lords, we have to pay him. Having control over the public purse, we are fully justified in taking notice of these appointments.

Mr. W. H. SMITH: I feel bound to correct one remark which has fallen from the hon. Member. Mr. Graham is not in any way related to Lord Salisbury, either directly or indirectly.

Mr. GREGORY (Sussex, East Grinstead): I should like to point out that the Chancery Clerks are all selected from a most competent class of men, whose services could not be secured unless they are paid adequate salaries. The salary is now £1,500 a-year, and for that sum they are required to work from 10 o'clock in the morning until 5 in the afternoon. They have to perform most arduous duties; and all the arrangements connected with the administration of property in the Chancery Division, as well as a good deal of judicial business, passes through their hands.

Mr. KIMBER (Wandsworth): I have myself had an experience of a quarter of a century of the administration of justice in the Court of Chancery, and I can testify to the admirable work done by the Chief Clerks in Chancery. I do not know for what reason, or for what motive, they have been dubbed Chief Clerks. I think they would be more properly described as Deputy Judges, seeing that the functions they fulfil are entirely judicial. Anyone who visits the Courts will be able to see the long list of cases they have to go through, second only to that of the cases which go before the Judges themselves. But when we compare the salaries they receive and the work they do with the salaries received and the work done by the County Court Judges I think it will be admitted that they are most inadequately paid. Their work, undoubtedly, will compare very favourably with that of the County Court Judges. In point of fact, I cannot help feeling that their energies are too heavily taxed, and it must be remembered that their jurisdiction is not limited in regard to the administration of estates, as is the case of County Court Judges. Now, from my own knowledge and experience, I can say that the salaries they receive are not half those which men who are successful in their profession are able to earn.

Mr. HANDEL COSSHAM: I was wrong in stating that Mr. Graham is a relative of Lord Salisbury. I ought to have said not of Lord Salisbury, but of Lord Cranbrook.

Mr. T. H. BOLTON (St. Pancras, N.): I understand that an attack has been made upon the conduct of the late Government in the appointment they made to the office of Clerk of the Parliaments, and that a complaint has also been made of the lowness of the salaries paid to the Clerks of this House. Reference has further been made to the salaries and duties of the Chief Clerks of the Chancery Division of the High Court of Justice. Those gentlemen discharge their duties, I believe, very much to their own credit and to the advantage of the public. The duties are of a very arduous and important character, and the salaries paid are certainly not in excess of the duties attached to the office and the ability with which those duties are discharged. Mr. Graham was never a Chief Clerk in Chancery.

Mr. KIMBER: I did not speak of Mr. Graham's appointment at all.

Mr. T. H. BOLTON: The hon. Gentleman intervened in the discussion of Mr. Graham's appointment. I cordially agree with my hon. Friend the Member for South-West Bethnal Green (Mr. Pickersgill) and the hon. Member for Northampton (Mr. Labouchere) in the feeling of annoyance which they have expressed on the part of the public at the appointment which has been made in the House of Lords.

Sir ROBERT FOWLER: I believe that in former times the officers of the House of Lords were paid by fees in connection with the political Business of that House. These fees were given up to the Treasury on condition that the salaries should be voted by this House. We are, therefore, bound by an honourable understanding not to reduce this Vote. My hon. Friend the Secretary to the Treasury will correct me if I am wrong. [Mr. H. H. Fowler assented.]

Mr. PICKERSGILL: I must ask permission of the Committee to add one word before the discussion closes. A complaint has been made that due Notice was not given of my intention to bring forward the subject of Mr. Graham's appointment, and there appears to have been some sort of arrangement between the right hon. Gentleman the Leader of the Opposition and the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Treasury with regard to when this Vote might be brought forward, and when, therefore, I should have an opportunity of raising this discussion. I can only say that if that was the case it might have been as well to communicate the arrangement to me, seeing that I had given Notice of my intention to avail myself of the first opportunity which came in my way for calling attention to the subject. I have to-night distinctly carried out the Notice I gave. The right hon. Gentleman opposite (Mr. W. H. Smith) seemed to raise the question whether it was competent for the Committee to discuss the appointment, because, forsooth, Mr. Graham had been appointed by another House. In reply to that view, I can only point out that it is we, as the custodians of the purse of the country, who have to provide the salary of the Clerk of the Parliaments; and, therefore, I think we are fully justified in discussing any appointment to that office. I have only one further observation to make. The right hon. Gentleman stated that Mr. Graham had been Secretary to successive Lord Chancellors. I think that statement is likely to convey a misleading impression. As far as I am aware, Mr. Graham was only Secretary to one Lord Chancellor—namely, Lord Cairns.

Mr. TUITE (Westmeath, N.): I have received several communications from my constituents complaining of the small and inadequate remuneration paid to some of the *employés* of the Post Office. In some cases, I am told, it is as low as 7*s.* a-week. I would appeal to the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Treasury to know whether something cannot be done in the matter.

The SECRETARY to the TREASURY (Mr. Henry H. Fowler) (Wolverhampton, E.): I believe it is the desire of the Post Office Authorities to pay proper wages to every person they employ. This, however, is only a Vote on Account, and when the Vote for the Post Office expenditure comes regularly before the Committee it will be a proper time for the hon. Member to raise the question. I think it may be possible to give a full and satisfactory explanation to the hon. Member. I quite sympathize with him in the view he has expressed; but, at the same time, I feel that the Department ought not to be called upon to pay salaries which are higher than is absolutely necessary.

Mr. TUITE: I am certainly acquainted with one instance in which a man employed by the Post Office only receives 7*s.* a-week.

Mr. HENRY H. FOWLER: Will the hon. Member send me the particulars of that case?

Mr. TUITE: I will do so.

Vote *agreed to.*

## ARMY ESTIMATES.

(3.) That a sum, not exceeding £5,000,000, be granted to Her Majesty, on account, for or towards defraying the Charge for the following Army Services for the year ending on the 31st day of March 1887, viz:—

### Effective Services.

| | | £ |
|---|---|---|
| 1. | Pay of the General Staff, Regimental Pay and Allowances, and other Charges ... ... | - - |
| 2. | Divine Service ... ... | 30,000 |
| 3. | Administration of Military Law ... | 20,000 |
| 4. | Medical Establishments and Services ... ... ... | 160,000 |
| 5. | Militia Pay and Allowances ... | 270,000 |
| 6. | Yeomanry Cavalry Pay and Allowances ... ... ... | 40,000 |
| 7. | Volunteer Corps Pay and Allowances ... ... ... | 320,000 |
| 8. | Army Reserve Force Pay and Allowances (including Enrolled Pensioners)... ... ... | 200,000 |
| 9. | Commissariat, Transport, and Ordnance Store Establishments, Wages, &c. ... ... | 260,000 |
| 10. | Provisions, Forage, Fuel, Transport, and other Services ... | - - |
| 11. | Clothing Establishments, Services, and Supplies ... ... | 440,000 |
| 12. | Supply, Manufacture, and Repair of Warlike and other Stores ... | 1,200,000 |
| 13. | Superintending Establishment of, and Expenditure for, Works, Buildings, and Repairs, at Home and Abroad ... ... ... | 460,000 |
| 14. | Establishments for Military Education ... ... ... | 60,000 |
| 15. | Miscellaneous Effective Services ... | 20,000 |
| 16. | Salaries and Miscellaneous Charges of the War Office ... ... | 120,000 |
| | Total Effective Services | £3,600,000 |

### Non-Effective Services.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 17. | Rewards for Distinguished Services, &c. .. .. .. | 10,000 |
| 18. | Half-Pay .. .. .. | 40,000 |
| 19. | Retired Pay, Gratuities, and Payments allowed by Army Purchase Commissioners .. .. | 500,000 |
| 20. | Widows' Pensions and Compassionate Allowances .. .. | 70,000 |
| 21. | Pensions for Wounds .. .. | 10,000 |

| | |
|---|---|
| 22. Chelsea and Kilmainham Hospitals (In-Pensions) .. .. | 20,000 |
| 23. Out-Pensions .. .. .. | 630,000 |
| 24. Superannuation, Compensation, and Compassionate Allowances .. | 90,000 |
| 25. Retired Allowances to Officers of the Militia, Yeomanry, and Volunteer Forces .. .. .. | 30,000 |
| Total Non-Effective Services | £1,400,000 |
| Total Effective and Non-Effective Services | £5,000,000 |

Sir WALTER B. BARTTELOT (Sussex, North-West): As I see the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State for War in his place, I should like to ask what has been done in regard to the new rifle? I believe that a new rifle has been adopted by the Government; but I am informed that very few of these rifles have been made. The Martini-Henri rifles that were in store have been served out to the Volunteers, leaving a stock of arms in store of the smallest and most meagre description. I would like to ask the Surveyor General of the Ordnance what is the amount of arms now in store? A great country like this ought never to allow its stock of arms to get into a low condition. I see from the Estimates that the Government are still adding to the buildings at Enfield, although the establishment at Enfield has been declared to be objectionable. In my opinion, it would be much more convenient to manufacture rifles at Birmingham than at Enfield. The Government have recently bought a large property at Birmingham; and I think it is a serious question, looking at the position and state of Enfield, whether the manufacture of rifles ought to be continued there. At Enfield every man you bring has to be put into a house that you must build for him, and when he is turned off it is impossible for him to find any other occupation in the neighbourhood. It is altogether the reverse at Birmingham. If a man is turned off there are other occupations in which he can find employment, and which he can procure at a moment's notice. The country would also have the advantage at Birmingham of having an arsenal in the centre of the country. These are questions of great importance; and although this may not be a fit opportunity for entering into them, there is one question which I think it would be well for the right hon. Gentleman to consider, and that is whether we ought not to have a Committee to inquire carefully into the question of what quantities of rifles and also of guns are necessary to be kept in store both for the Army and Navy. The same Committee might also consider what ought to be done in regard to our coaling stations, and lay before the House some Report as to the expenditure that may be necessary to afford the country some protection. There is one other point—namely, that we never know what stores we have in hand. I have always been anxious, and the Public Accounts Committee have constantly recommended, that the amount of stores should be known, so that anyone may be able to point to them and say whether they are up to the mark or not. Everybody ought to know what is required for the best interests of the country; but at present the public are kept in a state of complete ignorance. One Government, for its own convenience, reduces the stores, and then another Government has to spend large sums of money in order to place them in a proper condition; while, at the same time, the public receive no notice and have no idea of what has been done. I think this is a matter which deserves the serious attention of the Government.

The SURVEYOR GENERAL of ORDNANCE (Mr. Woodall) (Hanley): The hon. and gallant Member has asked a number of questions; but he has admitted that this is hardly the occasion on which we can enter at length into these matters. With regard to the new rifle which was sanctioned by the last Government, I am happy to say that its manufacture is proceeding satisfactorily, though prudently. Some thousands have been completed and experimented upon. In the meantime it has been found necessary not only to extend the factory at Enfield, but also to supersede a great deal of the old machinery by new. In regard to the quantity of Martini-Henri rifles in stock, it is quite true that the number is not so large as under ordinary circumstances would have been considered expedient; but still it is considered sufficiently large to meet all the possible requirements of the Service, especially having regard to the fact that in recent times the Volunteers have been armed with this weapon, and that the old Sniders have been called in. The factory which had been acquired at Birmingham is being adapted instead of the smaller establishment at Bagot Street for general testing and repairs, and also for the manufacture of pistols and carbines. The hon. and gallant Baronet may rest assured that satisfactory progress is being made in perfecting the defences of our coaling stations.

Sir GEORGE CAMPBELL (Kirkcaldy, &c.): I wish to ask Her Majesty's Government whether any steps have been taken for the withdrawal of our troops from Egypt? As the Turkish Envoy was accompanied by his cocks and hens and harem, it may be inferred that he contemplates a pretty long stay; but I think it is very desirable that the Government should not go to the country with the sin of Egypt upon their heads, without giving any idea of the progress of the preparations for the withdrawal of our Army from the country. I am certainly disappointed at the failure of every attempt to obtain information from the Government, and it seems to me that the withdrawal is gradually becoming relegated to the dim and distant future. Some time ago, in a sort of apologetic strain, we were told that there was a hope of being able to withdraw in the next six months; but as time goes on that vista seems to be receding into distance. It is, therefore, most desirable that before the Parliament is dissolved we should know what is the result of the Conferences between Sir H. Drummond Wolff and Mukhtar Pasha. It certainly appears to me that these two distinguished individuals are spinning out their time without any result whatever. Sir H. Drummond Wolff has already intimated that he is not in a position to come to Portsmouth and contest the representation of that borough at the present moment, because his duties in Egypt will detain him for some time longer. Possibly he may be looking out for some other employment. Nor is Mukhtar Pasha in a hurry to depart from Egypt; and although a great many months have passed, and a great many Conferences have been held, nothing whatever appears to have come out of them. It appears to me that these two distinguished individuals have had ample opportunities for coming to an understanding if they desired to do so. The hon. and gallant Member for the Holborn Division of Finsbury (Colonel Duncan) has told the House that the Egyptians make good soldiers if properly handled, and the only question is whether the officers of the troops who are to relieve ours are to be Egyptians, or British, or Turks. Upon that simple question there does not appear to be the least approximation towards a decision. If that question were solved we might make greater progress towards a solution of the question. I am glad to learn that our troops are to be removed from that most detestable and useless place, Suakin; but I am sorry that the Native troops who are to be retained there are to be paid, not by the Egyptian Government, but by the British taxpayer. As far as we have yet heard from Her Majesty's Government, we are still to maintain some 9,000 troops in Egypt; but I am glad to find that none of them will be kept at Suakin, which is, I think, without exception, the very worst place in the world. Perhaps the Soudan is not quite so bad; at any rate, our troops have not suffered so much there from sickness, although it would appear, from private sources, recently corroborated by public despatches, that Assouan and Upper Egypt have been fatal to a good many of our troops. Of course, it is impossible to go into details upon all of these subjects under present circumstances; but I have considered it right to afford Her Majesty's Government some opportunity of saying whether anything is being done to secure the withdrawal of the troops from Assouan and other unhealthy places in which they are now retained in Egypt, and if steps are being taken to facilitate their entire withdrawal from that country.

Colonel BLUNDELL (Lancashire, S.W., Ince): I am anxious to urge upon the Government that, although it is not desirable that our occupation of Egypt should be longer than is necessary, it would be a mistake to withdraw until the Khedive has a reliable force to maintain order and to keep the frontier of Egypt safe from the Arabs. Last year, when Dongola was evacuated, it is well known that the Egyptian troops were not reliable for the protection of the country. The hon. and gallant Member for the Holborn Division of Finsbury (Colonel Duncan) entertains a very high appreciation of the Egyptian troops, He appreciates them, and they appreciate him; but, nevertheless, the Egyptian troops are not generally supposed to be in the highest degree either reliable or efficient. At the same time, it would be a great error to withdraw altogether from the occupation of the country until Egypt herself can have a force there that is reliable. If we were to withdraw prematurely, we might have to return, because all the conditions which took us so very reluctantly to Egypt are still in force. Our General Officer in Egypt may be able to advise Her Majesty's Government as to the reliability of the Egyptian Army; but it is an undoubted fact that last year they were not regarded as reliable. In a former debate it was stated, with perfect truth, that it will be impossible for this country ever to return to the Cape route to India; because, after all, the Suez route is much the shortest, and we should not, therefore, like to see any other powerful country take our place in Egypt if we decided to leave it. I have no wish to see our occupation of Egypt made continuous; but it ought to be continued until the Khedive has a sufficient force at his command to maintain order in Egypt and to prevent any excuse for interference on the part of any other great country. To leave the country prematurely is just the one mistake which remains to be made by us. With regard to the question of the jamming of the cartridges in the Martini-Henry rifles of the Camel Corps, it is notorious that the jamming took place most extensively. As a matter of fact, about one cartridge in three jammed during the Egyptian Expedition. I should like to know what has been done in the matter, and whether any experiments are being made in regard to the magazine rifles; because it is quite plain that when any great Power adopts a magazine rifle the other great Powers will be compelled to follow suit. There is another point to which I desire to call the attention of the Secretary of State for War—namely, the Report of the Inspector General of Recruiting as to the desirability of all officers and men who enter the Army being vaccinated. At present the Army suffers in consequence of bad characters enlisting; and it is said that to mark them with the letters "B.C." is branding them in a way to which the public object. Then what I would suggest is that the system of vaccination in the Army should be a special one, so that any bad characters, who have been discharged, should be discovered if they attempt to re-enlist. There was at one time a system of cross-cutting in the Army, by which it could always be told that men so marked had been in the Army. I believe we should save many thousands a-year to the country if this plan were brought into practice. Another question which I am anxious to bring under the notice of the Secretary of State is the fact that officers on retired pay are ineligible to hold Civil appointments without losing their retired pay, which bears hardly on some of the officers of the Purchase Army who have now retired. These officers paid high prices for their commissions, and have only received the average price of the commissions they held. I am anxious that the disability, as far as such officers are concerned, should be removed. It would affect the Estimates very slightly if at all, but would be a great boon to the officers themselves. The only other point I wish to bring before the Committee has reference to recruiting. Great improvements have been made in recent years in the Regulations for recruiting, and the only suggestion I would make is that the provisions in regard to re-entering the Service should be made even more elastic than they are. When a man has left the Service it very often happens that he is anxious to re-engage or re-enter. That is contrary to the Regulations; but the only objection is that they would become entitled to a pension. I would urge upon the Secretary of State that such men should be permitted to enter the Army again if they are fit in every other respect, and that they should be placed under an enforced system of stoppages to provide a fund when they leave which would replace the pensions to them. There are many such men idling about who are anxious to return to the Army, but who find themselves unable to do so. I think it is quite possible to make an arrangement by which the difficulty in regard to pensions would be met and by which the services of these men would be secured to the country. I am satisfied that it would be a great advantage to the Army if they were permitted to re-enter the ranks.

Sir FREDERICK FITZ-WYGRAM (Hants, Fareham): I wish before this Vote is granted to protest against the system of reconstructing huts now going on at the so-called camps of Aldershot, the Curragh, and Shorncliffe. Without objecting to the Vote in the present year I wish to point out that these camps, being, as they are, mere barracks, and on the barrack establishment, are perfectly useless as regards the private soldier. He learns nothing of camp life in them —not the least in the world; and they are expensive to the nation, because they are built of wood. All officers will, I am sure, admit the great value of bringing together large bodies of troops during the summer for drill and manœuvre; but as regards the private soldiers and the junior officers, the assembling of large bodies of men is practically useless. The junior officer does nothing except receive the word of command from the senior officer, and the private soldier learns nothing beyond what he would learn equally well from ordinary drill. General and field officers may learn much; but the person who learns more than anybody else from these camps is the Commander-in-Chief, because he is soon able to find out the capacity of a general and field officer to handle troops. I do not say that a capacity to handle troops at Aldershot is a necessary guide to the capacity of an officer for handling them in actual war; but if an officer has not the capacity of handling troops at Aldershot or the Curragh, it is perfetly certain that he will be unable to handle them in the field. But in order to practise general officers it is not necessary to put the troops up in huts, or to keep them throughout the year in camp. No doubt, the bringing together of large bodies of troops for exercise for four or five months in the summer is useful, both as regards manœuvres and drill; but I deny that it is of any advantage in the winter, when there are no manœuvres and no drill. In the winter they would be much better and happier in barracks in their county towns, and there would be this further advantage, that recruiting would be facilitated. Instead of reconstructing wooden huts, I would suggest, and I should like to see, canvas camps in the summer months. In this country there might be two canvas camps; one at Aldershot in the South and the other at York in the North. There two lots of troops should undergo six weeks drill each, and then be comfortably housed in barracks. I cannot see that anything is gained by keeping the troops at Aldershot in the winter. I speak from experience, having been in command of a brigade at Aldershot for some years; but I honestly say that, in my opinion, the troops would have learned quite as much during winter as well as if they had been in their county barracks. In regard to general officers, I believe that six weeks would be an ample amount of practice, and would be time enough to enable the Commander-in-Chief to discover whether a man has capacity for handling troops in the field or not. The generals, no doubt, need practice; but six weeks' practice is quite enough. The same course should be followed in regard to the Curragh and Ireland generally. Then, as regards the soldier, when he is on the barrack establishment at Aldershot he learns nothing of camp life—nothing whatever. When he leaves Aldershot he knows nothing more of camp life than if he had been in barracks; whereas, if he had been in canvas tents, it would have been possible to reproduce active service and regular military life. I would endeavour to make these canvas camps of practical use for the instruction of the soldier, so that when he goes on foreign service he may not be asked to perform duties which he has never been called on to perform before. At Aldershot there is no practice in real camp life, no camp fires, and no oxen to be slaughtered, or flour to be baked in camp ovens. If regimental transport is granted I would place the Commissariat store 10 miles off, so that the men should become acquainted with transport duties, the driving of cattle, and many other useful services of which they are now ignorant. There is much knack acquired in camp life which is only learnt by actual practice. I will not, however, weary the Committee with details. I will only say that the old campaigner grows fat while the young soldier sickens and starves. In my opinion camps should be real camps, and in such camps should be practiced not only the art of manœuvring for generals, but all the duties of camp life, as they occur in actual war. As I have already said, I do not object to this Vote; but I would ask the Government not to go on, in succeeding years, aggravating the mistakes they have already made by reconstructing huts. I look upon the permanent barracks at Aldershot as an evil, and I think it was a great mistake to build them. I would strongly press upon the Secretary of State for War the great advantage and economy and the increased efficiency which would result from making use of canvas tents, instead of huts, at Aldershot, for practice of camp life in summer.

SIR JAMES FERGUSSON (Manchester, N.E.): I believe it is not usual to move Amendments, or to raise discussions, on Votes on Account; but as we are rapidly approaching the last days of the present Parliament, and as I shall not have another opportunity of calling attention to a matter which well deserves the attention of the Committee, I cannot help saying a few words upon it at the present time, because I feel that the attention of the public must be drawn to it sooner or later, and that it must be taken up with vigour. I refer to the great and growing expense of the Pension List of the Army. Hon. Members often declare that it is impossible, in Committee of Supply, to do anything in the direction of reducing the Army Estimates; but, if the occasion were fitting, I could show how it is quite possible to effect a very great reduction in the Army Estimates in this particular direction. The Government constantly tell us that attempts are being made to introduce real reforms into the Army, both in regard to the expenditure and to the general efficiency of the Service. This year I have procured a Return, which has not yet been printed, but a copy of which I hold in my hand. It illustrates the growth of the dead weight in a most striking manner. The Return shows that the increase in the number of officers of the higher ranks of the Establishment has been altogether out of proportion to the number of men borne upon the Establishment. I will ask the Committee to listen to one or two of these figures. I do not propose to enter into the subject at any great length; but I think these facts ought to be known, and I hope the new Parliament will take the matter up in earnest, and institute a searching inquiry. I propose to give the figures for the years 1870, 1880, and 1885, respectively. In 1870, the number of general officers on the Effective and Retired Lists was 332; in 1880, it had increased to 456; and it was 440 in 1885. In the same three years, the numbers of field officers on the Establishment were 1,698, 1,917, and 2,443, respectively. But the effective strength of the Army in those three periods did not greatly change, having been, in round numbers, 184,000 of all ranks in 1870; 191,000 in 1880; and 188,000 in 1885. Therefore, although the number of field officers increased from 1,698 in 1870 to 2,443 in 1885, the effective strength of the Army in the same period showed a very small increase indeed. It is evident that this crowding of the higher ranks and compulsory retirement after a short period of service has had an effect perfectly appalling upon the number of men borne upon the Pension List. I will now trouble the Committee with the figures which show the growth of the Pension List. In 1855, the total charge for pensions and gratuities on retirement was £504,000; in 1860, it was £544,000; in 1870, £567,000; in 1880, £1,011,000; and in 1885, £1,354,000. I would ask the Committee what we are likely to come to if this increase is to continue? The Army will be eaten up by dead weight. An hon. Baronet behind me procured a Return, in 1883, of the estimated cost of the sums paid to officers on retirement by the Army Purchase Commission, and I see that whereas in 1883 the total was £758,000, it was estimated that it would grow gradually up to the year 1902, when it would amount to £1,000,000. Well, it has grown with a vengeance, and it has already reached a far higher figure than what it was estimated to reach by the commencement of next century. Now, Sir, all Armies should have efficient officers, and not officers who are past their work; but what Army in the world could afford to pension off its officers at this rate? The German Army and the French Army are obliged to put up with what they have, and what they can afford to pay; and it is well known that in the great Continental Armies there is nothing like the system of pensions which prevails here. The enormous number of officers borne on the strength of the British Army, as compared with the Armies of other countries, seems to me to call for the attention of Parliament. A German battalion has one officer commanding to every company of 120 men, which is its war strength; a French battalion has one major commanding, eight captains, an adjutant captain and lieutenant; whereas a British battalion has two lieutenant colonels, four majors, four captains, and a full staff of lieutenants. Our system of promotion is perfectly absurd. Our field officers have little or nothing to do, and the second lieutenant colonel with the battalion at home has really nothing to do. In India, it is quite true that you ought to have four field officers to a battalion, but there is no necessity for six; and in the case of a battalion at home, there is much less. You promote them to a rank in which they have no duties to perform, and then you pension them, with the result of providing the country with a Pension List which is crowded to a fearful extent. In the end you have officers who are extremely disgusted with their services having been dispensed with at a time when they are at their very best. I do not know that I can add anything to the force of what I have already said. There are several ways in which the evil I have pointed out may be cured, but it is not for me to find a remedy. I think, however, that the Committee ought to ask Her Majesty's Government to provide a remedy, and in future to carry out regulations more in accordance with true economy, and with the efficiency and requirements of the Army.

SIR WILLIAM CROSSMAN (Portsmouth): I wish to ask the Secretary of State for War some questions relative to the items contained in Vote 13, as I observe that some large sums are inserted for new works. In the first place, there is a sum of £26,000 for Wynberg, at the Cape of Good Hope. Wynberg is doubtless a very pleasant place, but it is situated between St. Simon's Bay and Cape Town, and I should have thought that the former place, which I hope will be strongly fortified for a coaling station, would have been the proper place in which to build new barracks. I should also like to have some explanation as to the acquisition of land and the conversion of buildings at Hong Kong. No doubt, more accommodation is required for the troops; but I doubt very much, from my own experience, whether the buildings now existing in the Island could be so altered as to adapt them for the accommodation of European troops. With reference to the repair of the hospital ship *Melville*, I would ask my right hon. Friend what has been done with the sanitarium which it has been proposed to build on a site in the centre of the Island—a site which I myself certainly do not deem to be suitable for the purpose? I would also ask whether the new hospital at Malta will be placed on a site where it will not be exposed to fire in case of siege, as I think that ought to be taken into consideration as well as sanitary requirements? I should further like to have some information as to the proposed railway between the forts of Treganthe and Scraesdon, at Plymouth, because if it is only intended for communication between the two forts it cannot be wanted, seeing that the men could walk the distance—a mile and a-half—in almost the same time it would take to convey them by train. I regret that no provision has been made for the Royal Artillery at Portsmouth. The present barracks are a disgrace to the country. They are simply old storehouses which have been converted into barracks, and they are now tumbling down about the men's heads. I believe that putting men into such a place on first joining has had an injurious effect on recruiting. The state of these barracks has been reported over and over again. The Government have plenty of ground at Portsmouth on which new barracks could be built, and I trust that the matter will not be overlooked. It is very satisfactory to find that something is being done to provide submarine mines for not only the military ports, but the commercial ports and the coaling stations abroad; but I hope that means will also be taken for protecting the mines when laid down, as I am of opinion that submarine mines are of little use except they are protected by guns from a counter-mining attack. The necessary arrangements need not be of an expensive character, because machine guns under cover of existing forts, well covered from the seaward, would answer the purpose. I am glad to see that measures are being taken to put the coaling stations in a proper state of defence; but I think that the total sum mentioned for this purpose is much smaller than that originally estimated. I think that a great saving might be effected in Part 3 in Vote 13, if we were to establish companies of old soldiers of the Engineers on the same principle as the Coast Brigade of the Royal Artillery and the Coast companies of submarine Mining Engineers. These men could do all repairs and maintenance, and thus save the expense of contracts with tradesmen, and, in addition, openings would be afforded for commissions to be given to a most deserving and intelligent class of men—namely, the military foremen of works.

MR. W. H. SMITH (Strand, Westminster): I do not propose to follow the hon. and gallant Member opposite (Sir William Crossman) in the details into which he has entered of a particular Vote, because, I think, it has been generally understood that the discussion of the details of these Estimates is to be reserved until they come up for consideration in connection with the regular Votes. But I think it is impossible to exaggerate the importance of one or two of the questions which have been referred to, especially the necessity of establishing and making adequate provision for the protection of coaling stations. I think there can be nothing more important than to provide for the defence of such stations, and that the works should be proceeded with as rapidly as possible, consistent with due economy and thorough efficiency. I think that my right hon. Friend the Member for North-East Manchester (Sir James Fergusson) has done good service in calling attention to the compulsory retirements of officers at an early age. The figures which my right hon. Friend referred to are, in themselves, very startling and serious. The system has been an expensive one, and has not fulfilled the expectations which were formed from the actuarial calculations. No greater service can be done to the Army than to institute a thorough and authorative inquiry into this portion of the administration of the Army. The attention of my right hon. Friend the Secretary of State for War has already been called to the subject, and I had hoped that it would have been possible for him to have placed before the House some proposal which would have dealt with the question, which is undoubtedly of very considerable importance to the taxpayers of the country, and also of serious importance to the Army itself. I believe there is no body of men more anxious that the question should be considered from an economical point of view than the officers of the Army. If my right hon. Friend is not able to frame for himself any scheme, or to make any proposal that will deal adequately with the matter, I trust that he will see his way to the appointment of some Committee or Commission to inquire thoroughly into the question, and completely review the conditions under which the present regulations take effect. I believe the time has come when an inquiry of that kind, conducted by a perfectly impartial tribunal, would be welcomed by all parties. It is felt that, in the present system, the burden of dead weight is excessive and vastly more than the actuarial calculations led the authorities originally to expect. I refrain from going into the details of any of these Votes. I believe a more fit time for doing so will be when we can discuss them in proper order; but I do not think it right when so important a question has been raised as that which has been raised by my right hon. Friend the Member for North-East Manchester, that it should be passed over altogether in silence.

MR. ESSLEMONT (Aberdeen, E.): I wish to call attention on this Vote to the immense number of men on deferred pay, and to ask whether this arrangement is necessary? If I may be allowed to say so, I think we have here also an opportunity of dealing with a matter which has been before the House of Commons quite recently. The sense of the House was taken on the subject of the Volunteer Forces, and I think I am right in saying that it was in the direction that, if possible, an increase should be made in the capitation grant. I suggest for the consideration of the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State for War, whether he cannot now make the grant of £100,000 for the increase of capitation for the Volunteer Service.

MR. HANDEL COSSHAM (Bristol, E.): I believe the Committee are entirely agreed that there is need for some reduction in the expenditure on the Army. I have not long been a Member of this House, but have sat here long enough to see that there is always going on a constant increase in the expenditure of the national funds. Therefore, I say that those who stand up for an economical use of the public purse should endeavour to prevent the continuance of this increase in the future. I hope the time is coming when some stop will be put to the extravagant expenditure in connection with the Forces of the country. The people whom I and those who think with me represent do not think that they get anything like "value received" for the money spent on the Army and Navy. In view of the depression which exists in the country, and of which we hear so much from hon. Gentlemen opposite, I think that the present especially is no time for extravagance; and I hope that Her Majesty's Government, taking the circumstances into full consideration, and looking at the constantly increasing expenditure, will do all they can to check the extravagance which is certainly going on. The Pension List is one of the most unsatisfactory features of expenditure, and, sooner or later, it will have to be reduced. I may say that the sooner that is done the greater will be the satisfaction felt in the country.

Colonel DUNCAN (Finsbury, Holborn): I am glad that the question of the compulsory retirement of officers is occupying the attention of the right hon. Gentleman the late Secretary of State for War, and the right hon. Member for North-East Manchester (Sir James Fergusson). It is indeed a question the importance of which cannot be exaggerated. By making a change in the present system under which officers are forced out of the Army in the prime of life we shall consult the interests of the Service, and, at the same time save the money of the taxpayers; and I therefore strongly hope that we shall hear from the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State for War that some measures are to be taken in this matter, and that a thorough and exhaustive inquiry will be made into this system with a view to its alteration, so that it shall in future exercise a less exhausting influence upon the national purse. With regard to the Egyptian occupation of Suakin and the withdrawal to Assouan, I rejoice that both these measures have been adopted; and I have observed that there has been no uncertainty or insecurity in Suakin since the garrison consisted only of Egyptian troops, but, on the other hand, a desire for friendly commerce has sprung up, and to-day we see, by the newspapers, that two markets have been opened. At Wady Halfa we see also that there is a great desire to re-open that commerce which was formerly the chief source of their means of living; and I remember when I was out there how much pain and loss the cessation of that commerce caused to the people of the district. Then, with regard to barracks, I heard at Portsmouth a complaint made as to the barrack accommodation, and found that there was an officer laid up with typhoid fever in consequence of the barrack arrangements. As the importance of having proper arrangements cannot be overrated, I sincerely hope that the defects will be remedied. And then, Sir, there is an inquiry I have to make to the right hon. Gentleman as to whether anything has been done with regard to the position of the quartermasters in the Army? The right hon. Gentleman has, I believe, met my wishes up to a certain point, and has mentioned that certain delays are necessary. I am impatient of the delays of permanent officials in this matter. The quartermasters are the men in the Army who have least power of defending themselves; they have risen from the ranks, and it is our duty specially to look after them; they cannot plead for themselves, and they are absolutely dumb here, while their conduct is only known to men like myself who have served long enough to know how deserving their conduct is. Sir, possessing that knowledge I renew my appeal to the right hon. Gentleman not to allow the case of these most deserving officers to be the subject of further delay.

Mr. HENNIKER HEATON (Canterbury): I also rise to support the claims of the quartermasters, whose treatment by the Government I regard as simply disgraceful. I have been informed that they require quartermasters to retire one year before the regular time. There is one case in particular with which I am acquainted—that of Quartermaster Ramsden, which I think particularly deserves the attention of the Committee. That officer was in the country's service for 35 years; he obtained the good opinion of the officers under whom he served, and he has done valuable service to the country in the matter of recruiting. Well, Sir, the Regulation was passed, and he was compelled to retire a year before the time, the country being thereby deprived of the services of that valuable officer in the prime of life. He had served long enough to be entitled to two pensions, but he lost one of them; and what I ask is that he may be placed in the position in which he was before he was compelled to retire. The whole of the circumstances have been brought under the notice of the Secretary of State for War, who expressed his interest in the case, and promised to give it consideration. I trust that the right hon. Gentleman will relieve the minds of the quartermasters, who have been compelled to retire, of the sense of the serious wrong which has been done them, and that we shall be informed, as soon as possible, as to the position in which these officers will be placed as the result of the inquiry which I understand has been instituted.

SIR FREDERICK FITZ-WYGRAM (Hants, Fareham): I condemn the enormous cost of pensions, and I equally condemn the grievance which compels the officers of the Army to retire. Now, Sir, I believe that both these grievances might be avoided. At present, an officer is compelled to retire at 40, unless he is a combatant field officer. I would abolish compulsory retirement, and allow an officer to remain in the Army as long as he liked, and fix the maximum pension to be earned at the age of 45; and I believe that if you did not give an increased pension, officers would leave of their own accord, and the grievance they have now would cease to exist, and you would, moreover, get rid of those officers whom you do not wish to retain. The men who loved their profession and had a good prospect of advancement would stay with the Army; but the idlers, married men, and others who do not care about the Service, would see that they had nothing to gain by remaining, and would voluntarily leave. I believe you would also save a large amount of money by adopting this course, and give satisfaction to the Service.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR WAR (Mr. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN) (Stirling, &c.): I am not often in disagreement with the hon. and gallant Member for Finsbury (Colonel Duncan); but, in the course of his observations, he has made one or two remarks with which I am unable to agree. In the first place, he said that the quartermasters of the Army were a class of men who were, so to speak, dumb, inasmuch as they could never make themselves heard in this House. Well, Sir, I have had a seat in this House for 18 years, and during 16 of those years I have been either connected with the Army Department, or watching closely Army debates, and I think I may say, without exaggeration, that there has hardly been a year in which the grievances of the quartermasters have not been fully and amply ventilated here. Then the hon. and gallant Member made the remark that he was impatient of the delays caused by the permanent officials of the War Department. Now, when any question affecting the relative position of the officers in the Service is brought up, it is absolutely necessary that it should be most carefully and seriously considered; and I have known many cases, similar to this of the quartermasters, where a settlement was supposed to be arrived at, and then, on further consideration, which caused, no doubt, distressing delay, it was discovered that the settlement would be most injurious to the interest of the Service itself. We hear of the rights of the officers in the Army; but there is always to be considered the interest of the taxpayers and of the country generally, and I greatly deprecate the tendency to agitate the House of Commons in the interest of any particular class of officers. As my hon. and gallant Friend knows, there are one or two points in which the quartermasters have a plausible case. Their position was readjusted only two or three years ago, and since that time it has been shown that one or two things might be done for them which were not done at the time when the readjustment took place. I have gone into these matters, and I can promise my hon. and gallant Friend that no time has been unnecessarily lost in the matter, although to him it may seem otherwise. With regard to the great question of promotion and retirement brought forward by the right hon. Baronet the Member for North-East Manchester (Sir James Fergusson), I am not one who would underrate the gravity of that question, and I observe, with regret, that the increase from year to year of the non-effective expenditure is something undoubtedly alarming. But let us go a little way into the history of the subject. As far as the men are concerned, the present great cost of pensions was foreseen at the time when short service was introduced; and, undoubtedly, we are now, and have been for a considerable period, in this unpleasant position—that we have a still growing charge for the original long service pensions, and at the same time the cost of the short service system. The two systems have overlapped, and we have to bear the cost of both of them; and until all the men have passed out of the Army who have claim for pensions for long service we must bear the expense. But as regards the officers, the increased expenditure arises, undoubtedly, in great part from the abolition of purchase. When purchase in the Army was abolished, an undertaking was given that the average standard of promotion then existing should be maintained. A Royal Commission was appointed to ascertain what steps should be taken in order to bring about the result; it was, I believe, presided over by Lord Penzance; it sat in 1873 or 1874, and it was that Commission which recommended the compulsory retirement of officers that has filled the clubs and the country with comparatively young officers, who are forced into idleness. I am not expressing any opinion whether or not this was a right step; but the opinion of the Commission was adopted by Lord Cranbrook, then Secretary of State for War. No material change was made in the Regulations until 1881, when my right hon. Friend, now Secretary of State for the Home Department, and then Secretary of State for War (Mr. Childers), introduced a Warrant which altered the conditions of service and promotion; but it went almost entirely in the direction of modifying the rigidity of the previous system. Now, the result appears to have been that for one reason or other promoiton has been quicker than the standard rate, especially in the lower ranks. That may have been due to special circumstances; yet, having been so long acquainted with these matters, and knowing how delicate a machine the Army is, I am loth to come to any conclusion on that point. But there are one or two points on which there can be hardly two opinions, and if they can be modified in some way, I believe it would be to the advantage both of the Service and the country. One or two clauses in the existing Warrant appear to me to be capable of modification. I have been considering the subject, and although I am not at present able to announce any decision arrived at, I think I am justified in saying that I see my way to take certain steps which will have a material influence in reducing the dead weight which is felt, and, at the same time, be acceptable to the Army generally. The points I speak of are small; but I need hardly say that from small changes large results very often proceed. But we can only proceed upon such *data* as we know to be sound, and in order to treat the matter in that careful way, some time is required. I am, however, glad to be able to say to my hon. and gallant Friend who brings the subject forward that, at all events, it is not being neglected, and that if, by some fortunate course of circumstances, I find myself continuing in the Office which I now hold, I hope I may be able to do something in the direction indicated. The right hon. Gentleman the late Secretary of State for War suggests an impartial and comprehensive inquiry into this matter. I am always afraid of Royal Commissions and large inquiries, because, although they are influenced by the best and most patriotic intentions, they are almost sure to land us in additional expense; and I have no hesitation in stating my opinion that a large inquiry in the present instance would have that effect. I think that there are those advising the Secretary of State for War who, by their long and intimate acquaintance with these questions, know what objects to aim at and what to avoid, and with their assistance I have no doubt that some modification of what is now complained of will be arrived at. My hon. and gallant Friend the Member for Portsmouth (Sir William Crossman) called my attention to two items in Vote 19. I point out that this is only a Vote on Account, and, that being, so I am hardly in a position to go into details; but the hon. and gallant Gentleman shall have such explanation as I can give. He asked about the barracks at the Cape of Good Hope. With regard to the new barracks at Wynberg, I may say that the barracks at Cape Town were disgracefully old, and required a heavy outlay of money which would simply be wasted. It is intended to provide additional accommodation at Wynberg, which will admit of the Cape Town Barracks being vacated. Then, with regard to Hong Kong, the account I have to give is that, in order to concentrate the garrison, it is proposed to give up the buildings in use, and provide accommodation for the troops now there as well as additional accommodation for 100 men; and for this purpose it is proposed to purchase land at a cost of £40,000, and re-appropriate it to barracks at a cost of £15,000. With regard to the Artillery Barracks at Portsmouth, these are known to be in an unsanitary state, and to place them in a proper condition is one of the first things to be taken up when there are funds available. With regard to the coaling stations generally, I do not think I can add anything to the somewhat full statement made by my hon. Friend the Surveyor General and myself when the Estimates were introduced. On that occasion, we gave a clear account of the money to be expended during the year, and of the purposes for which it would be expended. My hon. and gallant Friend opposite (Sir Frederick Fitz-Wygram) spoke of the camp at Aldershot, and with a good deal of what he said I entirely agree. I believe a large question with regard to accommodation in barracks would have to be entered into, if the present arrangements were disturbed. Undoubtedly, the huts at Aldershot and elsewhere have been for a long time in an unsatisfactory condition; but the whole question involves serious expense and serious consideration, and it therefore stands over for the present. Now I come to the remarks of my hon. Friend the Member for Kirkcaldy (Sir George Campbell), who initiated this discussion with a question on Egypt, and who complained of not being able to get any information. I can only say, if that is so, that he has departed from his usual habit of asking questions. I would point out also that he has gone away this evening without waiting for any reply. I am afraid that the hon. Gentleman will not be very well satisfied when he receives the answer. When he was speaking there were two Ministers in the House, the Chancellor of the Exchequer and the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, who are well acquainted with the subject, and would have replied better than I can. We have done a great deal in the direction of getting away from Egypt; and we have been able with perfect safety, notwithstanding the opinions expressed, to withdraw the British troops as far as Assouan. I regret to say that Assouan is not in a satisfactory state of health. Of course, in a matter of this kind we rest ourselves upon the advice of the General Officer commanding on the spot. At all events, the process of withdrawing our troops from unhealthy positions, and reducing the number of British troops altogether, by substituting Egyptian troops, has been carried further than most people, I think, thought we should find possible. The hon. and gallant Gentleman (Colonel Blundell) made some remarks on the question of recruiting, and suggested some means of marking recruits, in order to avoid fraudulent enlistment. That is a question we are very familar with, and I know there is a great deal to be said in favour of what the hon. and gallant Gentleman recommends; but I am a little suspicious and doubtful whether the public and the House of Commons are ready to accept any step of that kind. The question of re-entering men who have left the Army is one which I will consider from the point of view which the hon. and gallant Gentleman has urged. Of course, at present no man is entitled to a pension whose service has not been continuous; but if any means can be adopted, without detriment to the Service, of using the services of men who have retired from the Army, but who are anxious to serve again, we shall be glad to adopt them. I think I have noticed all the points which have been raised, and I have now only to express my regret if any hon. Member has been disappointed or put to inconvenience in consequence of these Votes having been put upon the Paper to-night. After all, we only take a Vote on Account. That appeared to us to be the most proper course in the circumstances, and I am sure the Committee will believe that there has been no intention to mislead any hon. Member.

SIR WALTER B. BARTTELOT: I think it right to say that the Army have implicit confidence in my right hon. Friend the Secretary of State for War. They are fully persuaded that he will do with the particulars of the case to which he refers, I will inquire into it.

Vote *agreed to.*

NAVY ESTIMATES.

(4.) £1,000, on Account, Victualling Yards at Home and Abroad.

(5.) £1,000, on Account, Medical Establishments at Home and Abroad.

(6.) £1,000, on Account, Marine Divisions.

(7.) £1,000, on Account, Naval Stores for Building and Repairing the Fleet, &c.

(8.) £1,000, on Account, Machinery and Ships built by Contract, &c.

(9.) £1,000, on Account, Medicines and Medical Stores, &c.

(10.) £1,000, on Account, Martial Law, &c.

(11.) £1,000, on Account, Miscellaneous Services.

Resolutions to be reported upon *Wednesday* next.

## RETURNING OFFICERS' CHARGES (SCOTLAND) BILL.—[BILL 188.]

(*The Lord Advocate, Mr. Solicitor General for Scotland.*)

COMMITTEE. [*Progress 12th May.*]

Bill *considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Clauses 1 to 3, inclusive, *agreed to.*

Clause 4 (Payments to returning officers).

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL (Kirkcaldy, &c.): In the absence of the hon. Member for Ross and Cromarty (Dr. M'Donald), I beg to move the Amendment which stands on the Paper in his name—namely, in page 1, line 24, after "notwithstanding," to add—

"It shall be his duty to furnish detailed statements of his actual outlays, and to produce vouchers for all disbursements exceeding five shillings in amount."

Amendment proposed,

In page 1, line 24, after the word "notwithstanding," to add the words "it shall be his duty to furnish detailed statements of his actual outlays, and to produce vouchers for all disbursements exceeding five shillings in amount."—(*Sir George Campbell.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there added."

*Mr. Campbell-Bannerman*

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR SCOTLAND (Mr. ASHER) (Elgin, &c.): I must object to add the words of my hon. Friend, because the case in question is provided for in Clause 7.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Clause *agreed to.*

Clause 5 (Liability of candidates).

On the Motion of Mr. SOLICITOR GENERAL for SCOTLAND, the following Amendment made:—

In page 2, line 1, leave out from "where" to "candidate," in line 4; and in line 7, leave out "with the candidate."

Clause, as amended, *agreed to.*

Clause 6 *agreed to.*

Clause 7 (The accounts of a returning officer may be taxed).

On the Motion of Mr. SOLICITOR GENERAL for SCOTLAND, the following Amendment made:—In page 3, line 6, leave out "the person to whom the account is transmitted," and insert "such candidate;" and in line 16, leave out from "apply to," to end of Clause, and insert—

"Make written application to the auditor of the court of session for a taxation of the account, and the auditor shall thereupon forthwith proceed to tax the account, and to issue a deliverance thereon, power being hereby given to him, if he shall so desire, to refer any point or points to the judges appointed for the trial of election petitions of Scotland, under and in terms of 'The Parliamentary Elections Act, 1868,' and 'The Parliamentary Elections and Corrupt Practices Act, 1879,' and either party shall have power to appeal against the deliverance of the auditor by lodging a note of objections to the said deliverance within ten days after it has been so pronounced with the said judges appointed for the trial of election petitions, who shall forthwith hear parties and decide upon the deliverance and note of objections, and their judgment shall be final.

"It shall be competent for the auditor to receive evidence directed to prove that the work or furnishings in respect of which charges are made could have been efficiently performed or supplied at less cost than that charged in the account.

"The said judges shall have power to enforce judgment for the amount of charges found due to a returning officer as if such judgment were a judgment in an action in said court, and with or without expenses, at the discretion of the court.

"Where an application is made for the taxation of an account, the provisions of sub-section five of the twenty-ninth section of 'The Corrupt Practices Act, 1883,' shall not apply, and it shall not be necessary that the expenses of the said returning officer shall be paid within twenty-eight days from the day on which the election is declared."

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL (Kirkcaldy, &c.): I beg to move the Amendment standing in the name of the hon. Member for East Fife (Mr. Boyd-Kinnear)—namely, on page 3, line 26, at end, add—

"The auditor or the court shall be bound to receive evidence, if tendered, that the services in respect of which any charges are made could have been efficiently performed by other competent persons or in a different legal manner at a lower cost."

I do not see the hon. Member in his place; but he is a Member of great experience in these matters, and I should therefore like to move the Amendment in his name.

Amendment proposed, in page 3, line 26, at end, add—

"The auditor or the court shall be bound to receive evidence, if tendered, that the services in respect of which any charges are made could have been efficiently performed by other competent persons or in a different legal manner at a lower cost."—(*Sir George Campbell.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there added."

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR SCOTLAND (Mr. ASHER) (Elgin, &c.) said, the Amendment was unnecessary. The hon. Member for East Fife was satisfied as to the matter raised by it.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Clause, as amended, *agreed to.*

Clause 8 *agreed to.*

Clause 9 (Notices to be given by returning officers).

On the Motion of Mr. SOLICITOR GENERAL for SCOTLAND, the following Amendments made:—

In page 3, line 36, after "elections," insert "and of sheriff court and municipal buildings, so far as practicable;" in same line, leave out "court," and insert "auditor;" and in line 37, leave out "his," and insert "returning officers."

Clause, as amended, *agreed to.*

Clause 10 (Appointment of a deputy returning officer).

On the Motion of Mr. SOLICITOR GENERAL for SCOTLAND, the following Amendment made:—In page 3, line 41, before "Schedule," insert "Third."

Clause, as amended, *agreed to.*

Schedule 1.

Amendment proposed,

In page 5, leave out lines 8 and 9, and insert—"For publishing the notice of election and supplying the nomination papers. The actual outlay not exceeding £2 2*s.*"—(*Mr Solicitor General for Scotland.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Schedule."

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL (Kirkcaldy, &c.): I hope the hon. and learned Solicitor General will give us some information on this subject. I observe that the hon. Member for East Fife has an Amendment on the Paper to reduce this two guineas to one guinea.

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR SCOTLAND (Mr. ASHER) (Elgin, &c.): That is so; but a Sub-Committee had sat and considered these matters, and the amount proposed had been put down to give effect to the arrangement which was effected.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL: Am I to understand that this Amendment has been put down since that of the hon. Member for East Fife appeared on the Paper?

MR. ASHER: Yes, Sir; it was only put down on the Paper last night to give effect to the arrangement which has been come to.

Question put, and *negatived.*

Question, "That the words proposed be there added," put, and *agreed to.*

On the Motion of Mr. SOLICITOR GENERAL for SCOTLAND, the following Amendments made:—In page 5, line 10, leave out "Scotland," and insert "the sheriffdom;" line 20, after "outlay," leave out—

"Not exceeding £7 7*s.* for each polling station," and insert "not exceeding £3 3*s.* for each polling station where the number of voters does not exceed 700, and £2 2*s.* for each additional compartment required for each additional 700 voters or fraction of that number;"

in line 20, after "buildings," and before "for constructing," insert "or;" in line 27, after "box," insert "not being the property of a public authority;" same line, before "2 6," insert "The actual outlay not exceeding;" leave out line 28, and insert "For stationery in each polling compartment the actual outlay not exceeding 2*s.* 6*d.*;" in line 29, leave out "1 10 0," and insert

"The actual outlay not exceeding 1 0 0;" and in line 30, leave out "0 15 0," and insert "The actual outlay not exceeding 0 10 0."

Amendment proposed, in page 5, line 31, after "officer," insert—

> "At each polling station there shall be one presiding officer for the first 700 voters, and an additional presiding officer for each additional 700 voters or fraction of that number beyond the first 700."—(*Mr. Solicitor General for Scotland.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

Mr. CHANCE (Kilkenny, S.): I do not wish to interfere; but practical experience tells me that if you have only one Returning Officer for each 700 voters, you run a great risk of breaking down towards the middle of the day, when the work gets severe. One is not enough for 700 voters.

Mr. ESSLEMONT (Aberdeen, E.): The universal opinion in Scotland is that the time of the Returning Officer is not nearly fully occupied; and it is believed that there will be no difficulty in working out the provisions of this clause.

Question put, and *agreed to;* words *inserted* accordingly, and *agreed to.*

Further Amendments made.

On the Motion of The Lord Advocate, the following Amendments made:—

In page 7, leave out lines 18 and 19, and insert—

> "For publishing the notice of election and supplying the nomination papers, the actual outlay not exceeding £2 2*s.*;"

line 23, leave out "Scotland," and insert "the sheriffdom;" line 24, after "outlay," leave out—

> "Not exceeding £7 7*s.*" to "used," and insert "not exceeding £3 3*s.* for each polling station where the number of voters does not exceed 700, and £2 2*s.* for each additional compartment required for each additional 700 voters or fraction of that number;"

line 20, after "buildings," and before "constructing," insert "or;" line 35, after "compartments," add "where the number of voters does not exceed 1,400;" line 36, leave out "such," and insert "each;" in page 8, line 4, after "box," insert "not being the property of a public authority;" line 4, before "0 2 6," insert "The actual outlay not exceeding;" leave out line 6, and insert "For stationery in each polling compartment, the actual outlay not exceeding "0 5 0;" line 6, leave out "0 10 0," and insert "The actual outlay not exceeding "1 0 0;" line 10, leave out "0 15 0," and insert "the actual outlay not exceeding 0 10 0;" line 11, before "0 1 0," insert "the actual outlay not exceeding;" line 11, after "0 1 0," add—

> "For preparing and publishing notice of sub-agents, for each candidate
> the actual outlay not exceeding £1 1*s.*, and 10*s.* for each sub-agent named in addition to the first;"

line 12, after "officer," add—

> "At each polling station there shall be one presiding officer for the first 700 voters, and an additional presiding officer for each additional 700 voters or fraction of that number beyond the first 700;"

line 14, leave out "at each polling station," and insert "to each presiding officer;" line 16, leave out "500," twice, and insert "700," in each place; leave out line 18; line 20, leave out "eight," and insert "six;" line 21, leave out "4,000," and insert "3,000;" line 21, leave out "1,000," and insert "2,000;" line 23, before "1 1 0," insert "the actual outlay not exceeding;" line 25, leave out "£20," and insert "£10;" line 27, leave out "1,000," and insert "2,000;" line 30, leave out from "£25," to "sums" in line 41, and insert—

> "£20, and an additional £1 for every 1,000 registered electors or fraction thereof above 6,000. In an uncontested election one-half of the above sums;"

line 42, after "0 1 0," insert "no travelling expenses to be allowed beyond the limits of the sheriffdom;" in page 9, line 1, leave out "services and expenses in relation to receiving and."

Amendment proposed, in page 9, line 7, leave out "£2 2*s.*," and insert "the actual outlay not exceeding £4 4*s.*" —(*The Lord Advocate.*)

Question proposed, "That '£2 2*s.*' remain part of the Schedule."

Sir GEORGE CAMPBELL: All the changes hitherto have been in the nature of a reduction; but I observe here an increase—a rise from two guineas to four guineas. I should like to know if that is necessary.

The SOLICITOR GENERAL for SCOTLAND (Mr. Asher): The explanation is this—that in every other case the publication has been by notice posted up; but in this case provision is made for giving the notice in the newspapers. The matter has been inquired into, and it has been found that it is impossible to fulfil this statutory duty for less than £4 4*s*.

Sir GEORGE CAMPBELL: What has been the amount allowed hitherto? Has it been £4 4*s*.?

Mr. CHANCE: The amount in both England and Ireland is £2 2*s*. The fact is, the more money you spend on these matters the higher the charges become. It is usual to give 1*s*. a-line — the charge is made, and the candidates are afraid to refuse. There is no reason why the charge should be more than 4*d*. or 6*d*. a-line, like other advertisements. This is simply an inducement to the papers to raise their prices at Election time.

The SOLICITOR GENERAL for SCOTLAND (Mr. Asher): We have inquired into this matter, and the result of that inquiry has been to show that the statutory requirements cannot be complied with. There is no means of compelling the newspapers to publish these things at less than their customary charges.

Sir GEORGE CAMPBELL: I give Her Majesty's Government credit for a general desire to reduce these charges. It is a fact that in England and Ireland this charge is limited to £2 2*s*., and I do not see why in Scotland we should pay more than that amount. The hon. Gentleman opposite (Mr. Chance) is generally pretty correct in these matters.

Mr. CHANCE: It is not two guineas in every case in Ireland. It is two in the counties of England and Ireland, and only one in the Irish boroughs.

Mr. ESSLEMONT: It seems to be a statutory obligation to publish in two newspapers. The remedy, undoubtedly, would be to alter the Schedule, so that this would not be a statutory obligation. The difficulty that occurred to us was that it was laid on the Returning Officer to make the publication, and there was no way of compelling the newspapers to fix their charges, so that the Returning Officer would not suffer personal loss. The remedy for this state of things would be to provide that it should not be obligatory on the Returning Officer to publish in the newspapers. In that case, he would publish in some other way, so long as the newspapers refused to accept the amount he was prepared to give them. Although our desire was to be economical, we wish to avoid placing on the Returning Officer a statutable obligation which he could not perform without personal loss.

Sir GEORGE CAMPBELL: Could not this be altered before the Bill is passed?

The SOLICITOR GENERAL for SCOTLAND (Mr. Asher): At present, there is no statutory scale regulating these charges. The amount of them is entirely left to the discretion of the Returning Officer, so that this would be imposing on him a restraint for the first time.

Mr. CHANCE: I am very much astonished that it has been discovered that two guineas is not enough for Scotland, and that four is necessary. In 1874, before the Act of 1875, which deals with England and Ireland was passed, a Select Committee sat and examined a number of Sheriffs, Sub-Sheriffs, Town Clerks, and other witnesses on the question, and the result was that a sort of contract was made with these gentlemen, and two guineas were agreed upon in the case of counties and one in the case of boroughs. No complaint has been made as to the sufficiency of these sums; therefore, it appears to me unreasonable to fix the amount at four guineas.

Question, "That '£2 2*s*.' remain part of the Schedule," put, and *negatived*.

Question, "That '£4 4*s*.' be there inserted," put, and *agreed to*.

On the Motion of The Lord Advocate, the following Amendments were made:—In First Schedule, page 9, line 6, leave out "and an additional £1 for every 1,000 electors or fraction thereof above 1,000;" in page 10, line 10, leave out from "400," to end of Schedule, and insert—

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| | 275 | 200 |
| Where the registered electors exceed 4,000 but do not exceed 7,000 . | 430 | 250 |
| Where the registered electors exceed 7,000 but do not exceed 10,000 . | 550 | 300 |
| Where the registered electors exceed 10,000 but do not exceed 15,000 . | 700 | 450 |
| Where the registered electors exceed 15,000 but do not exceed 20,000 . | 800 | 500 |
| Where the registered electors exceed 20,000 but do not exceed 30,000 . | 900 | 600 |
| Where the registered electors exceed 30,000 but do not exceed 40,000 . | 1,000 | 700 |

Schedule 2.

MR. ESSLEMONT: I beg to move, in the Second Schedule, to strike out lines 7, 8, and 9 on page 10. It will be in the recollection of the Committee that this raises the question discussed last night as to the Irish and English Schedule. As this important alteration was made in the measure affecting England and Ireland, it seems to me that it ought also to be made here, so that there may be no difference in the matter between England, Scotland, and Ireland. I have no doubt that candidates in Scotland will be found equally as reliable as candidates in England and Ireland, and there is no reason why the securities in Scotland should be fixed at a higher rate than they are in the other countries. There is one exception to be made in the application of this Amendment—the case of Dundee. That is the one double constituency in regard to which a higher rate should be fixed; but, in every other case, the rates should, I think, be made the same as those for England and Ireland.

Amendment proposed, in page 10, to leave out lines 7, 8, and 9.—(*Mr. Esslemont.*)

Question proposed, "That the lines proposed to be left out stand part of the Schedule."

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR SCOTLAND (Mr. ASHER): The figures which are stated in this Schedule were adjusted at a meeting of Scotch Members; accordingly, I thought it my duty to make the Motion that this Schedule should form part of the Bill. But I am aware of the result of the discussion last night, when it was the unanimous opinion of the House that the amount of security the Returning Officer should be allowed to exact should be a very much smaller sum than that agreed upon by the Scotch Members; and I think the proper course to take now would be to omit this Schedule altogether, or not to proceed with this Amendment, on the understanding that we should bring up words on Report that will give effect in the Scotch Act to precisely the same principle adopted in the English and Irish Acts.

THE CHAIRMAN: Does the hon. Member withdraw the Amendment?

MR. ESSLEMONT: Yes, I withdraw it.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

On the Motion of The LORD ADVOCATE, the following Amendment made:—In page 10, leave out Note to Second Schedule, and add—

Third Schedule.

| | £ | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|
| (1.) At a contested election. For every thousand or part of a thousand electors in the constituency | 1 | 10 | 0 |
| (2.) At an uncontested election. For every thousand or part of a thousand electors . . . . | 0 | 10 | 0 |

Bill *reported;* as amended, to be considered upon *Wednesday* next, and to be *printed.* [Bill 281.]

## CONVEYANCING ACTS (SCOTLAND) AMENDMENT BILL.

(*The Lord Advocate, The Solicitor General for Scotland.*)

[BILL 251.] THIRD READING.

Order for Third Reading read.

MR. JOHN WILSON (Edinburgh): I have received a telegram from Heriot's Hospital, to the effect that their interests would be injuriously affected by this Bill. I will not go into the particulars of the matter just now, but merely mention it, so that the hon. and learned Gentleman the Solicitor General for Scotland may enter into communication with the Governors of the Hospital, with a view to finding out whether anything can be done to meet their objection.

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR SCOTLAND (Mr. ASHER) (Elgin, &c.): The Hospital the hon. Member refers to undoubtedly has large interests as Superiors; but this Bill has been examined by a Committee of the Society of Writers to the Signet in Edinburgh, who act largely for Superiors, and they have expressed their approval of it.

Bill read the third time, and *passed.*

## POOR LAW BOARDS AND RELIEF (SCOTLAND) BILL.—[BILL 252.]

(*The Lord Advocate, Mr. Solicitor General for Scotland.*)

COMMITTEE. [*Progress 10th June.*]

Bill *considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Clause 1 (Power to parochial boards to borrow on the security of the assessments, and mode of exercising power).

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL (Kirkcaldy, &c.): I should like to have an explanation of the clause?

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR SCOTLAND (Mr. ASHER) (Elgin, &c.): Its object is to enable Local Boards to borrow money when necessary for purposes of the Poor Law, though they may be in debt at the time. At present, it is not possible for them to borrow until their loans are paid off.

Clause *agreed to.*

Clauses 2 to 4, inclusive, *agreed to.*

Clause 5 (Chargeability of child born in a poor-house).

Amendment proposed,

In page 3, line 22, after "situated," add—"Provided, That no parish or combination shall be liable to be rated for relief of the poor in respect of their interest in any poor house or lunatic ward situated in another parish."—(*The Lord Advocate.*)

Question, "That those words be there added," put, and *agreed to.*

Clause, as amended, *agreed to.*

Remaining Clause and Schedule separately *agreed to.*

Bill *reported;* as amended, to be considered upon *Wednesday* next.

## PETERHEAD HARBOUR OF REFUGE (*re-committed*) BILL.—[BILL 266.]

(*Mr. Duff, Mr. Hibbert, Mr. Henry H. Fowler, The Lord Advocate, Mr. Solicitor General for Scotland.*)

COMMITTEE.

Bill *considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Clauses 1 to 20, inclusive, *agreed to.*

Clause 21 (Reports to be laid before Parliament).

On the Motion of Mr. DUFF, the following Amendments made:—In page 1, line 8, before the word "charges," insert the words "said compensation and;" and in the same line, after "charges," add "out of moneys to be provided by Parliament."

Clause, as amended, *agreed to.*

Remaining Clauses *agreed to.*

Bill *reported;* as amended, to be considered upon *Wednesday* next.

## SALMON AND FRESHWATER FISHERIES (*re-committed*) BILL.—[BILL 244.]

(*Mr. Mundella, Mr. Acland.*)

COMMITTEE.

Order for Committee read.

Motion made, and Question, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair,"—(*Mr. Acland,*)—put, and *agreed to.*

Bill *considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Clauses 1 to 5, inclusive, *agreed to.*

Clause 6 (Reports to be laid before Parliament).

CAPTAIN PRICE (Devonport): As the hon. Member for East Norfolk (Sir Edward Birkbeck) is not in his place, I propose to move the Amendment standing in the name of the hon. Baronet, which, owing to his great knowledge of the subject, I have no doubt is of importance.

THE SECRETARY TO THE BOARD OF TRADE (Mr. C. T. D. ACLAND) (Cornwall, Launceston): I am afraid that the Board of Trade are not prepared to undertake annually to lay before Parliament the information asked for in this Amendment. They are quite prepared to issue a Report annually; but I must point out that the details asked for in the Amendment, of which Notice has been given, could not possibly be obtained in anything like the complete form which would make them of value, because we cannot expect to get from the owners of private fisheries such Returns of the weights and value of fish as would represent the value of such fisheries, and would, therefore, affect their rental; and as it would be impossible to get these Returns, the Report in the form asked for by the hon. Member for East Norfolk would be useless, because it would not be complete. On the other hand, the Board of Trade fully recognizes the necessity of full Reports with reference to the produce of fisheries. I hope the Bill will be allowed to pass without any difficulty, because it is the first step towards the fulfilment of a promise given earlier in the Session to consolidate the work which is now divided between the Board of Trade and the Home Office. We feel that it is impossible to make any progress with the administration of fisheries until we can get the transfer of administration proposed in this Bill effected. The present Home Secretary is not in his place; but I know that he will fully support the views I express, and which are not arrived at without careful and constant consultation with the Inspectors of Salmon Fisheries, and I have reason to believe that the only objection found to the Bill was on account of the one point which I have removed from it. Under the circumstances, perhaps, my hon. and gallant Friend will not proceed with the Amendment.

Clause *agreed to.*

Remaining Clauses *agreed to.*

Bill *reported,* without Amendment.

Mr. C. T. D. ACLAND: I hope I shall not be asking too much in expressing a hope that the House will now consent to the third reading of the Bill.

Sir RICHARD WEBSTER (Isle of Wight): In the absence of the hon. Baronet the Member for East Norfolk (Sir Edward Birkbeck), I would ask the hon. Gentleman not to take the third reading this evening.

Bill to be read the third time upon *Wednesday* next.

## PUBLIC WORKS LOANS (TRAMWAYS (IRELAND) BILL.—[Bill 259.]

(*Mr. Henry H. Fowler, Mr. John Morley.*)

SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."—(*Mr. Henry H. Fowler.*)

Mr. BIGGAR (Cavan, W.): Sir, I think it is rather strange that the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Treasury should be moving the second reading of this Bill. I have read the Bill, and I understand that it is for the purpose of enabling the Government in Ireland to prefer their claims against public Companies—to take payment from the ordinary shares of the Companies. Now, I think that if the Government have a first charge against any public undertaking, railway, or other public Company, they should not certainly take security for it of the worst class. I think I am not wrong in stating that no railway shares in Ireland are at par. The Government railway shares are nominally at par, but in reality they are very much below it; and in the case of one Company the shares are taken up at very much less than the original price, and no dividend has been paid for many years. What the Government are doing is to transfer their mortgage claims, and take ordinary shares, and that I think is a mistake. Perhaps the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Treasury may be able to furnish an explanation which will satisfy me that I ought not to object to the Bill; but certainly it seems to me that the measure is one to which no Chancellor of the Exchequer or Secretary to the Treasury could for one moment agree, or to which any careful House of Commons would accede. The probability is that the Treasury would find themselves in possession of securities which have no intrinsic value in exchange for their first charge, and that, Sir, is a transaction with which I would recommend the Government to have nothing to do.

Amendment proposed, to leave out the word "now," and at the end of the Question to add the words "upon this day three months."—(*Mr Biggar*).

Question proposed, "That the word 'now' stand part of the Question."

The SECRETARY to the TREASURY (Mr. Henry H. Fowler) (Wolverhampton, E.): I fully agree with the hon. Member for West Cavan that there is no worse way of lending money than on the security which he describes. But that is not the intention of the Bill, which is to set at rest some doubts which have arisen as to the position of these claims on the Tramway Companies in Ireland with regard to dividends. I hope my explanation will satisfy the hon. Gentleman that he can with safety withdraw his Amendment opposing the second reading of the Bill.

Mr. BIGGAR: After what has fallen from the hon. Gentleman, I ask leave to withdraw my Motion.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Main Question put, and *agreed to.*

Bill read a second time, and *committed* for *Wednesday* next.

## MERCHANT SHIPPING (FISHING BOATS) ACTS AMENDMENT BILL.

(*Mr. Mundella, Mr. Acland.*)

[BILL 274.] SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."—(*Mr. C. T. D. Acland.*)

MR. EDWARD CLARKE (Plymouth): Sir, I certainly expected that some explanation would have been given of the Bill, the second reading of which has just been moved; and I think that perhaps, under the circumstances, it will be better to move as an Amendment, that it be read this day three months. But, Mr. Speaker, this is a Bill which was only introduced last night, and ordered to be printed yesterday. It is a Bill which makes great alterations in the provisions of the Act of 1883, relating to fishing vessels. Now, Sir, I have had some experience of the very unfortunate results which follow regulations made without due notice to this House. The Bill of 1883 passed through both Houses of Parliament in the same manner as it is proposed to pass this Bill. It was printed on the very day that it came to the House of Lords for second reading; then it came down to this House; it was printed on the day of second reading here; great inconvenience resulted; it was passed in the absence of any discussion on the part of those who were interested in the subject. There was an Amendment on the Paper to exclude fishing boats from that Act which was not properly considered; and what happens? The 3rd clause of the Bill now proposed is to give power to exempt fishing boats from the operation of the Act, which was passed in the manner I have described. Sir, I represent a constituency very considerably interested in this matter, and I distinctly object to the second reading of the Bill being taken to-night. There has been no time whatever for the consideration of the proposal, and I do not think there is any reason whatever why the Bill should be pressed upon the House at this time, when there can be no serious discussion of its provisions.

Amendment proposed, to leave out the word "now," and at the end of the Question to add the words "upon this day three months."—(*Mr. E. Clarke.*)

Question proposed, "That the word 'now' stand part of the Question."

THE SECRETARY TO THE BOARD OF TRADE (Mr. C. T. D. ACLAND) (Cornwall, Launceston): Sir, the only reason why I did not enter into any explanation of the Bill was, because I considered it undesirable to take up any portion of the time of the House. I will state shortly why the Bill is in its present shape. The Department considered which clauses were likely to give rise to opposition, and they concluded that whatever opposition there might be would be in respect of clauses dealing with other matters than fishing boats, which subject it was thought would give rise to no opposition whatever. The Bill is intended to put the masters and men of small fishing boats in the same position as seamen under the Act passed two or three years ago, an Act which has been found to work well; and I find, after consultation with the trade, both skippers and seamen, that the Bill has the unanimous consent of every class. [Mr. E. CLARKE dissented.] The hon. and learned Gentleman shakes his head; but I can assure him that the statement is correct; and, for that reason, I ask that the second reading may be taken now. I should have brought the Bill in at an earlier date, but for the delay which has taken place in getting the answers of the various classes interested, some of which have only been three or four days in my possession. We were then satisfied that there would be no opposition. I, however, quite agree that it is only reasonable that the Bill should be well considered by the House, and I am prepared to assent willingly to the adjournment of the debate.

Motion made, and Question, "That the Debate be now adjourned,"—(*Mr. C. T. D. Acland,*)—put, and *agreed to.*

Debate *adjourned* till *Wednesday* next.

## CUSTOMS BILL.—[BILL 276.]

(*Mr. Henry H. Fowler, Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer.*)

SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."—(*Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer.*)

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL (Kirkcaldy, &c.): Sir, I confess that I see very little use in opposing this Bill; but I am bound to say that I do not like it. I was two or three years ago opposed to the principle of the Bill, and I repeat now what I then said—that the Bill proposes to tax the alcohol of the middle classes at a very much lower rate than the alcohol of the lower classes—that is to say, that the port and sherry consumed by the former will be taxed at 1*s.* a gallon, which is equal to 3*s.* a gallon at proof strength, as compared with 10*s.* a gallon charged in the case of whisky, which is the drink of the latter. Now, Sir, it seems to me that this state of things is wholly indefensible, and I believe that if the proposal stood alone it would not receive the assent of the House; but we know that it is put forward as an Economic Bill, and we are asked to pass it because it is connected with another matter—namely, the admission of our goods into Spain. However, as I have said, it is of no use to oppose the Bill; and, therefore, I will do no more on this occasion than protest against it.

MR. GREGORY (Sussex, East Grinstead): I wish to refer, on this occasion, to an Amendment which I proposed to move when the last Financial Bill was in Committee a few weeks ago, in relation to the right of the Crown to proceed against trustees and other persons for an indefinite period for duty on property—in fact, an indefinite claim which can be made at any period, at any time, and under any circumstances. I believe I am right in saying that when I introduced the subject in March last, it was received in a manner which afforded a prospect of success to my proposals, and I was invited by the Prime Minister to put them into the shape of clauses for consideration. I did so, and they were favourably received by my hon. Friend the Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Henry H. Fowler), and I am bound to thank my hon. Friend for the manner in which he then treated my proposals, and for the spirit in which I believe he is prepared to meet them. I was in hope that he would have been able to have included them in the present Bill; but I feel that there may have been difficulties in his way, owing to the early Dissolution of Parliament and other circumstances of the time. I think I may understand that my hon. Friend is not indisposed to deal with the question, if he is in Office, during the Autumn Session; and, even if he be not then in Office, I think I am justified in believing that my proposals will meet with his support. As I do not intend to seek re-election, I regard this as the last occasion on which I shall have an opportunity of making reference to this Motion—["No, no!"]—which I commend to the good intentions and good offices of my hon. Friend, and also to those of other hon. Gentlemen as well worthy of their consideration, whether in this or in a future Parliament.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT) (Derby) I am sure the House will have heard with very great regret that it is not the intention of the hon. Gentleman (Mr. Gregory) to seek re-election to the next Parliament. Both sides of the House will equally regret the absence of my hon. Friend from the deliberations of the House. The moderation and impartiality with which he has always discussed every subject, and the mature knowledge he has brought to bear upon the matters with which he has dealt, have caused him to be regarded with the utmost respect by every Member of the House. I hope he will reconsider his decision to retire from active Parliamentary life. The House is very much indebted to him for the observations he has just made. The principles he has laid down are practically agreed to by the Treasury; and I am quite sure that those principles, putting aside small questions of detail, will prevail, whichever Party may have charge of the Treasury. Therefore, my hon. Friend may be quite certain that his policy will survive him.

MR. BUCHANAN (Edinburgh, W.): There is a clause in the Bill to enable Her Majesty to issue a Proclamation prohibiting the importation into this country of certain foreign coins, such as French two sou pieces. I think we ought to have some statement from the Chancellor of the Exchequer (Sir William Harcourt), or the Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Henry H. Fowler), as to the necessity for this provision. If any great loss is sustained by the importation of foreign coins, then possibly the Treasury are justified in introducing this provision in the Bill; but, unless some substantial object is to be gained, it appears to me to be hardly worth while doing so.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER: My attention was called to this matter, and I caused inquiries to be made. Of course, it would be immaterial if only a small amount of foreign bronze coin were imported; but, upon inquiry, it was found that this coin is imported in very large quantities indeed. The hon. Gentleman (Mr. Buchanan) does not seem to appreciate the great injury done to people, especially the working classes, in having coin passed to them which anyone may legally refuse. For the protection of the poor it is absolutely necessary that these measures should be taken.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be committed for Wednesday next."—(*Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer.*)

SIR ROBERT FOWLER (London): I should like to know what Business the Government propose to take on Wednesday, because they have put down a large number of Bills for that day? Do they intend to move the suspension of the Standing Order which necessitates the adjournment of the House at 6 o'clock?

THE SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY (Mr. HENRY H. FOWLER) (Wolverhampton, E.): The Government will put all the financial Business first, and there will only be a very few Bills taken afterwards. We do not propose to move the suspension of the Standing Order referred to by the hon. Baronet.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Bill *committed* for *Wednesday* next.

## TITHE RENT-CHARGE (EXTRAORDINARY) REDEMPTION (*re-committed*) BILL.—[BILL 264.]

(*Mr. T. H. Bolton, Mr. Thorold Rogers, Mr. Borlase, Sir John Lubbock.*)

COMMITTEE. [*Progress 10th June.*]

Bill *considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Clause 1 (Limitation of extraordinary charge).

MR. STANLEY LEIGHTON (Shropshire, Oswestry): Mr, Courtney—Sir, I beg to move that you do report Progress and ask leave to sit again. I do so on the ground that this Bill only came to the hands of Members a very few hours ago. It was not sent round this morning, and I do not suppose there are more than three or four Members of the House who have a copy in their hands. There are also a large number of—no less than 35 — Amendments on the Paper, and each one of them is out of Order, because they were put down according to the numbering and paging of the clauses of the Bill as it was, not as it is now. If we proceed with the consideration of the Bill now, the Amendments will have to be put in a form different to that in which they appear on the Paper. I am quite prepared to go on with my Amendments; but I have a strong objection to do so, for I believe it will take two, or three, or even four, hours to get through the Amendments. I trust we shall not be asked to proceed with a Bill of this character at this time of the night (11.25). The Bill has been carried through a Select Committee; but the Report of that Committee has not been made to the House. The consequence is that we are entirely in the dark as to what that Committee has reported. We only have the Bill; and even that the persons who are chiefly interested in it—namely, the titheowners—have not had an opportunity of seeing. The titheowners are very deeply interested in this measure, because, even upon the lowest calculation, it will take away 40 per cent of their incomes. According to other calculations it will take away 60 per cent, and on the calculation which I make it will deprive them of as much as 90 per cent of their income. It is a very serious matter for the titheowners to be deprived of £90 in every £100 of their income, and that, too, behind their backs, without their having had an opportunity of seeing the Bill, and making representations regarding it to their Members in the House of Commons. This is really a very drastic measure, and I consider it to be wholly unjustifiable for the House of Commons to rush it through, just before a General Election. Only this evening I have received a letter from the Secretary to the Parliamentary Committee of the Diocesan Conference of Rochester, in which the writer said that the persons in whose name he wrote had been awaiting the Report of the Select Committee appointed to consider the Bill. I have also received several communications on the matter from persons interested, and I am frequently asked when the Report of the Select Committee is to be presented, so that the parties affected may have it before them and be able to make suggestions as to any Amendments which they may consider necessary, in order to make the Bill a just and workable measure. They say they have been anxiously watching for the Report, but they have never got it yet; and, as far as I can see, they are not likely to get it, if the Bill is rushed through the House in the hasty manner now proposed. Moreover, the Members of the Select Committee of which I was a Member are by no means agreed as to the effect of the clauses of the Bill; they did not call a single witness, nor ask for the aid of a single expert; and one hon. Gentleman who was also on the Committee (Mr. Gregory), whom the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer (Sir William Harcourt) has so happily eulogized to-night, told us the other day that we had better get a legal opinion upon the Bill, because he was not able to say what it amounted to. There is the utmost difference of opinion amongst the Members of the Committee as to the effect of the Bill. If that is so, is it not advisable that some delay should be allowed, so that the parties interested may have an opportunity of seeing the Report of the Committee, and of offering their opinions and suggestions thereon? For these reasons I hope the Committee will postpone the further consideration of the Bill, and that we shall be able to carry it through on some other occasion and under much better auspices.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again."—(*Mr. Stanley Leighton.*)

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT)(Derby): I venture to suggest to my hon. Friend the Member for North St. Pancras (Mr. T. H. Bolton) that he should agree to postpone this Bill till Thursday. The argument the hon. Gentleman opposite (Mr. Leighton) has used—namely, that there should be time afforded for the people interested to see the Bill, is a reasonable one. If my hon. Friend agrees to adjourn the further consideration of the Bill till Thursday he may, as I hope he will, still get the Bill through.

MR. T. H. BOLTON (St. Pancras, N.): I accept the suggestion made by the right hon. Gentleman. At the same time, I wish the Committee to understand that I do not at all admit the accuracy of the statement of the hon. Gentleman opposite (Mr. Leighton) who made the Motion to report Progress. With reference to the alleged irregularity of the Amendments on the Paper, if he will compare the Amendments with the revised Bill in the hands of Members he will find that the Amendments which stand in my name are not irregular. The Amendments which stand in his name, I admit, are irregular, inasmuch as they do refer correctly to the lines in the printed copy of the Bill. The hon. Gentleman has spoken of the proceedings of the Committee. The hon. Gentleman himself was a Member of the Committee. He did not call any witnesses. It is true there was a difference of opinion; but it existed between the hon. Gentleman himself and the rest of the Committee. I believe that describes the position the hon. Gentleman occupied in a former Committee which dealt with this question; he was in the singular minority of one. The whole question was fully considered by a Select Committee of the House, presided over by the hon. and learned Gentleman (Mr. Inderwick) who represented Rye in the last Parliament. That Committee took evidence and went very fully into the question. The Select Committee, which was presided over by the Judge Advocate General (Mr. Mellor), considered that there was such an exhaustive inquiry by the former Committee that it would be quite safe.

THE CHAIRMAN (Mr. COURTNEY) (Cornwall, Bodmin): The hon. Gentleman is departing from the Question to report Progress.

MR. GATHORNE-HARDY (Kent, Medway): I very much regret that the hon. Gentleman (Mr. T. H. Bolton) has accepted the proposal of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and I think if the right hon. Gentleman had known the state of the case he would hardly have made it. Practically speaking, the Committee were unanimous in approving of this Bill. There were, no doubt, certain differences of opinion, and this Bill is really a compromise between the two sides on the question. The Amendments of the hon. Gentleman the Member for Oswestry (Mr. Stanley Leighton) are out of Order, because they are Amendments which would carry out his views; and those views are totally incompatible with the Bill, and, indeed, have no bearing upon it. The other Amendments on the Paper might be passed with the greatest possible ease. The hon. Gentleman says we ought to take legal opinion as to the effect of the Bill. The reason why the great majority of the Amendments are being moved is that the Land Commissioners who have to carry the Bill out have suggested that these Amendments should be made in order to make the Bill work more smoothly. The Amendments are purely verbal, and their consideration would not occupy any appreciable length of time. The Members for the county of Kent are most anxious that this question should be set at rest. We believe this is a Bill which would set it at rest, and we shall be very disappointed if it is not passed through in the course of the present Session.

MR. GREGORY (Sussex, East Grinstead): I was not only a Member of the Committee to which this Bill was referred, but a Member of the Committee which sat under the Presidency of Mr. Inderwick some years ago. The tithe question is one of considerable interest in the constituency I have the honour to represent, and I have given some attention to it.

THE CHAIRMAN: The hon. Gentleman must address himself to the Question of reporting Progress.

MR. GREGORY: I was coming to that most distinctly. I was about to say that I, as a legal Member of the Committee, felt considerable difficulty in settling the details of the Bill. It is a matter of a complex character; it is not easy to convert an extraordinary tithe, or to provide for its recovery. What I suggest is that the Bill should be referred to some acknowledged authority—to some gentleman who is thoroughly conversant with the details of the tithe question. Let such a gentleman examine the Bill and see whether it is workable. Between this and Thursday the examination I suggest might be made. I should not like this House to send out a bad piece of workmanship; and, therefore, I trust the Government will adopt some such course as I have suggested.

MR. T. H. BOLTON: I do not think it can be said that the right hon. Gentleman who presided over the Committee is unskilled, or unfitted to deal with a Bill of this kind. Other Members of the Committee had some practical experience of the subject of the Bill. The Bill is a practical measure to deal with a very difficult subject. It deals with the subject to the satisfaction, I believe, of a large number, if not the principal portion, of the people interested——

THE CHAIRMAN: Order, order!

MR. T. H. BOLTON: I will not persevere in my remarks.

MR. J. G. TALBOT (Oxford University): I cannot help thinking that the course suggested by my hon. Friend the Member for Shropshire (Mr. Leighton) is the right one under the circumstances. I quite agree with my hon. Friend the Member for the Medway Division of Kent (Mr. Gathorne-Hardy) that a great deal of trouble has been taken with this matter; that the Committee has gone into it very thoroughly; and that we owe the Committee a debt of gratitude for the labours they have bestowed upon the question. But we are in this remarkable position — we are asked to deal with a Bill which has only just been printed, and which, speaking broadly, has not yet been delivered. The Bill is in my hands; but it is not in the hands of Members outside the House, and it is not in the hands of those people who are affected by it. If ever there was a case for adjourning the discussion, this surely is the case. The only argument against the adjournment is——[*Cries of* "Agreed!"] Yes; I know some are agreed; but Members like my hon. Friend (Mr. Gathorne-Hardy)——

MR. GATHORNE-HARDY: I do not oppose the adjournment at all. I said I regretted that the hon. Gentleman (Mr. T. H. Bolton) had accepted the suggestion of the Chancellor of the Exchequer.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Committee report Progress; to sit again upon *Thursday* next.

## PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS (RETURNING OFFICERS) ACT (1875) AMENDMENT BILL.—[BILL 241.]

(*Mr. T. M. Healy, Mr. Chance.*)

FURTHER PROCEEDING ON CONSIDERATION.

Bill, as amended, *further considered.*

New Schedule.

Order read for resuming Adjourned Debate on Question, "That this Schedule be now read a second time."—(*Mr. Chance.*)

Question again proposed.

Debate *resumed.*

SIR RICHARD WEBSTER (Isle of Wight): It seems to me that the House does not understand the position it is in with regard to this Schedule. I think that when the matter comes to be examined, it will be found that there are certain charges in the Schedule to the Act of 1875 which might well be subject to revision, and that the hon. Member who is responsible for the Schedule is justified in thinking that some reductions might be made. But I confess that, so far as England is concerned, I have very great difficulty in dealing with the matter at all. I hardly need remind the House that the original Schedule formed part of an Irish Bill; that it was subsequently made part of another Bill, and extended to England. I find that in dealing with these charges in reference to England we shall find considerable difficulty. Some of the charges formed the subject of a Bill last year. That Bill was passed after communication with a great number of Returning Officers, and it was passed with the assent of both sides of the House. There may be cause for some of the reductions which the hon Gentleman (Mr. Chance) proposes; but we are without information with regard to the amount of the charges, so far as England is concerned. I speak, of course, for myself. I myself am not in a position to form an opinion as to whether the reductions are fair and proper. The House is placed in considerable difficulty, because this Schedule has only been extended to England within the last few days. We have no information upon which we can deal with the matter. No doubt, so far as Ireland is concerned, the hon. Member may be in a position to give us some accurate information; but I feel great difficulty in allowing this Schedule to be read a second time if it is to stand as now extended to England. There are a great many objections to the Schedule, and if it is read a second time it will be necessary to move a great many Amendments to it before it can be passed.

MR. T. M. HEALY (Londonderry, S.): We were bound to make this Bill apply to England; because, if ever we move a Bill on a Wednesday afternoon, we are met with this taunt—"Why do you not propose equal legislation for the whole Kingdom?" As far as we are concerned, we do not wish to meddle with England. We would rather not do so. I would point out to the hon. and learned Gentleman (Sir Richard Webster), therefore, that election expenses are much cheaper here than they are in Ireland—the Sheriff's charges are much lower than they are in Ireland. You can always bring a certain amount of common sense to bear on the Sheriffs in England; but in Ireland they belong to one particular class, and they regard it as part of their business to bring up the expenses as much as possible.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

SIR HENRY JAMES (Bury): I think that the sum of £2 for the necessary expenses for constructing a polling station is hardly sufficient.

MR. T. M. HEALY: What line of the Schedule is the right hon. and learned Gentleman referring to?

SIR HENRY JAMES: I think it is line 8. It is the 2nd paragraph. The sum of £2 does not appear to me to be sufficient; and I would ask your leave, Sir, to amend the Schedule by omitting £2 in order to insert £4.

Amendment proposed, in page 1, line 8, to leave out "£2," and insert "£4."—(*Sir Henry James.*)

Question proposed, "That '£2' stand part of the Schedule."

MR. CHANCE (Kilkenny, S.): I do not think the right hon. and learned Gentleman was in the House earlier in the evening, or he would not have proposed this Amendment. It is a curious fact that a smaller sum than this has been assented to to-night in the Scotch Bill. In the Scotch Bill £3 only was allowed where there were 700 voters; whereas I propose £2 for 400 voters, and for 1,000 voters I give £5, as against £3 3s. in the Scotch Bill. Now, I think that is a very conclusive argument in favour of my figures, and particularly when we remember that the Amendment was introduced into the Scotch Bill with the consent of the Scotch Sheriffs. If they can construct places for that sum, certainly we ought to be able to do it.

SIR RICHARD WEBSTER: Surely the hon. Member has not considered that this is an item for the first expense of a polling station. It can scarcely be considered sufficient for erecting a new polling station where no materials whatever exist. The Scotch Amendments were not discussed in this House. There were so many of them that they could not be discussed. But in any case I should have thought that this Amendment was not unreasonable.

MR. ILLINGWORTH (Bradford, W.): We owe a good deal to my right hon. and learned Friend (Sir Henry James) for the popularization of our elections, and I thank him for the good work which he has done. But I think it would be an irony that having opened the door of this House to the humbler classes of Her Majesty's subjects, we should, on the other hand, keep up these expenses, and prevent them taking advantage of the privilege. Board schools are generally used now as polling places, and a very moderate outlay upon them is sufficient, and therefore I think that the sum of £2 is sufficient.

SIR WALTER B. BARTTELOT (Sussex, North-West): I am one of those who regard these expenses at elections as necessary. Our expenses in North-West Sussex amounted to £658 for two candidates for one day's polling; but there were 32 polling stations. Well, the Committee is anxious that there should be polling places for everybody, and as near everybody as possible, and this, of course, necessitates a great many polling stations. I agree that there should be as many polling stations as possible; but I really think that, that being so, the cost of each station should be reduced as much as it can be, so that as little expense as possible shall be put upon the candidate.

MR. GATHORNE-HARDY (Kent, Medway): I quite agree with the hon. Member opposite (Mr. Illingworth); but the House must remember that you are not only opening up the House to poor men, but you are also opening up the post of Returning Officer to poor men, and we ought to be careful not to impose burdens upon Returning Officers who may be poor men, and who may have to pay more than is given by the Bill. I think that while we consider ourselves in this House, we should be careful to enable men, however poor, to undertake the position of Mayor and Returning Officer of his town.

COLONEL NOLAN (Galway, N.): There is no fear of the Returning Officer losing money. The Sheriffs, at the present moment, make money out of a contested election. I have an acknowledgment from the Sheriff of the County Galway, who said that he made money. I do not think that the Sheriffs ought to make money out of the elections; and, therefore, I do not see why we should allow as much as £2. All they do is to bring in a chair and a table; and, as a rule, they have no regard for the comfort of the voters whatever.

VISCOUNT FOLKESTONE (Middlesex, Enfield): May I point out to the House that the sum put down is not necessarily to be charged always? It does not say that he shall charge the £4. In my election he did charge it; but I appealed, and a great deal of it was cut down.

MR. STUART-WORTLEY (Sheffield, Hallam): I hope that the House will not run away with the idea that this is more than the ordinary price that is charged. The present law enables a charge of £7.

MR. T. M. HEALY: In my constituency the Sheriffs put the voters into the most terrible places, where there was no light or air, or any comfort whatever, and for this the candidates were mulcted in enormous sums.

SIR HENRY JAMES: I would point out that there are a great many places in which rooms will have to be hired, and that under this Bill there will be very stringent powers of taxation. Therefore, it is only to guard against injustice that I moved this Amendment. However, I am willing to withdraw it.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

SIR RICHARD WEBSTER (Isle of Wight): I beg, as an Amendment, to move the omission of the last three lines on the page, namely—

> "That there shall not be in any polling district more than one polling station, to which less than 400 voters shall be assigned."

All I can say is that, with regard to county constituencies, this provision will be perfectly unworkable. I know more than one instance where, in a polling district which has only about 600 voters altogether, it has been considered desirable that they should have three polling stations, in order that some of the voters should not have to walk three or four miles. In this matter we are dealing with a subject which is beyond any question of charge. It is a matter of the convenience of the voters; and, therefore, I propose to omit the last three lines of the Schedule on the page.

Amendment proposed,

In page 1, line 27, to leave out the words "there shall not be in any polling district more than one polling station to which less than 400 voters shall be assigned."—(*Sir Richard Webster.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Schedule."

MR. CHANCE (Kilkenny, S.): A moment ago I said it was evident that the right hon. and learned Gentleman opposite (Sir Henry James) had not been in the House earlier in the evening. I am not only sure of that now, but he must have taken the late Attorney General (Sir Richard Webster) with him. The same observation which I made a few minutes ago to the right hon. and learned Gentleman opposite I now make to the hon. and learned Gentleman the late Attorney General. Exactly the same provision as this was inserted in the Scotch Bill, and not one word was said against it, except that in that case the figure was 700 voters. Now, I trust the House will allow me to tell them why I have put this provision in. It was because we frequently find that in Ireland the Sheriffs appoint a great number of Presiding Officers, where there are only 600 voters to poll; and the meaning of that is that a certain amount of profit is made by the Returning Officer. He gets £2 for each polling place, and probably he has some arrangement with the Presiding Officers to return to him some portion of their fees. Again, I have provided for cases in which there are 600, or less than 800, voters in a polling district. I provide there that you may have two polling places—one for 400 voters, and another of 200 odd, or 300 odd. I am merely desirous of preventing Returning Officers overcharging candidates, for the purpose of making a paltry profit out of an undue number of polling stations, and I do hope the House will accept the Schedule as it stands.

SIR HENRY JAMES (Bury): I think we are getting into a little confusion as to the difference between a polling district and a polling place. If the hon. Member means, by this Amendment, that the Returning Officer shall not divide localities I agree with him; but if it means bringing voters from a great distance to record their votes I cannot agree with him. I do not wish to oppose this measure, and I do not wish to refer to what may be done in "another place;" but I suppose, if it is necessary to make Amendments there, no doubt it will be done.

SIR RICHARD WEBSTER: If we alter the word "district" into "places" it will be all right, and doubt as to its meaning will be removed.

COLONEL NOLAN (Galway, N.): The universal practice is to split up the names according to the alphabet, and to have five or six stations where there are a large number of voters. No voter will have to walk a single mile in consequence of this Schedule.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

SIR RICHARD WEBSTER: I beg to move now to leave out the word "district" in order to insert "place."

Amendment proposed, in page 1, line 27, to leave out the word "district," in order to insert the word "place."—(*Sir Richard Webster.*)

Question proposed, "That the word 'district' stand part of the Schedule."

MR. CHANCE: The result of this will be to create the greatest confusion in the case of boroughs, without being of the slightest benefit.

MR. T. M. HEALY (Londonderry, S.): If the hon. and learned Gentleman (Sir Richard Webster) is not satisfied on this point, we shall be quite satisfied to acept an Amendment to this effect in "another place."

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

SIR RICHARD WEBSTER: I think the provision that only 10*s.* shall be given for ballot boxes is too small, and I would point out that in the Scotch Bill the sum is a guinea. I propose that the amount shall stand as in the Act of 1874, and in the Scotch Bill—namely, a guinea. These boxes, in some cases, have to be carried a considerable distance, and I think that we ought not to cut the price down to less than a guinea.

Amendment proposed, in page 2, line 2, to leave out "10*s.*" in order to insert "£1 1*s.*,"—(*Sir Richard Webster,*)—instead thereof.

Question proposed, "That '10*s.*' stand part of the Schedule."

Mr. CHANCE: All I can say as to this is that it is a matter of absolute fact, within my own knowledge, that Presiding Officers in Ireland were offered tin ballot boxes for 10*s.* each. They were sent over from England for 10*s.*, and why, therefore, should you give them a guinea?

Mr. T. M. HEALY: I would point out that several large firms of stationers in England offered to supply Sheriffs with everything that is requisite for them in regard to elections, and in the circulars of every one of them ballot boxes are put down at 10*s.* each, and why should a candidate pay more? As a matter of fact, these gentlemen have ballot boxes in hand, and do not want them every time there is an election.

Mr. CREMER (Shoreditch, Haggerston): I am a manufacturer of ballot boxes, and am able to supply them for 10*s.* each, and have a large profit for myself.

Sir RICHARD WEBSTER: After that information I should not be justified in pressing my Amendment, and shall be willing to withdraw it.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Sir HENRY JAMES: It appears to me that 15*s.* is very little for printing 1,000 ballot papers. Will the hon. Member (Mr. Chance) accept the substitution of £1 5*s.* I beg to move that "15*s.*" be left out and "£1 5*s.*" inserted.

Amendment proposed, in page 2, line 13, to leave out "15*s.*" in order to insert "£1 5*s.*,"—(*Sir Henry James,*)—instead thereof.

Question proposed, "That '15*s.*' stand part of the Schedule."

Mr. CHANCE: I hope that there is a practical printer in the House who will speak as to this. But, considering that I have been interested in no less than 68 contested elections, I think I may be considered an authority on this point. All I can say is that I got a most respectable firm of printers to take a contract to supply me with these ballot papers at 6*s.* a thousand, and another firm undertook to do them at 10*s.* a thousand. I think that we ought to be able to get them at even a lower figure in London.

Mr. BRADLAUGH (Northampton): I hope the hon. Member for South Kilkenny (Mr. Chance), who is doing good work, will not press this matter too hard. It is a fact that if they can do it in Ireland we can do it in England; but it must be remembered that the printer often has to be appealed to at the last moment, and I think that if the hon. Member will agree to the insertion of £1 it would not be unreasonable.

Mr. T. M. HEALY: I would ask my hon. Friend (Mr. Chance) to accept £1.

Mr. CHANCE: Certainly.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Question, "To leave out '15*s.*' and insert '£1,'" put, and *agreed to.*

Sir RICHARD WEBSTER: I must call attention to the allowances of the Presiding Officers in counties and boroughs. It is proposed by the hon. Member (Mr. Chance) that the Presiding Officers in counties shall be paid a round sum of £5, and the Presiding Officers in boroughs a round sum of £4. That is to include all travelling expenses, and not only the travelling allowances of the officers themselves, but also the conveyance of the ballot boxes to and from the polling places at their own expense. I hope that Her Majesty's Government, if they have considered this matter, will tell us what their view is, for the reason that it formed the subject of legislation last year. In regard to counties, owing to the multiplication of polling districts, and the difficulty of finding proper Presiding Officers, the charge of £3 3*s.* in the Bill of the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for Bury (Sir Henry James) was increased to £4 4*s.*, the amount in the case of boroughs being left at £3 3*s.* In counties the Presiding Officers were allowed only £4 4*s.* and travelling expenses—their own travelling expenses and the expenses of conveying the ballot boxes to and from the polling places. On that occasion we had communications from a large number of Returning Officers. The matter was brought before my notice when I was Attorney General. I had communications from nearly all the Sheriffs in the counties, and they conveyed to me information that I should have had with me if I had known the subject was to take this form. I must say that having regard to the character of the men that the remuneration of £4 4*s*. was certainly not excessive remuneration for those who were called on to perform the duty. Last Session the House decided that we should have responsible men and men in a trustworthy position; and I would suggest that it is not wise, or right, or fair to alter the bargain agreed to by both sides of the House on that occasion. I must point out that the hon. Member's proposition to turn the £4 4*s*. into £5, fixing an all-round sum for services and travelling expenses, does not seem fair; for in some cases the officers may have to travel eight or 10 miles, whilst in others they may only have to go short distances. In some cases they may have to remain out two nights, whilst in others they may be able to sleep at their own houses. I think it would be much more just that the charge should be what was agreed upon last year. The amount charged can be taxed. The remedy for excessive charges is a proper system of taxation and appeal. It does seem an unwise thing to put travelling expenses and the expenses of conveying ballot boxes into an all-round charge, when we know perfectly well that in some cases these charges may amount to a few shillings and in others to pounds. I beg to move that the £5 be reduced to £4 4*s*. Of course, if that is carried, I shall move to strike out the words on the next page with regard to travelling allowances and expenses. The House will understand that I make this Motion in order afterwards to omit words, so as to restore the matter to the position it occupies at present, and would continue to occupy if that Bill had not been brought forward.

Amendment proposed, to omit "£5" in order to insert "£4 4*s*.,"—(*Sir Richard Webster*,)—instead thereof.

Question proposed, "That '£5' stand part of the Schedule."

Colonel NOLAN (Galway, N.): I can claim the support of the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for Bury (Sir Henry James) on at least a part of this question, because he will remember, when this subject was last before us, I pointed out that Presiding Officers in Ireland could use one car themselves, put the ballot boxes on another, and charge for both. I moved an Amendment, and pressed the matter to a division, and was only beaten by five or six in a House of 200. Immediately after that decision the right hon. and learned Gentleman said he would get the Amendment inserted in the House of Lords, out of respect to the large minority that voted on that occasion. But the point was forgotten, and ever since the Sheriffs have had power to charge for the two cars. The right hon. and learned Gentleman ridiculed the idea that the Sheriffs would charge for two cars, but they have always done it. He insisted that the charge would be struck out.

Mr. WILLIAM REDMOND (Fermanagh, N.): The hon. and learned Member (Sir Richard Webster) proposes this reduction in order that a special charge may be made for travelling expenses. I hope the hon. Gentleman in charge of the Schedule (Mr. Chance) will not agree to anything of the kind, for I concur in what has been said by the hon. and gallant Gentleman the Member for North Galway (Colonel Nolan), that the sum of £5 is, if anything, an extravagantly large charge for these purposes. I do not know how it may be in England; but, so far as I know anything about the matter in Ireland, and certainly in the constituency I represent myself, there are dozens and dozens of men to be got, most capable of filling the position of Presiding Officer, who would be very glad to do a day's work of this description for a couple of pounds. I say, therefore, that it is perfectly ridiculous to ask a candidate to pay £5 for work which I undertake to say you could get men to do in every county, not only in Ireland, but in England and Scotland also, for a couple of guineas. A couple of guineas is quite sufficient; but £5 is here allowed to include travelling expenses, though there are no travelling expenses at all to speak of, for the distances are in no case very great. So far as the conveyance of ballot boxes is concerned, a man must have a conveyance to go to the station where he is to preside, and the car which he will take will also serve to convey the ballot box. There has been no attempt in any way to show that £5 is other than a most generous item for this work. As to the item of £4 for Presiding Officers in boroughs, I think that is altogether an extravagant item, for they will have no travelling expenses at all to incur. In my own constituency there were several Presiding Officers—I think half a-dozen—in the Court House on the polling day. These gentlemen had no expenses in travelling, because the ballot boxes were deposited in the same house where the polling stations were. Therefore, I think it is ridiculous to fix £4 for the payment of Presiding Officers in boroughs. While I was reading over these items, I said I thought £5 for a Presiding Officer in a county, and £4 for a Presiding Officer in a borough, was, if anything, too large a payment. I should like to know what kind of work, as a rule, you would pay a man £4 or £5 a-day for doing? I do not believe you would pay so much for any other kind of work. I am sure the House will not agree to anything which will tend to enlarge these expenses.

MR. JOHN O'CONNOR (Tipperary, S.): I wish to point out that if you leave the amount to be taxed a good many disagreeable consequences may be avoided. We remember that after the last General Election there were a great many appeals—hon. Gentlemen above the Gangway had stated that appeals could be made. Well, they were made, and they were very disagreeable things, not only for the candidates, but for the Sheriffs themselves, because in almost every case in Ireland these gentlemen had to forego a great many exorbitant claims. When you make it a fixed sum these appeals will no longer be possible. When the amount is left an open question, there is a temptation to make charges and put down expenses which otherwise would not be put down. I would, therefore, urge on the House to adhere to the fixed charge. There is everything in reason and argument in its favour.

MR. COBB (Warwick, S.E., Rugby): It is obvious that there must be some difference in the amounts expended by different Presiding Officers, seeing that in some cases they may live near the polling places, and in others some distance away. I can say as to my own constituency that, in one instance, the Presiding Officer had to bring the ballot box 20 miles, and in another instance even further, and had to hire a conveyance all the way. I think it must be obvious to everyone that it is impossible justly to have a fixed charge.

MR. MAURICE HEALY (Cork): I trust my hon. Friend the Member for South Kilkenny will insist on the proposal in this Schedule, to keep the charge for the Presiding Officer a fixed charge. I have had some little experience in the matter of taxing Sheriffs' bills after elections, and I must say that what I have seen convinces me that there is no item in the existing Schedule which gives Returning Officers so great an opportunity for fraud on candidates than the present mileage. Subsequent to the last General Election I had to do with the taxing of the Returning Officers' charges for the county of Cork, and for the seven divisions the Returning Officer came into Court with a nice little table, showing the maximum amount charged for travelling expenses in the case of 250 Presiding Officers. In every case 1*s.* per mile was charged for taking the ballot boxes to the place where the ballot papers were counted. It was impossible to have an inquiry into what the real sums expended were, as it would have involved the examination of 230 persons. The result was that the maximum sum was allowed in every case. In this way hundreds of pounds were allowed to the Presiding Officers — sums amounting, in some cases, to twice and three times what they should actually have spent. It is said that the Schedule of my hon. Friend (Mr. Chance) does an injustice, and that it will have the effect of giving the Returning Officer who has to go a short distance more than the Returning Officer who has to go a long distance. That is, no doubt, so; but what I would say on the point is that in these matters you have for the protection of candidates to adopt what I may call the rule of thumb. You have to do what this Schedule does—namely, strike an average. The sum my hon. Friend has mentioned—£5—seems a very fair sum to adopt. Instead of being too low, I think it will be found, in the majority of cases, to be too high a sum. My hon. Friend, in order to meet the objections that may be raised, has purposely fixed a high sum. I hope he will abide by the principle he has laid down, that you should have a fixed instead of a variable sum; because if you do not you will lose a great source of protection for candidates against Returning Officers' charges.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT) (Derby), I have listened very carefully to the discussion, and I think there is a great deal to be said on both sides. The hon. Gentleman who has just sat down says the Schedule strikes an average. But an average is not always fair. You do not compromise, or rather compensate, one man for giving him too little by giving another man too much. Lord Erskine is said to have stated that he had lost a great many verdicts that he ought to have won; but that he had won a great many verdicts he ought to have lost, and that, therefore, average justice was done. The expenses of a Presiding Officer might vary very much. It might be necessary for him to go to the polling station over night, so as to be there at 7 o'clock in the morning. He might have to go by train and sleep at the place, whilst another could easily reach it from his home in the morning, and in that way the expenses might vary. The county may be a scattered one; therefore, on the whole, it seems to me that it would be desirable to keep to the old plan of allowing the Returning Officer £4 4*s*., and paying him in addition the actual sum out of pocket for travelling expenses. With regard to boroughs, I see no reason why the amount should be raised from £3 to £4. I think it would be better to keep to the old sum of £3.

MR. WARMINGTON (Monmouth, W.): I should like to point out that the Schedule does not propose to pay each Presiding Officer in a county £5. It only fixes that sum as the maximum which a Returning Officer can pay. So that in the case of a person who has not travelled far the Returning Officer may say that £3 will be enough.

MR. T. M. HEALY: I agree with the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer. When I contested Monaghan the Sheriff had the audacity to bring the Presiding Officers from Armagh, and to insist upon my paying my share of their expenses. I said to him—"Suppose you brought them from India, on a P. and O. ticket, should I have to pay for it?" And it was the view of that intelligent and distinguished officer that I should. Have I to understand that if Presiding Officers are brought from London to manage Irish elections the candidates will have to pay their expenses? For that seems to be the view to be taken of this matter as it stands. The amount ought in no case to exceed £5, and if the House prefers it you might say that the charge shall be £4 4*s*., with a maximum of £5 to cover travelling expenses. If the hon. Member (Mr. Chance) would accept that I should have no objection. It might be fair for the Government to say the amount shall be £4 4*s*., with a maximum of 1*s*. a-mile for travelling expenses up to 20 miles. I do not think the hon. Gentleman could object to that.

MR. BRODRICK (Surrey, Guildford): In my case, my constituency being within a moderate distance of London, the Presiding Officers were brought from London, and were charged for accordingly. I must say that that appeared to me a great hardship and a very undesirable thing; but, at the same time, I think it would be very difficult to fix an absolute scale. I should have thought it would have been possible to get over the difficulty by taking the old sum of £4 4*s*. for the Presiding Officer, and making a mileage allowance for travelling expenses, carefully limiting that allowance to such an amount as may be reasonable—limiting the charge to 10 or 20 miles, or to such distance as may be regarded as reasonable. I think, if £5 were adopted, it might press hardly upon the Presiding Officers in some very out-of-the-way districts. Still, I think it desirable that some limit or other should be adopted.

MR. ILLINGWORTH (Bradford, W.): It seems to me very desirable to make this arrangement as exact and precise as we can, so that there shall be as little room as possible for litigation. I think the question of boroughs ought to be left out of account in the present controversy. When we come to deal with them, I do not see what objection there can be to adopting the arrangement that already exists. As to Presiding Officers in counties, it seems to me that this is the method upon which we should act. Some men have reached such a position in their profession that they should not be asked to travel to a place, and to preside at a polling station, for less than £5; but there are juniors for whom a less payment would be ample. We should, I think, leave it to the Sheriff to make the selection. There are men in a comparatively humble position who would be glad to accept £5, and pay all their expenses wherever they had to go; but, on the other hand, there are men who should be paid £5, without being expected to travel any very long distance.

Mr. ESSLEMONT (Aberdeen, E.): In Scotland we have an allowance of of £3 3*s.*; but in cases where the Presiding Officer is necessarily kept away from home he is allowed £1 1*s.* a-night for expenses. There are county polling stations in boroughs where the Presiding Officers, residing in the boroughs, should not be entitled to travelling expenses. In my own district there are several boroughs included in the county constituency, and it would be obviously unfair to give the Presiding Officers in these a fee as though they remained from home all night, and to give only the same amount to a Presiding Officer who might have to travel 20 miles and stay in the neighbourhood of the polling station over-night. I would suggest that the fee should be £3 3*s.*, with £1 1*s.* a-night when detained from home.

Dr. R. MACDONALD (Ross and Cromarty): I think it would be better to have a fixed sum set down, and if that is done you can rest assured that the Returning Officer will take good care that he finds Presiding Officers in the district. Such a thing as happened in my own case would then be impossible—that is to say, men would not be sent from Edinburgh to the North of Scotland, and receive £3 3*s.* for five or six days, as the case may be. If the fees are fixed, the Returning Officers will take good care to find men in the district.

Sir RICHARD WEBSTER: It may be convenient if I here explain that if we take these £4 4*s.* as being the charge for the Presiding Officer, we can consider the question as to what should be the proper amount of expenses when I bring up words—as I should bring them up—in substitution for line 26.

Question, "That '£5' stand part of the Schedule," put, and *negatived.*

Question proposed, "That £4 4*s.* be there inserted."—(*Sir Richard Webster.*)

Mr. CHANCE: Before that is put, I desire to insert the words "in England" after the words "in counties" in order to insert—"In Ireland £3 3*s.*"

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Amendment proposed, after "counties," to insert "£4 4*s.* in England."—(*Mr. Chance.*)

Question, "That those words be there inserted," put, and *agreed to.*

Mr. SPEAKER: It is now proposed to add at the end—"In Ireland £3 3*s.*"

Mr. CHANCE: To make it uniform, I would move to insert the words "and £3 3*s.* in Ireland."

Amendment proposed, after "England" to insert "and £3 3*s.* in Ireland."—(*Mr. Chance.*)

Question, "That those words be there inserted," put, and *agreed to.*

Mr. CHANCE: I wish to move to add the words—

"In addition to these sums a sum not exceeding £1 1*s.* may be allowed for travelling and all other expenses actually incurred."

Amendment proposed,

At the end of the foregoing Amendment, to insert the words "In addition to these sums a sum not exceeding £1 1*s.* may be allowed for travelling and all other expenses actually incurred."—(*Mr. Chance.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

Sir RICHARD WEBSTER: I should like to have an opportunity of communicating with the hon. Member (Mr. Chance), and to suggest to him that the better course would be—as I rather think his Schedule is supposed to be in substitution for the Schedule to the Act of 1875—to adopt some such plan as this—we have to deal with two classes of expenses, the conveyance of the ballot boxes and the travelling expenses of the Presiding Officers and their clerks. I venture to say that £1 1*s.* would not be fair as a standard charge for both these expenses. I framed the following Amendment during the discussion of the last Amendment. After the words—

"For the conveyance of the ballot boxes to the polling station, and from the polling station to the place where the ballot papers are to be counted, for travelling expenses of presiding officers and clerks to and from the polling places, the actual expenses not exceeding 1*s.* per mile, and a maximum of £2 per head."

I quite agree that there should be some limit adopted, so as to prevent Presiding Officers from being brought long distances to polling stations, instead of selecting Presiding Officers in the district. Of course, the ballot box has to be taken from the polling stations to the place where the votes are counted by the Returning Officers; and, therefore, there is no fear of its being taken to an excessive distance. With regard to the expenses of the Presiding Officer, surely I think that the House will agree with me in saying that one guinea is scarcely sufficient as a maximum charge, as in some counties one may have to travel more than 20 miles, and I ask the House to agree that £2 should be the maximum, and 1*s.* a mile for railway.

MR. T. M. HEALY (Londonderry, S.): I ask whether there is any objection to allow, as we propose, payment of railway fares at the rate of 1*s.* a mile return? The railway fares in Ireland are only 2*d.* a mile for first-class single tickets, and 3*d.* a mile for return tickets. If our proposal be adopted, the officer who has to travel 30 miles will receive 30*s.* I think hon. Members will agree that if the distance travelled be only 10 miles the candidate ought not to be charged 20*s.*

SIR RICHARD WEBSTER: I do not think the hon. and learned Member for South Londonderry quite understood my meaning. I assume the honesty of these gentlemen referred to — ["No, no!"] — and with regard to railway fares would pay them a fixed sum.

Original Question again proposed.

SIR RICHARD WEBSTER: Is it open to me to move an Amendment?

MR. SPEAKER: Yes.

SIR RICHARD WEBSTER: Then I propose, as an Amendment, to leave out all the words after "in addition to" to the end of the line, in order to add—

"For the conveyance of ballot boxes to the polling stations, and from the polling stations to the place where the ballot papers are to be counted, the expenses incurred not exceeding the maximum sum of £2 per head."

*Sir Richard Webster*

MR. GREGORY (Sussex, East Grinstead): I wish to point out to the House that this Amendment proceeds on the assumption that railway communication exists in all cases; but that is not so. I live in a county in which railway communications are by no means frequent —where, indeed, they are altogether infrequent, the result being that to reach many places by railway you have to travel along two sides of the triangle in order to get to the end of the third side. I think it will not, therefore, be wise or proper to lay down a hard-and-fast line for the railway expenses of Returning Officers, who are performing the duty imposed upon them by law.

COLONEL NOLAN: I wish to point out to the hon. and learned Gentleman on the Front Opposition Bench that he has stated exactly what we complain of at the present moment. These Returning Officers always will go two sides of the triangle if they possibly can, and take care to claim for doing so. It is not difficult to see why they do not go another way to work. Moreover, they are in the habit of joining two or three polling stations together on the same road; they pick each other up, and then charge for each separately. Unquestionably, £1 1*s.* will cover the personal expenses; but the other payment would be excessive. You are actually giving a premium for bringing persons from other places to the district to receive this money. For my own part, I would very much prefer to pay it, if it is to be paid at all, to one of my own constituency; but I may add that I would much rather not pay it at all. As I have said, the Amendment of the hon. and learned Gentleman is simply an inducement to carry on this practice, and I sincerely hope my hon. Friend the Member for South Kilkenny (Mr. Chance) will press his Amendment.

THE SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY (Mr. HENRY H. FOWLER) (Wolverhampton, E.): While I wish to add my protest to that of the hon. Gentleman opposite against excessive charges by Returning Officers, I am unable to go to the length of saying that the Sheriffs of England are a set of dishonest rogues. I think it quite justifiable to reduce these charges, but do it openly. Why should you import into this matter the assumption that all parties are about to commit a fraud. I say that in my own county of Stafford, for instance, it would be absolutely impossible to carry on an election on the scale here proposed. If hon. Members look at the matter, I think they will see that the Returning Officers have no motive whatever for overcharging. As a matter of fact, they can get no profit out of it. I shall certainly most willingly support the Amendment of the hon. and learned Member for the Isle of Wight (Sir Richard Webster), and in the interest of passing this Bill I sincerely hope hon. Members opposite will not press this matter any further, but endeavour to facilitate a measure of interest not only to Irish, but to English Members. I would ask hon. Gentlemen who support the Amendment of the hon. Member (Mr. Chance) how the Schedule would apply in the case of Cornwall, where the polling places are in some cases 40 miles distant from the mainland?

MR. PETER MACDONALD (Sligo, North): Having had some experience of elections in the county of Sligo, I am pretty well aware of the amount actually expended in these matters, and I have calculated that £6 will cover the entire expenses, although the amount proposed by my hon. Friend the Member for Kilkenny is £8 8*s*. So far, then, from there being any illiberality in the Schedule, the amount, as fixed by the Amendment, is very considerably in advance of that which will be expended. The sum proposed is, therefore, quite reasonable and adequate to the purpose intended.

DR. R. MACDONALD (Ross and Cromarty): I ask why the sum is to be fixed at 1*s*. a-mile for railway expenses, and so much a-mile more for the Returning Officer extra in connection with the ballot boxes?

SIR RICHARD WEBSTER: I thought I had stated the matter plainly; but my proposal is this—I put in each case a sum not exceeding 1*s*. per mile and the maximum of £2.

MR. CHANCE: As the sense of the House seems to be against me, I must ask leave to withdraw this Amendment.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

SIR RICHARD WEBSTER: I now propose to deal with this question of railway expenses and ballot boxes. I contend that the actually necessary expenses shall be the charge, and I impose a limit afterwards which will prevent people being brought and charged for from a distance.

Amendment proposed, at the end of the foregoing Amendment, to insert the words—

"For conveyance of ballot boxes to the polling stations, and from the polling stations to the place where the ballot papers are to be counted, the expenses incurred not exceeding the maximum sum of £2 per head."—(*Sir Richard Webster.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

MR. BRODRICK: My suggestion is that, in these circumstances, the actual expenses will always be taken to be 1*s*. per mile; and I put it to the sense of the House whether it might not be well to insert—

"Not exceeding twopence a mile, where the train is available, or one shilling a mile in other cases."

MR. T. M. HEALY: The Schedule sets forth a charge which is not to exceed the sum actually paid. I cannot see why Sheriffs should get 1*s*. a mile for taking the ballot boxes by train. This operation does not cost more than a few pence, and I think that the suggestion of the hon. Member for Guilford (Mr. Brodrick) is a very reasonable one. Again, with regard to carriage hire, I do not see why there should be two charges, while one vehicle will serve two purposes. Would the hon. and learned Gentleman agree to the words which are in the Act of 1875—

"Travelling expenses not to be allowed in the case of any person, unless the distance exceeds two miles from the place where he resides?"

We have omitted this, but I think it would be better to have it inserted in the Schedule.

SIR RICHARD WEBSTER: I would prefer to stand by the words I have proposed.

MR. CHANCE: The Ballot Act of 1873 provides that the Presiding Officer shall take the ballot boxes to the polling places; but this Amendment seems to suppose that the ballot boxes would travel there on their own account, and that the Presiding Officer would not travel along with them. I do not see why they should not travel together. The sum of £2 would cover all expenses; but instead of having the £5 originally fixed we shall now have in England £5 5*s*., and in Ireland £8 8*s*.

**Mr. BUCHANAN** (Edinburgh, W.): I wish to point out that in the Schedule of the Scotch Bill it is provided that 1*s.* a mile shall be paid where the ballot boxes cannot be sent by the Presiding Officer or his clerk.

**Mr. T. M. HEALY**: I suggest to the hon. and learned Gentleman to omit the word "maximum." For my own part, I would make the sum of £2 cover all the expenses.

**Mr. WILLIAM REDMOND** (Fermanagh, N.): The Presiding Officer is responsible for the conveyance of the ballot boxes to the polling station and from it; and therefore it is out of the question that the ballot box should be separated at any time from the Presiding Officer. It follows, then, that £2 is quite sufficient, seeing that the ballot box must accompany him.

**Sir RICHARD WEBSTER**: I desire to meet the views of hon. Members, as far as I can, without doing anything unfair in the matter. I am exceedingly sorry to give so much trouble; but, for the reason I have stated, I propose to withdraw the Amendment now before us, and to move another, including words which go in the direction I have indicated.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Amendment proposed, at the end of the foregoing Amendment, to insert the words—

"For the travelling expenses of presiding officer and clerks to and from polling station, including the conveyance of the ballot box to the polling station and from the polling station to the place where the ballot papers are to be counted, the actual expenditure incurred not exceeding a maximum of two pounds per head."—(*Sir Richard Webster.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

**Mr. BRODRICK**: I only rise to ask the hon. and learned Gentleman whether the words include a point which I raised a few minutes ago—namely, the use of the train wherever it is available, because otherwise you may always have the road fare charged. I suggest that it would be well to insert before the word "maximum" the words "not exceeding the railway fare there and back where the railway is available."

**Sir RICHARD WEBSTER**: Certainly, the words would involve the use of the train where available.

Question put, and *agreed to;* words *inserted* accordingly.

**Mr. T. M. HEALY**: As I have pointed out, the former Act limits the travelling expenses to the case where the individual travels more than two miles from the place where he resides. I can assure hon. Members that this is a very necessary limit, and I would, if the House will allow me, make it three miles instead of two.

Amendment proposed, at the end of the foregoing Amendment, to insert the words—

"Travelling expenses are not to be allowed in the case of any person, unless for a distance exceeding three miles from the place in which he resides."—(*Mr. T. M. Healy.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

**The SECRETARY to the TREASURY** (Mr. Henry H. Fowler) (Wolverhampton, E.): I hope the hon. Member will not press the Amendment. Returning Officers have to go a good many miles in the course of the day, and, as a matter of fact, a cab is invariably required.

**Mr. T. M. HEALY**: In deference to the wish of the hon. Gentleman who has just spoken I will not press my Amendment; but I must point out that the Act of 1875 provides a limit of two miles. I, therefore, move to omit the word "three" from my Amendment and insert "two."

Amendment proposed, to amend the proposed Amendment, by leaving out the word "three" in order to insert the word "two."

Question, "That the word 'three' stand part of the said proposed Amendment," put, and *negatived.*

Question, "That the word 'two' be there inserted," put, and *agreed to.*

Amendment proposed, in page 5, line 1, leave out "£4," and insert "£3 3*s.*" —(*Mr. Small,*)—instead thereof.

Question proposed, "That '£4' stand part of the Schedule."

**Mr. CARVELL WILLIAMS** (Nottingham, S.): I shall support the Amendment, on the distinct understanding that there is no allowance superadded for travelling expenses.

Question put, and *negatived.*

Question, "That '£3 3*s.*' be there inserted," put, and *agreed to.*

SIR RICHARD WEBSTER: I now appeal to the House to allow me to propose the restoration of £1 10*s.* for £1 1*s.* to be paid to the polling clerk. Last year Parliament decided to allow £1 10*s.*, on the ground that very often, in country places, polling clerks had to be away from home two nights. It was pointed out that having regard to the class of men who served as polling clerks £1 1*s.* was not sufficient payment. The question was fully discussed last July, and I submit to the House there is no ground for altering the £1 10*s.* to £1 1*s.* I beg to move that the polling clerk's fee be £1 10*s.*

Amendment proposed, in page 3, line 9, to leave out "£1 1*s.*," in order to insert "£1 10*s.*"—(*Sir Richard Webster.*)

Question proposed, "That '£1 1*s.*' stand part of the Schedule."

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT) (Derby): I think there ought to be a distinction in this case between the counties and boroughs.

SIR RICHARD WEBSTER: I mean my Amendment to relate to counties.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER: There is no distinction in the Schedule as drawn. We might very well make it £1 10*s.* in counties, and £1 1*s.* in boroughs.

MR. CHANCE: In Ireland there is no need for a polling clerk to be away from home at night. Polling clerks are generally local mercantile men, and a guinea is very good pay for them. They have nothing to do with the conveyance of the ballot boxes to the place of counting; but their work ceases when the ballot closes.

SIR RICHARD WEBSTER: I intended the Amendment to refer to counties, and I am quite willing to insert the words "in counties in England."

MR. WILLIAM REDMOND: I object to increasing the payment for clerks at polling stations.

SIR RICHARD WEBSTER: It is not increased; it is now 30*s.*

MR. T. M. HEALY: Perhaps the hon. and learned Gentleman will confine his Amendment to England?

SIR RICHARD WEBSTER: Certainly.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Amendment proposed, after "station," in line 7, page 3, to insert "in counties in England."—(*Sir Richard Webster.*)

Question, "That those words be there inserted," put, and *agreed to.*

SIR RICHARD WEBSTER: I now beg to move to omit "£1 1*s.*" and insert "£1 10*s.*," so that the provision will then read—

> "For one clerk at each polling station in counties in England, where not less than 400 voters are assigned to such station, £1 10*s.*"

Amendment proposed, in page 3, line 9, to leave out "£1 1*s.*" in order to insert "£1 10*s.*"—(*Sir Richard Webster.*)

"Question, "That '£1 1*s.*' stand part of the Schedule," put, and *negatived.*

Question, "That '£1 10*s.*' be there inserted," put, and *agreed to.*

MR. T. M. HEALY: Perhaps the hon. and learned Gentleman will propose the words "and in Ireland £1 1*s.*"

Amendment proposed, to add to the last Amendment "and in Ireland £1 1*s.*"—(*Sir Richard Webster.*)

Question, "That those words be there added," put, and *agreed to.*

SIR RICHARD WEBSTER: I have now to move the omission of the words "this sum includes all travelling allowances and expenses."

Amendment proposed, in lines 10 and 11, omit the words "this sum includes all travelling allowances and expenses."—(*Sir Richard Webster.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Schedule."

MR. CHANCE: I am afraid there is a technical objection to this Amendment. A previous Amendment gives £2 2*s.* travelling expenses. Is it clearly understood that the maximum of £2 2*s.* applies here?

SIR RICHARD WEBSTER: Certainly.

Question put, and *negatived;* words *left out* accordingly.

SIR RICHARD WEBSTER: It is now necessary to add the words—"In boroughs, for one clerk at each polling station, £1 1*s.*"

Amendment proposed, at end of the foregoing Amendment, to insert the words—"In boroughs, for one clerk at each polling station, £1 1*s*."—(*Sir Richard Webster.*)

Question, "That those words be there inserted," put, and *agreed to.*

SIR RICHARD WEBSTER: A corresponding Amendment must be made in the next clause. I apprehend hon. Members below the Gangway will wish to limit the increased allowance for an additional clerk to England; and, therefore, I beg to move to add " in counties in England," after "station," in line 12. The clause will then read—

"For an additional clerk at a polling station in counties in England, for every 500 voters or fraction thereof beyond the first 500 assigned to such polling station."

Amendment proposed, in page 3, line 12, after the word "station," to insert the words "in counties in England." —(*Sir Richard Webster.*)

Question, "That those words be there inserted," put, and *agreed to.*

Amendment proposed, in page 3, line 14, to leave out "£1 1*s*.," and insert "£1 10*s*."—(*Sir Richard Webster.*)

Question, "That '£1 1*s*.' stand part of the Schedule," put, and *negatived.*

Question, "That '£1 10*s*.' be there inserted," put, and *agreed to.*

Amendment proposed, at end of foregoing Amendment, to add the words—

"For an additional clerk at a polling station in Ireland and in boroughs in England, for every 500 voters or fraction thereof beyond the first 500 assigned to such polling station, £1 1*s*."—(*Sir Richard Webster.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there added."

MR. SMALL (Down, S.): This Amendment assumes that a Presiding Officer may have two clerks. I never saw a Presiding Officer with two clerks. The Amendment will increase the expenses of an election, instead of decreasing them. One man can only be polled at a time, and one clerk can mark out any number of voters.

MR. T. M. HEALY: My hon. Friend (Mr. Small) seems to forget that we have adopted the words "there shall not be in any polling district more than one polling station to which less than 400 voters shall be assigned."

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Amendment proposed, in page 3, line 15, to omit the words "this sum includes all travelling allowances and expenses."—(*Sir Richard Webster.*)

Question, "That those words stand part of the Schedule," put, and *negatived.*

MR. T. M. HEALY: I beg to move the insertion of the following words:—

"The above sums are the aggregate charges the amount of which is to be apportioned amongst the several candidates or other persons liable for the same."

I think these words are desirable for the protection of the candidates.

Amendment proposed,

At end of Schedule, to add the words "the above sums are the aggregate charges, the amount of which is to be apportioned amongst the several candidates or other persons liable for the same." —(*Mr. T. M. Healy.*)

Question, "That those words be there inserted," put, and *agreed to.*

Schedule, as amended, *added.*

MR. LABOUCHERE (Northampton), in rising, according to Notice, to move—

"That the Bill be re-committed in respect of a new Clause and Schedule providing for the payment of the returning officer's expenses out of the rates.

"That it be an Instruction to the Committee that they have power to make provision in the Bill accordingly,"

said: For the last two hours we have been discussing how much a candidate shall pay; but I have now to move that the Bill be re-committed, in order that we may adopt a clause providing that a candidate shall pay nothing. There is some objection, I believe, on the part of some hon. Gentlemen in the House to the mode of proceeding in this matter. They seem to think that the clause I wish to move has been, to a certain extent, sprung upon them. Practically, the clause has been on the Paper for more than a week; it has been brought forward twice already at a little later hour than the present (1.35), and then there has been a discussion upon it. On both occasions the House has been full. It appears to me that, at the present time, we can have a full and fair discussion, if hon. Gentlemen opposite desire it. I do not think any hon. Member should be called upon to do more than conform to the Rules of the House, and the Rules allow an Amendment to be moved on Report, and that is what I am doing. Now, Sir, we have been told that this Amendment ought not to be moved, because it goes to the root of a great principle. The only principle in regard to it is the principle of plain common sense. We have school board elections and municipal elections; but no one ever dreams of calling upon the candidates to pay for the machinery of these elections. There are elections for Legislative Assemblies in other countries; but no one would dream, for a moment, of laying it down that a man who wishes to be elected to the Legislative Assembly of his country must pay for such things as ballot boxes and other necessary election machinery. The real reason why hon. Gentlemen object to my proposition is that they look upon the present state of things as creating an artificial barrier against the poor man coming into Parliament. We have had members of the aristocratic Party flourishing their money-bags, and telling us they will carry the Election by the effect of their money. We know what occurred on this side of the House a little while ago. We know that Gentlemen who had voted money for Secret Service most freely, year after year, stood aghast when it was suggested that the money was being spent in electioneering. We also know perfectly well that it has been the boast of hon. Gentlemen opposite and their allies on this side of the House that they mean to obtain a majority by the effect of their money. I think we ought, at the present moment, to carry a Resolution such as I suggest. It has been asserted that to do what I propose would produce a large number of bogus candidates. I do not know what that means. A man cannot tell, when he comes forward, whether he will be elected or not; he may have a large number of supporters or a small number. I think we shall find that what occurs at municipal and school board elections will occur in the case of Parliamentary elections; no one will come forward merely for the purpose of advertising himself. There are no bogus candidates at municipal elections, and it is not probable there will be bogus candidates at Parliamentary elections, even if the Returning Officer's expenses are paid out of the rates. I have no doubt we shall hear another objection from hon. Gentlemen opposite—namely, that this will increase the rates. By whom ought these expenses to be paid? I do not see why they should be charged on the Consolidated Fund. Do you not pay for municipal elections and school board elections out of the rates, and not out of the Consolidated Fund? The sum is very small when distributed over the rates. While it is a serious amount to a poor candidate, it is practically nothing to the entire body of ratepayers. A speech was made in 1875 on this subject by the late Mr. Fawcett, and Mr. Fawcett then pointed out that the amount that this reform would cost a holder of a £10 house would be about the price of one glass of beer every three years. Who would object to that? We have been told by an hon. Gentleman on the Front Opposition Bench that it is a waste of time debating this subject, because the clause will be thrown out in "another place." It appears to me that if "another place" will throw it out, that is an extremely good reason for us insisting upon it. I beg to move—

"That the Bill be re-committed in respect of a new Clause and Schedule providing for the payment of the returning officer's expenses out of the rates."

MR. SPEAKER: The proper form in which to put it is—"That the Bill be re-committed in respect of a new Clause and Schedule;" and, subsequently, "That it be an Instruction to the Committee that they have power to provide for the payment of the returning officer's expenses out of the rates."

MR. LABOUCHERE: I will make the Motion in that form.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be re-committed in respect of a new Clause and Schedule."—(*Mr. Labouchere.*)

SIR RICHARD WEBSTER (Isle of Wight): I certainly hope that the burden which Her Majesty's Government have been willing to put upon this Bench in regard to the Bill hitherto will not be continued, as far as this part of the Bill is concerned. I do not mind a little work; but really I hope I shall have some assistance from those whose duty it is to look after such matters. Now, Sir, I do trust the House will not adopt the Motion of the hon. Member for Northampton (Mr. Labouchere) without fully considering how the matter stands. It is all very well to say that the hon. Member has conformed to the Rules of the House. That may be perfectly true; but, still, I do not think hon. Gentlemen consider that the Forms of the House have been fairly made use of. I am sure the hon. Gentleman (Mr. Labouchere) will not think I mean any discourtesy when I say that if this course is adopted it will be an abuse of the Forms of the House. On the 22nd of January last there was brought in a Bill with reference to the Returning Officers' expenses—the Parliamentary Elections Returning Officers' Expenses (Ireland) Bill. That was a Bill to which there was a Schedule attached, a Schedule of the same character as that we have been discussing to-night. About the same time the Bill now before the House was brought in by the hon. and learned Member for South Londonderry (Mr. T. M. Healy) and the hon. Member for South Kilkenny (Mr. Chance). That was a Bill which simply provided, by its title and clauses, for an appeal against the Returning Officers' charges. So far the Bill was a very proper one; but it did not give the slightest warning or notice to any Member of the House that it contemplated anything else. So little was it thought that the Bill was intended to have a wide application, that it was not until the Committee stage that words were inserted to make it clear that it was intended to extend to England. I make no further observations upon that, because there is no reason why the provision for appeal should not be extended to England as well as to Ireland. Finding that their Bill with regard to the charges was not likely to be carried, hon. Gentlemen succeeded in getting the Schedule transferred from that Bill to this Bill. So the Bill remained until a few days ago, when the hon. Member for Northampton (Mr. Labouchere) brought up this clause. It seems an extraordinary thing that, at this stage, there should be brought up a clause dealing with the whole question, practically speaking, of the incidence of these charges. There has been no discussion upon the principle of this clause; and, indeed, the usual opportunities of debate have not been afforded. We are dealing with a matter which, if it is to be passed, ought to be passed after most careful consideration. I do not know what the views of the Government are; but I shall feel it my duty to divide the House, because it seems to me that such a clause ought not to be sprung on the House, and it has been sprung on the House. If such a subject is going to be taken up, it should be taken up in a fair and open manner. The Procedure Committee call attention, in the Report they have just presented, to one great defect in our procedure, and that is that important changes have been introduced at this stage of Bills. Old Members of the House will bear me out when I say that it is only within recent years that this practice has sprung up. I know nothing about "winning by money bags," nor have I heard of it, and having regard to the stringency of the Corrupt Practices Act such a threat would be absurd; and I cannot understand its having the slightest effect upon any audience. It is a serious thing to say that we are to alter a system which has prevailed for a considerable time, which was the subject of discussion when the Redistribution Bill was before the House in 1884, and which the Prime Minister declined to enter into on that measure. Considering those facts, it is, to say the least of it, not quite a proper proceeding that this matter should be brought forward in the last days of an expiring Parliament—and brought forward in such a way—when it has been kept back and suppressed from hon. Members until the last moment. As to the threat that the Bill is to be thrown out in the House of Lords, I have heard no such threat; but all I can say is that if this clause is to be put in in this way, and at this stage, I think the House of Lords will be perfectly right in throwing it out. I do not appeal to the House of Lords; I appeal to the spirit of fair play in this House; and I say that any such change as this Amendment involves should have been brought forward by the Government—we should have had it square and fair before us, at a time when it could have been adequately discussed. I shall feel it necessary to divide the House on this matter.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir CHARLES RUSSELL) (Hackney, S.): My hon. and learned Friend who has just sat down seeks to take credit to himself for the part he took on the Schedule which has just been passed, and complains that I did not give him my assistance. Well, I will tell the House why he has got no assistance from me so far. Because it appeared to me that he showed a disposition to increase expenses, and, inasmuch as my sympathies are in the opposite direction, I was prepared to vote with hon. Members below the Gangway, and I was certainly quite prepared to give my hon. and learned Friend all the credit of attempting to increase the expenses of elections. My hon. and learned Friend resents the statement that early this morning somebody threatened that this Bill would be thrown out in the House of Lords. [*Cries of* "No, no!"] I am not affirming that that was said; but I say that my hon. Friend the Member for Northampton (Mr. Labouchere) says that such a threat was made. The hon. and learned Gentleman disclaimed it with something like indignation; but he proceeded to say something which sounded to me very much like a threat to this House, because he said the introduction of this clause was an abuse of the Forms of the House; and then, having passed judgment to his own satisfaction in this way, he proceeded to say that the House of Lords would be perfectly justified in throwing it out. Well, the House is quite capable of taking care of its own Forms, and if this, in truth, is an abuse of the Forms of the House, let the House vindicate those Forms and pronounce judgment upon the matter; but if the House does not do that then hon. Members are entitled to say that this is a fit and proper matter to discuss without any regard to what may be done or said in "another place," and to leave the responsibility of what may be done and said in "another place" to those who say and do it. It might be pointed out that propositions of this kind have been introduced over and over again on various occasions; but I will not pretend to cite precedents on the subject. My hon. and learned Friend says that he desires "a fair and square" discussion of the question; but what is there in the way of a "fair and square" discussion? We have had discussions in the prior stages of this measure which foreshadowed this clause, and the proposal of my hon. Friend has been before the House for some considerable time. Therefore, so far as Notice is concerned, it cannot be said with truth that the House has not had ample Notice of the discussion of the question. I want the House to observe a very curious omission on the part of my hon. and learned Friend. Whilst he was very strong in opposition to the form in which this clause was brought forward, I did not hear a word from him against the substance; and what I want to know, therefore, is this—is his a sincere desire to cheapen the cost of elections? Are they on those Benches sincerely anxious to have the poorest classes represented in this House—are they in favour of making it practicable for Representatives of that class to come into this House? My hon. and learned Friend was silent on that question; but I am not silent upon it. I am distinctly and absolutely in favour of it. I desire to give practical effect to that view by supporting the proposition of my hon. Friend (Mr. Labouchere)—a proposition reasonable in itself, perfectly just in its nature, vindicated and justified by the usage of municipal elections, justified by the practice of foreign countries, justified by the lesson which it would afford to the country that Parliamentary elections were national and not personal concerns, and justified, therefore, both in the interests of the candidates and of the constituencies themselves.

SIR JAMES FERGUSSON (Manchester, N.E.): I am sorry that the hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General (Sir Charles Russell) was not in his place last night, when his presence was greatly desired; but I venture to say that we are not much better off to-night now that he is here. He says he cannot see why the introduction of this clause on the Report now is an abuse of the Forms of the House. Well, I can justify that statement on the highest authority. This is what Sir Erskine May says upon it—

> "The vicious practice of adding provisions to Bills quite foreign to their object, which was formerly very common, is now very rarely followed."

I think that that pretty well establishes that it is an abuse of the Forms of the House. I think my hon. and learned Friend made it very plain that the present proposal did not form a part of the subject-matter of the Bill when it was first introduced. It has been debated by Bill many times, and why has it not been passed? Because it has always been rejected. And now it is that by evading the Forms of the House, which guard us from hasty legislation, this is brought in without giving us a chance of discussing it. The Committee on Procedure also, in their Report, condemned this practice. I am not going to detain the House at this moment; but the hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General has challenged us on the principle. Well, I say it will look very bad if, when hon. Members are about to go to their constituents, they should appear as if they intend to save their own pockets at the expense of the ratepayers. It has been conceded, moreover, that local taxation should not be increased until local taxation has been more evenly distributed; and that, in my opinion, is sufficient reason for not proceeding further with this proposal.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT) (Derby): It is a good thing to read the whole of an extract; but the right hon. Gentleman (Sir James Fergusson) has omitted what goes before and what comes after what he has read. What Sir Erskine May says is this—

> "When a Bill, as amended by the Committee, is considered, the entire Bill is open to consideration, and new clauses may be added and Amendments made, whether they be within the scope of the title or even relevant to the subject-matter of the Bill or not."

Therefore, he says it is a technical Rule. Then he says—

> "The vicious practice of adding provisions to Bills, quite foreign to their object, which was formerly not uncommon, is now very rarely followed."

Well, will anyone contend that this is foreign to the Bill? This Bill has to do with the expenses of elections, and to say that the manner in which those expenses are to be defrayed is foreign to the Bill appears to me to be an extraordinary proposition. It is perfectly relevant to the objects of the Bill—— [An hon. MEMBER: Title of the Bill.]

MR. T. M. HEALY: It is perfectly relevant to the title as amended.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: I beg to say that no reasonable man can affirm that the funds out of which these expenses are to be paid is irrelevant to the object of the Bill. But there is another matter which is very relevant to the objects of this Bill. If you want to keep these expenses down, make it to the interest of the people to keep them down. It will be to the interest of the Local Authorities to keep them down. It appears to me that one way to keep them down will be to provide for them in this way. The object of the Bill is to enable persons who are not possessed of wealth to enter Parliament, and for these reasons I support the introduction of the clause.

MR. STUART-WORTLEY (Sheffield, Hallam): If this is not irrelevant, why should the hon. Member have to move an Instruction?

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: I am surprised that the hon. Member opposite (Mr. Stuart-Wortley), who has been in this House for some time——

SIR R. ASSHETON CROSS (Lancashire, S.W., Newton): Order, order!

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: If the right hon. Gentleman has any point of Order to put why does he not rise in his place?

SIR R. ASSHETON CROSS: The right hon. Gentleman has already spoken.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: When a Member is asked a question in this House, by the ordinary courtesy of the House he is permitted to answer it. [*Cries of* "Order!"]

MR. SPEAKER: Order, order! The right hon. Gentleman (Sir William Harcourt) has been asked a question, and by the Rules of the House he is entitled to answer it.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: In answer to the hon. Member for Hallam I may say that it is perfectly competent for an hon. Member to move an Instruction to the Committee to consider a matter which is not included in the title of the Bill, but which is perfectly germane to the objects of the Bill. It is impossible to introduce anything that is not germane.

MR. STUART-WORTLEY: I contend that the proposal to move an Instruction to the Committee is sufficient justification for all that my hon. and learned Friend (Sir Richard Webster) has said against the clause.

MR. JAMES STUART (Shoreditch, Hoxton): I would point out that in 1875 my late Friend Mr. Fawcett made an exactly similar Motion to this. At that time he gave a series of precedents which it is not necessary for me to enter into. It appears to me that the matter is absolutely relevant to the Bill; and, since it is relevant, I think, under all the circumstances, my hon. Friend (Mr. Labouchere) is justified in bringing it forward. This is not a matter which has been sprung upon the House—it has been before the House and the constituencies for a long time. These expenses are about to be altered by the Bill with which we have been dealing, and there is no more effectual way of reducing them than by such a clause as this. Someone on the other side of the House dissented from the statement that someone had said that money bags were to be used at the forthcoming Election. It may not have been put in that way; it may not have been said that they were to contravene the provisions of the Corrupt Practices Act; but it has been intimated by the right hon. Member for East Edinburgh (Mr. Goschen) — [*Cries of* "Order!"]—I am answering the point which has been raised on the other side —that long purses will be found by many Gentlemen. These are to be employed in resisting men of small means, although they are men of ability; and the amount of the expenses has a tendency to keep such men, who frequently have large special and technical knowledge, out of this House. Well, we have to look forward to several elections not far distant from one another, and what is to be the result of these elections unless you reduce the expenses? It will be this—that after three or four of them the residuum of this House will be the wealthy and plutocratic classes of the community. One right hon. Gentleman spoke about "another place" throwing out this Bill. Well, all I have to say to that is that this Bill has to do with the Representatives of the people alone, and it is eminently a case for this House to discuss and decide.

Mr. RADCLIFFE COOKE (Newington, W.): Notwithstanding what I have heard from my Leaders from this side of the House, I do not see why this matter cannot be fairly debated. I was asked to stay in the House in order to listen to what was to be said on it. In my opinion, the cost to the ratepayers would be exceedingly trifling, and I cannot attach any importance to that whatever. I want to see in this House men to whom these costs would be a very serious matter. I believe that there would be a great many such men holding the opinions which I hold, and therefore I shall vote for the Amendment. If I wanted any justification for the course which I am about to take, it is provided in the speech of the hon. Member who has just spoken, because if we have the class of Members I have referred to on these Benches we shall not have that class of speeches from the Benches opposite.

Question put.

The House *divided*:—Ayes 98; Noes 67: Majority 31.—(Div. List, No. 129.)

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That it be an Instruction to the Committee that they have power to provide for the payment of the returning officer's expenses out of rates."—(*Mr. Labouchere.*)

Sir RICHARD WEBSTER: I do not propose to trouble the House with any further discussion on the clause. I do not entirely approve of the language of it; still, as the House has expressed an opinion on it, I do not propose to intervene further.

Question put, and *agreed to*.

*Ordered*, That it be an Instruction to the Committee that they have power to provide for the payment of the returning officer's expenses out of rates.

Motion made, and Question, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair," put, and *agreed to*.

Bill *considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Mr. LABOUCHERE: I beg to move a new clause (Payment of returning officer's expenses in certain cases)——

Mr. T. M. HEALY: Before the hon. Member moves that, I wish to point out that last night, on the Report stage, on my Motion the word "Schedules" was altered into "Schedule." I presume it will be competent for us now to change the word "Schedule" back again into "Schedules." We have carried a Motion to re-commit the Bill in respect of a new clause and Schedule providing for the payment of Returning Officers' expenses out of the rates, so that I presume it will be in order to make this change.

The CHAIRMAN (Mr. Courtney) (Cornwall, Bodmin): That can be done on third reading. The Bill is now re-committed for a special purpose, and we cannot go beyond that purpose.

Mr. LABOUCHERE: I beg to move the new clause standing on the Paper in my name—

"The charges authorized by section two of the principal Act, as amended by this Act, shall be paid in manner provided in the second Schedule to this Act."

New Clause (Payment of returning officer's expenses in certain cases,)—(*Mr. Labouchere,*)—*brought up*, and read the first time.

Motion made, and Question, "That the Clause be now read a second time," put, and *agreed to.*

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Clause be added to the Bill."—(*Mr. Labouchere.*)

Mr. MAURICE HEALY (Cork): Before that Question is put I have an Amendment of a non-contentious character to move. The Returning Officer's fees, as they at present stand, have been drawn up on the assumption that the charges are to be paid by the candidate; and it is, therefore, assumed that the deposit the candidate will lodge as security will be devoted by the Returning Officer to the purpose of defraying the expenses of the election. If this second Schedule passes into law, however, these expenses will be defrayed out of the rates, and the candidate will be entitled to get the amount of his deposit back from the Returning Officer. I have, therefore, drawn up the following Amendment to the clause:—

"Where a returning officer has, pursuant to the provisions of the principal Act, required security to be given for the charges payable in respect of an election, he shall, on being paid the charges under this section, forthwith pay back to the person or persons entitled to same the sum or sums which have been deposited with him as such security."

The CHAIRMAN: That would not be an Amendment to the clause.

Mr. MAURICE HEALY: Yes, Sir; I think it would.

The CHAIRMAN: It will be proper to deal with the Amendment on third reading; but the work of the Committee must be confined especially to the Order of Instruction to the Committee.

Mr. T. M. HEALY: May I ask you, Sir, whether, as the general framework of the Bill provides for the deposit, and as this Amendment now provides that the money should be paid out of the rates, we may not now arrange that the candidate should get back the deposit after the Returning Officer receives the money out of the rates?

The CHAIRMAN: It would, no doubt, be necessary to do that; but it cannot be done by this Committee, which has a special duty only to perform, even though it be consequential upon that special work.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Mr. LABOUCHERE: I now beg to move the second Schedule.

Second Schedule.

(Provision for the Payment of Returning Officers' Charges.)

"(1.) In counties in England—

(a.) Such charges shall be paid out of the county rates, and the justices of the peace for each county shall be empowered to and shall make provision for the payment of same. Such justices shall, in each county, at the quarter sessions to be held next after the election in every year, make their order upon the treasurer of the said county for the payment of such charges out of the public stock of the said county;

(b.) Where a county is divided into Parliamentary divisions, but not into sessional divisions, such charges for each such Parliamentary division shall be payable in all respects as if the election were for a Member for the whole county;

(c.) Where the area of any Parliamentary division of a county is co-extensive with or is included in any sessional division of such county, such charges for such Parliamentary division shall be paid by such sessional division, and the justices of the peace for such sessional division shall have the same powers and duties in respect of same in all respects as if such sessional division constituted a county at large;

(d.) In the case of any Parliamentary division of a county divided into sessional divisions, the area of which is not co-extensive with or included in one of such sessional divisions, each sessional division of such county the area of which is in whole or in part included in such Parliamentary division shall contribute to the payment of such charges for such Parliamentary division.

"(2.) In counties in Ireland such charges shall be paid out of the grand jury cess, and the grand jury for each county shall be empowered to, and shall make provision for the payment of same. The grand jury shall in each county present at the assizes next after the election (without previous application to presentment sessions) the amount of such charges to be raised off the county at large, and the treasurer of each county shall thereupon pay such charges forthwith.

"In Ireland, where a county is divided into Parliamentary divisions, such charges for each such Parliamentary division shall be payable in all respects as if the election were for a member for the whole county.

"(3.)—(a.) Such charges for any Parliamentary borough which is co-extensive with or included in the area of a municipal borough shall be payable out of the borough fund, and the town council for such borough shall have power to and shall make and levy such rate or rates as may be necessary for the payment of same. Such town council shall, at their meeting, to be held not more than six weeks after the election, make an order upon the treasurer of the said borough for the payment of such charges out of the moneys in his hands on account of the borough fund;

(b.) In the case of a Parliamentary borough the area of which is not co-extensive with or included in the area of a municipal borough, but which includes in whole or in part the area of any municipal borough or boroughs, each such municipal borough shall contribute to the payment of such charges for such Parliamentary borough;

(c.) In the case of a Parliamentary borough the area of which includes an area not included in any municipal borough, the county or (in England) the sessional division of a county in which such area is situate shall contribute to the payment of such charges for such borough out of the county rates. The sum to be so contributed shall be calculated in every year in like manner as provided in the fifth Clause of this Schedule in the case of a municipal borough or a sessional division of a county required to contribute as therein mentioned; and the justices of the peace or grand jury (as the case may be) for such county (or sessional division) shall have the same powers and duties in respect of such contribution as are in this Act prescribed in respect of such charges wholly payable by any county.

"(4.) In the case of any municipal borough the area of which is exempt from the payment of county rates, and which is not under this Act required to pay or contribute to the payment of such charges, such municipal borough shall contribute to the payment of such charges for the county, counties, or Parliamentary division or divisions of a county, within which it is in whole or in part situate.

"(5.) Where under this Act a municipal borough or a sessional division of a county is required to contribute to such charges as aforesaid for a county or Parliamentary borough, the sum to be so contributed shall be calculated in every year according to the same relative proportion as the number of persons in such municipal borough or sessional division placed on the register of voters for such county or Parliamentary borough shall bear in such year to the total number of persons upon such register; and the town council for such municipal borough and the jusices of the peace for such sessional division shall have respectively the same powers and duties in respect of such contribution as are in this Act prescribed in respect of such charges wholly payable by any one municipal borough or sessional division of a county.

"In this Schedule the following words and expressions shall have the meaning hereby assigned to them, unless there be something in the context repugnant thereto (that is to say):—

"'County' shall include a division of a county, but shall not include a county of a city or county of a town.

"'Parliamentary borough' means any borough, city, county of a city, county of a town, place or combination or places, returning a Member or Members to serve in Parliament, not being a county at large, or riding, part or division of a county at large, and includes a Parliamentary division of a borough.

"'Municipal borough' includes 'burgh,' and means any city or town corporate, or any town, township, or city governed by town or township Commissioners appointed under any general or local Act.

"'Town Council' means the governing municipal authority in any municipal borough.

"'Borough fund,' in the case of any municipal borough having no borough fund, shall be deemed to mean the rates imposed and collected by the town council.

"'Parliamentary division' means a division of a county or Parliamentary borough within the meaning of 'The Redistribution of Seats Act, 1885,'"—(*Mr. Labouchere,*)

—*brought up*, and read the first time.

Question, "That the Schedule be now read a second time," put, and *agreed to.*

Question, "That the Schedule be added to the Bill," put, and *agreed to.*

Bill *reported;* as amended, *considered.*

MR. MAURICE HEALY: I now beg to move the Amendment I have handed in.

MR. SPEAKER: The clause the hon. Member has handed to me is a new clause, and could not be moved without Notice. I could not entertain it now—it cannot be entertained at this stage.

MR. T. M. HEALY: If that is so, I beg to ask leave of the House to read the Bill the third time now. I do this on the ground that we have arrived at a period of the Session when it is essential to lose no time if we are to carry the Bill through "another place," and because, days ago, I acceded to the request of hon. Members to put off a stage of the measure. I have to thank hon. Gentlemen for their courtesy, and to assure them that it is my duty to reciprocate that courtesy in every possible way. There can be no objection to the general principle of the Bill—we are all agreed upon it, though in "another place" we may find the clause and Schedule we have just agreed to objected to. There is an important Schedule making large changes affecting the rates; but the Bill of the hon. Gentleman the Member for Stockton (Mr. Dodds) did the same thing, and yet it was read the third time by general consent. As nothing is to be gained by delay, I trust we may be allowed to take this stage by consent.

MR. SPEAKER: The Bill has been very extensively amended, and unless I hear a very clear expression of opinion on the subject I should not propose to put the Question.

Bill to be read the third time upon *Wednesday* next, and to be *printed.* [Bill 282.]

## TREES (IRELAND) BILL.

### CONSIDERATION OF LORDS REASONS AND AMENDMENTS.

Order for Consideration of Lords Reasons and Amendments read.

MR. GILHOOLY (Cork, W.): I wish to complain of the manner in which the Lords have dealt with this Bill. It was a measure that contained no contentious matter; it was one to which no exception was taken in any part of the House, and to which the House has devoted a great deal of its time. The Lords have, in the exercise of their undoubted rights, inserted Amendments in it which render it practically useless. It is not very hopeful for Irish Members to endeavour to get legislative measures passed in this country when noble Lords have power to veto, mutilate, and destroy the Bills unanimously passed by this House. I would direct the attention of hon. Gentlemen below the Gangway opposite to the action of noble Lords in this matter. The Bill does not concern those hon. Members; but there is a principle involved in this question which does concern them. They desire to pass measures for the benefit of the people of this country, and it will be well for them to take cognizance of the fact that the Lords have power to destroy such measures, and that the sooner they are deprived of that power the better it will be for the toiling masses of the country. I move that the Lords Reasons and Amendments be taken into consideration this day six months.

Motion made, and Question, "That the Consideration of Lords Reasons and Amendments be *put off* six months,"—(*Mr. Gilhooly,*)—put, and *agreed to.*

*Mr. T. M. Healy*

## GLEBE LANDS BILL.—[BILL 93.]

(*Sir R. Assheton Cross, Sir Richard Webster, Mr. Gregory.*)

### SECOND READING. BILL WITHDRAWN.

Order for Second Reading read.

SIR R. ASSHETON CROSS (Lancashire, S.W., Newton): It is useless to go on with this Bill; therefore, I move that the Order be discharged. If I have the honour to have a seat in this House in the next Parliament I shall re-introduce it.

Motion *agreed to.*

Order *discharged:* Bill *withdrawn.*

## COAL MINES BILL.—[BILL 92.]

(*Sir R. Assheton Cross, Mr. Stuart-Wortley, Mr. Forwood.*)

### COMMITTEE. [*Progress 15th March.*]

Bill *considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Clause 1 (Repeal of part of s. 18 of 35 & 36 Vict. c. 76).

MR. CHARLES JAMES (Merthyr Tydvil): I beg to move the Amendment to Clause 1 which stands in my name on the Paper. Under the general Act for the regulation of mines, the check weigher is appointed at the expense of the men.

Amendment proposed,

In page 1, at end, add—"And further, in all cases where a check weigher has been appointed by the majority of the colliers working in any mine and had acted as such he may recover from any collier working in such mine his proportion of the check weigher's wages or recompense notwithstanding that any colliers or collier may have left the colliery or others have entered the same since the check weigher's appointment, any rule of law or equity to the contrary notwithstanding;

"And further, it may be lawful for the owner or manager of any mine to retain the agreed contribution of the colliers for the check weigher, notwithstanding the provisions of the Acts relating to truck, and to pay and account for the same to the said check weigher."—(*Mr. C. James.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there added."

SIR R. ASSHETON CROSS said, he would accept the Amendment.

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE HOME DEPARTMENT (Mr. BROADHURST) (Birmingham, Bordesley): I must appeal to the right hon. Gentleman opposite (Sir R.

Assheton Cross) not to proceed further with this Bill to-night. I do not think the right hon. Gentleman could have expected that anything would be done with it at this Sitting, and I appeal to him to adjourn the debate until Wednesday. If the Government can see its way to meet the wishes of the right hon. Gentleman, there will be plenty of time to get the Bill through despite such adjournment. But I do not think it will be in the power of the Government to assent to the measure now. They have, to the utmost of their power, embodied in their own Bill everything the right hon. Gentleman puts in this measure; therefore, I appeal to him to agree to the adjournment of further proceedings until Wednesday.

SIR R. ASSHETON CROSS: This Bill was brought in at the very beginning of the Session; and when the Secretary of State informed the House that he was himself hoping to be able to introduce a Bill on the subject as soon as the Report of the Commission on Accidents in Mines was presented, I was willing to put this off from time to time to await the appearance of that Bill. The Report in question was presented some time ago, and I put off my measure in order that the Government might pass theirs. Well, circumstances have happened which render it impossible for the Government Bill to become law this Session; in fact, it is withdrawn. I cannot, however, see why the colliers should lose the protection which this Bill would give them, and the advantages they would have if it were passed into law. The hon. Gentleman opposite (Mr. Broadhurst) practically says this—that, because the Session is to be broken up, the colliers are not to have the benefit of this measure, the whole of the provisions of which were contained in the Government Bill. They cannot object to the provisions of my Bill, because, as I say, and as the hon. Gentleman has himself said, every one of them were included in the proposals of the Government. The Government themselves, at one time, were anxious to pass these provisions, so anxious that they did not wait to frame a larger measure on the presentation of the Report of the Commission on Accidents in Mines, lest something should happen in the Session and these clauses should not become law. I desire the Bill to pass through Committee. The Report stage might be put down for Thursday, and the Secretary of State, if he has any Amendment to propose, can move it then, just as if we were in Committee. I am extremely anxious to see the Bill passed into law this Session, and I trust the Government will do nothing to prevent it. If they do prevent it, I shall not shrink from throwing upon them all responsibility for the proceeding. The people who are interested in this question are anxious to have the Bill, and I have promised them that it shall pass. I trust the Bill will go through Committee to-night. On Wednesday, if they choose to stop it, they can; of course, if they so desire, they can do so now; but if they do they must take the responsibility.

MR. BROADHURST: I am sorry to trouble the Committee again; but the distinct understanding with my right hon. Friend the Home Secretary (Mr. Childers) was that this Bill should not be proceeded with if he did not proceed further with the Government Bill—[Sir R. ASSHETON CROSS: No, no!] I am not going to fasten these conditions on the right hon. Gentleman; but they were the conditions mentioned to me by my right hon. Friend the other day when we were consulting as to the course to be adopted in regard to this Bill. With regard to the Bill of the Government, it will be in the recollection of the House that it was put down for second reading one night last week, and we were perfectly prepared to proceed with the stage. I, however, consulted with the right hon. Gentleman as to whether it would be fair to the House to ask it to proceed with the second reading of so important a measure at an hour, somewhat two hours, earlier than at present, and the right hon. Gentleman agreed that it would be scarcely fair.

SIR R. ASSHETON CROSS: I said I would raise no objection.

MR. BROADHURST: He said he would not raise any objection previous to 1 o'clock in the morning.

SIR R. ASSHETON CROSS: I said I would raise no objection provided there was ample time before we went into Committee in order to have the matter discussed.

MR. BROADHURST: Then I misunderstood the right hon. Gentleman. I did not move the second reading as I should have done. I understood he would object if it was after 1 in the morning.

SIR R. ASSHETON CROSS: No.

MR. BROADHURST: Be that as it may, I think it would be scarcely fair to my right hon. Friend to take further proceedings on this measure, at 3 o'clock in the morning following the morning upon which my right hon. Friend was here until 4 o'clock, without giving him some notice of intention to proceed with the Bill. All I ask is that the right hon. Gentleman would consent to report Progress at once. I do not expect that the hon. Gentleman the Member for the Hallam Division of Sheffield can think anything reasonable that comes from this Bench; but I ask the right hon. Gentleman whether, in his opinion, it is not a reasonable request to ask him to report Progress now and take further proceedings on Wednesday? There will be plenty of time to pass the Bill after that, and therefore there can be no danger in postponing the matter for these few days. I do not think it reasonable to expect us to agree to go on with the Bill at this hour.

SIR ROBERT FOWLER (London): I point out that as the House proposes to adjourn in an unusual way my right hon. Friend (Sir R. Assheton Cross) may not have an opportunity of bringing on the Bill. On the other hand, if it passes, it will be open to the Government to object to the Bill on Report; and, therefore, at this time of the Session, they will not injure themselves by going on with the Bill.

Clause *agreed to.*

Clause 2 (Attendance at inquest of relatives of deceased person).

MR. BROADHURST: I think I am justified in complaining of the right hon. Gentleman (Sir R. Assheton Cross) making no response whatever to the appeal I have made to him; and therefore, under the circumstances, I have no other course open to me than the very distasteful one of moving that Progress be reported.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again."—(*Mr. Broadhurst.*)

SIR R. ASSHETON CROSS: I am unable to assent to that Motion; but the responsibility must rest with the Government. I cannot see what possible objection there can be to allowing the Bill to go through. It may be that some slight alterations are necessary, and I offer every opportunity for their being considered. If the Bill is put down for Wednesday it would be impossible to proceed with it, because it is understood that the Government are going to take Supply on that day, as well as several other measures.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir CHARLES RUSSELL) (Hackney, S.): The right hon. Gentleman is mistaken in supposing that there will be any difficulty in going on with the Bill on Wednesday. I am informed that Supply will not be taken on that day.

MR. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT (Sheffield, Ecclesall): I am in a position to know the feeling among the miners of Yorkshire with regard to this Bill, which is that they are extremely anxious that it should go forward. I trust that the colliers in every part of the country will know how vexatious an opposition has been made to this Bill on the part of the Government, and will realize who are their true friends. I appeal to the right hon. Gentleman (Sir R. Assheton Cross) not to yield to this monstrous attempt on the part of the Government to stifle this Bill from a feeling of Party jealousy.

MR. CHARLES JAMES: I hope the Government will allow this little Bill to pass to-night. If a larger Bill is passed it will repeal the smaller Acts, but many things may happen before this comes on again; and, in the meantime, the colliers will not get the benefit of a Bill which is very necessary in their interests.

MR. BROADHURST: I must complain that the right hon. Gentleman has not given my right hon. Friend the Home Secretary some Notice of his intention to proceed with this Bill. I say it is most unreasonable to ask us to go on with it at the present time. ["No, no!"] This Bill has been on the Notice Paper for a month or six weeks; and it is very unreasonable, I think, that the right hon. Gentleman should select 3 o'clock on Saturday morning, when my right hon. Friend has left, without any idea that the Bill would come on. I think it is very unreasonable that he should select this particular time at which to proceed with the measure. The right hon. Gentleman says that the Bill cannot be taken on Wednesday, because the Government will ask for Supplies. But there is no Supply to be taken on Wednesday; that is perfectly clear; and, therefore, there is every reasonable chance of the right hon. Gentleman having plenty of time on Wednesday, if he will agree to postpone the Bill until that day.

SIR R. ASSHETON CROSS: I am sorry I cannot agree to that proposal. I have already deferred bringing this Bill forward, owing to the request of the Secretary of State; and I cannot understand why we should not now go on with the Bill.

Question put.

The Committee *divided:* — Ayes 60; Noes 23: Majority 37. — (Div. List, No. 130.)

Committee report Progress; to sit again upon *Wednesday* next.

### WAYS AND MEANS.

*Considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

*Resolved*, That, towards making good the Supply granted to Her Majesty, for the service of the year ending on the 31st day of March 1887, the sum of £26,993,652 be granted out of the Consolidated Fund of the United Kingdom.

Resolution to be reported upon *Wednesday* next.

### PUBLIC WORKS LOANS [ADVANCES].

*Considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

(1.) *Resolved*, That it is expedient to authorise advances out of the Consolidated Fund of the United Kingdom, or out of moneys in the hands of the National Debt Commissioners held on account of Savings Banks, of any sum of money, not exceeding £3,000,000 in the whole, to enable the Public Works Loan Commissioners, and not exceeding £1,200,000 in the whole, to enable the Commissioners of Public Works in Ireland to make advances in promotion of Public Works.

(2.) *Resolved*, That it is expedient to authorise further advances out of the Consolidated Fund of the United Kingdom of any sum or sums of money, not exceeding £50,000 in the whole, to enable the Land Commission in Ireland to make advances in pursuance of "The Tramways and Public Companies (Ireland) Act, 1883."

(3.) *Resolved*, That it is expedient to authorise advances out of the Consolidated Fund of the United Kingdom of any sum of money, not exceeding £20,000, to enable the Fishery Board for Scotland to make advances in pursuance of any Act which may be passed in the present Session relating to the Tenure of Land by Crofters in the Highlands and Islands of Scotland.

(4.) *Resolved*, That it is expedient to empower the Commissioners of Her Majesty's Treasury to reduce, on certain conditions, from five to four per cent. per annum, the rate of interest payable on the debt due to the Public Works Loan Commissioners by the Great Northern Railway Company of Ireland, in respect of the Belfast Central Railway undertaking recently purchased by that Company.

(5.) *Resolved*, That it is expedient to authorise the Public Works Loan Commissioners to remit all sums due in respect of a loan of £20,000 advanced by them under "The Dunbar Harbour Loan Act, 1857," and to authorise the Fishery Board for Scotland to remit all sums due in respect of a loan of £2,500 advanced by them for the purposes of the Harbour at Dunbar.

(6.) *Resolved*, That it is expedient to authorise the Public Works Loan Commissioners to remit on certain conditions all sums due in respect of interest on a loan of £8,400 advanced by them to the Newry, Warrenpoint, and Rostrevor Railway Company.

(7.) *Resolved*, That it is expedient to authorise the Commissioners of Public Works in Ireland to remit all sums due in respect of a loan of £220 advanced by them to the Lough Allen Clay Works Company, in pursuance of "The Labouring Classes Lodging Houses and Dwellings Act (Ireland) 1866."

(8.) *Resolved*, That it is expedient to amend the terms on which the Public Works Loan Commissioners are authorised by "The Public Works Loans Act, 1875," to advance money for the purposes of the Acts relating to the relief of the poor.

Resolutions to be reported upon *Wednesday* next.

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### LOCAL GOVERNMENT PROVISIONAL ORDERS (NO. 11) BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Borlase, Bill to confirm certain Provisional Orders of the Local Government Board relating to the Local Government District of Dukinfield, the City of Manchester, and the Rochester and Chatham Joint Hospital District, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. Borlase and Mr. Stansfeld.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 277.]

### PUBLIC HEALTH (SCOTLAND) PROVISIONAL ORDER (URRAY WATER) BILL.

On Motion of The Lord Advocate, Bill to confirm a Provisional Order under "The Public Health (Scotland) Act, 1867," relating to Urray Water, *ordered* to be brought in by The Lord Advocate and Mr. Solicitor General for Scotland.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 279.]

### ELECTRIC LIGHTING PROVISIONAL ORDER BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Charles Acland, Bill to confirm a Provisional Order made by the Board of Trade under "The Electric Lighting Act, 1882," relating to Chelsea, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. Charles Acland and Mr. Mundella.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 278.]

### REVISING BARRISTERS (IRELAND) BILL.

On Motion of Mr. John Morley, Bill to amend the Law relating to the appointment of Revising Barristers and the attendance of County Officers at Revision Courts in Ireland, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. John Morley and Mr. Henry H. Fowler.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 283.]

### WESTMINSTER ABBEY RESTORATION BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Secretary Childers, Bill to enable the Ecclesiastical Commissioners to make an advance to the Dean and Chapter of Westminster for the Restoration and Repair of Westminster Abbey, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. Secretary Childers and Mr. Henry H. Fowler.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 284.]

### METROPOLITAN BOARD OF WORKS (MONEY) BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Henry H. Fowler, Bill to further amend the Acts relating to the raising of Money by the Metropolitan Board of Works, and for other purposes, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. Henry H. Fowler and Mr. Leveson Gower.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 285.]

House adjourned at Three o'clock, till Wednesday next.

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## HOUSE OF COMMONS,

*Wednesday*, 16*th June*, 1886.

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MINUTES.]—Supply—*considered in Committee Resolutions* [June 11] *reported.*

Ways and Means—*considered in Committee—Resolution* [June 11] *reported.*

Public Bills—*Resolutions* [June 11] *reported—Ordered — First Reading* — Public Works Loans * [288].

*Ordered — First Reading* — Consolidated Fund (Appropriation)*.

*First Reading*—Incumbents of Benefices Loans Extension * [276]; Idiots * [287].

*Second Reading*—Patriotic Fund * [271]; Metropolitan Board of Works (Money) * [285]; Contagious Diseases (Animals) * [268]; Merchant Shipping (Fishing Boats) Acts Amendment [274]; Revising Barristers (Ireland)* [283]; Westminster Abbey Restoration [284].

*Committee — Report* — Customs * [276]; Public Works Loans (Tramways Ireland) [259]; Sea Fishing Boats (Scotland) [270]; Intoxicating Liquors (Sale to Children) [157].

*Committee — Report — Considered as amended — Third Reading*—Coal Mines [92]; Married Women (Maintenance in Case of Desertion) [111], and *passed.*

*Considered as amended—Re-committed—Committee—Report—Considered as amended*—Returning Officers' Charges (Scotland) [281].

*Considered as amended—Third Reading*—Poor Law Loans and Relief (Scotland) * [252]; Peterhead Harbour of Refuge * [266], and *passed.*

*Third Reading*—Terms of Removal (Scotland) * [187]; Salmon and Freshwater Fisheries [244], and *passed.*

*Re-committed — Committee—Report—Considered as amended—Third Reading* — Parliamentary Elections (Returning Officers) Act (1875) Amendment [282], and *passed.*

*Withdrawn*—Liquor Traffic (Local Veto) (Scotland) [72]; Glebe Lands (No. 2) * [275].

Provisional Order Bill — *Third Reading*—Local Government (Ireland) (Fermoy) * [226], and *passed.*

## *QUESTIONS.*

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### PARLIAMENTARY VOTERS (IRELAND)—ASSISTANT REVISING BARRISTERS.

Mr. MAURICE HEALY (Cork) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether the Government have come to any decision on the question of appointing assistant revising barristers at the coming revision of Parliamentary voters; and, whether, in view of the fact that in many constituencies it will be absolutely impossible for the revising barrister without assistance to complete the revision of the voters' lists within the time fixed by Law, and that, in any event, the casting on the county court judges of any considerable share in the work of the revision courts will completely dislocate the ordinary civil and criminal judicial business within their jurisdiction, the Government propose before the end of the Session to introduce legislation on the subject?

The CHIEF SECRETARY (Mr. John Morley) (Newcastle-on-Tyne): There is a Bill down for second reading to-day to enable the Government to appoint assistant revising barristers in Ireland where necessary. It is our intention to proceed with this Bill, and we hope to pass it into law before the closing of the Session.

### PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS (IRELAND)—NATIONAL SCHOOL TEACHERS.

Mr. MAURICE HEALY (Cork) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether he is aware that great inconvenience was occasioned at the last General Election, by a rule of the Board of National Education which prevents National School teachers from acting as presiding officers at polling booths at Parliamentary elections in Ireland, owing to the fact that in remote districts the local teacher was the only suitable person in the locality available for the service in question, and that in consequence presiding officers had to be imported from long distances at considerable trouble and extra expense; and whether, if so, seeing that presiding officers occupy an entirely neutral position as regards political parties, the National Board will cause the rule in question to be relaxed?

THE CHIEF SECRETARY (Mr. JOHN MORLEY) (Newcastle-on-Tyne): The existing rule on this subject is to the effect that National School teachers shall not take part in elections except by voting; and it is obviously desirable that the spirit of this rule should not be departed from. At the same time, the point whether a teacher, without meddling in politics or Party work of any kind, might not occupy a neutral executive position at an election, such as that suggested in the Question, is one that is worthy of consideration, and I am informed that it will be before the Board at their next meeting on the 22nd instant.

### RAILWAYS (IRELAND) — RAILWAY BRIDGES AT BALLINAMORE AND BALLYCONNELL.

MR. HENRY CAMPBELL (Fermanagh, S.) (for Mr. JORDAN) (Clare, W.) asked the Secretary to the Treasury, Whether, in reference to the promised elevation of the Railway Bridge over the Canal at Ballinamore, any steps have been taken by the Board of Works in fulfilment of the promise then made; and, if so, whether similar action will be taken in reference to the Bridge on the same line of Railway spanning the Canal at Ballyconnell?

THE SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY (Mr. HENRY H. FOWLER) (Wolverhampton, E.): The Commissioners of Public Works in Ireland have issued their certificates, fixing the heights at which the bridges in question are to be built, so as not to interfere with the navigation of the Canal.

### POST OFFICE (IRELAND) — SUB-POST OFFICE AT BAURAVILLA.

MR. HOOPER (Cork, S.E.) (for Mr. GILHOOLY) (Cork, W.) asked the Secretary to the Treasury, Whether, in consequence of the inconvenience caused to the people of Bauravilla and its neighbourhood by the Postal arrangements there, a Sub-Post Office will be established in that district?

THE SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY (Mr. HENRY H. FOWLER) (Wolverhampton, E.): In reply to the hon. Member I beg to state that the average number of letters for Bauravilla is shown, on inquiry, to be only about 25 a-week, and the establishment of a Post Office would not be warranted. Even now the Post by which Bauravilla receives its letters is maintained at a heavy loss.

### RAILWAYS (IRELAND)—GREAT SOUTHERN AND WESTERN RAILWAY —SIGNALMEN.

MR. MAURICE HEALY (Cork) asked the President of the Board of Trade, Whether his attention has been called to the existence of complaints that in signal huts on the Great Southern and Western Railway of Ireland, in which the regulations of the Board of Trade require that three men each should be employed, so as to give only eight hours' duty to each signalman, it is in some cases the practice of that Company to employ only five men to two signal huts; and, whether he will cause inquiry to be made as to the truth of such complaints, so as to put an end to any irregularity which may be found to exist?

THE SECRETARY TO THE BOARD OF TRADE (Mr. C. T. D. ACLAND) (Cornwall, Launceston) (who replied) said: The attention of the Board of Trade has not been called to any complaints as to the number of men employed in the signal huts on the Great Southern and Western Railway of Ireland, and the Board of Trade have no authority to make regulations in such matters. The terms of employment of the men working on the railway are in the hands of the Company, and in no way under the control of the Board of Trade. The Board of Trade, have, however, communicated with the Company on the subject of the hon. Member's Question, but have received no reply.

### FISHERIES (SCOTLAND) — THE HERRING FISHERY—THE FULL CROWN BRAND.

**Mr. J. W. BARCLAY** (Forfarshire) asked the Lord Advocate, Whether it is the case that the Fishery Board for Scotland has prescribed that full herrings, "about ten inches in length," may receive the Full Crown Brand; and, whether the Board is aware that the average length of Mattie herrings at Fraserburgh, Peterhead, and Aberdeen "is about ten inches;" and, if so, whether prescribing that herrings "about ten inches in length" may receive the Full Crown Brand will not tend to reduce the already low standard of quality of Government branded herrings?

**The LORD ADVOCATE** (Mr. J. B. Balfour) (Clackmannan, &c.) regretted to say that he had overlooked the Question on the Notice Paper, and he would not be able to give an answer till another day.

### FISHERY BOARD (SCOTLAND)—THE VACANCY.

**Mr. J. W. BARCLAY** (Forfarshire) asked the Lord Advocate, Whether the vacancy on the Fishery Board for Scotland will be filled up by the appointment of a practical fisherman who commands the confidence of the fishermen; and, if so, what steps the Secretary for Scotland intends to take to ascertain their views?

**The LORD ADVOCATE** (Mr. J. B. Balfour) (Clackmannan, &c.) said, the Secretary for Scotland had this matter under his personal care and consideration. It was receiving his best attention, and he hoped that before Parliament separated he would be able to give a definite answer to the Question.

### POOR LAW (IRELAND)—STOWAWAYS —THE CORK UNION.

**Mr. MAURICE HEALY** (Cork) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether his attention has been called to the complaints made as to the large number of stowaways from Liverpool landed at Queenstown every week from the American liners; whether it is the fact that the number of persons of this character so landed is sometimes so many as five per week, all of whom, being quite destitute, become a charge on the rates of the Cork Poor Law Union; and, whether any means exist whereby the Atlantic Steamship Companies can be prevented from landing stowaways at Queenstown, or compelled to ship them back to Liverpool; and, if not, whether, having regard to the fact that the English Poor Law system protects the local rates in converse cases, the Government propose to take any steps to relieve the ratepayers of the Cork Union from the burden cast upon them by the system referred to?

**The CHIEF SECRETARY** (Mr. John Morley) (Newcastle-on-Tyne): The attention of the Local Government Board has been drawn to this matter by a resolution of the Cork Board of Guardians; but they have no precise information as to the number of cases occurring. It is the fact that the stowaways, if destitute, may become a charge on the rates of Cork Union, and there are no means by which the Steamship Companies can be compelled either to desist from landing them at Queenstown, or to ship them back to Liverpool. The present law regarding the deportation of paupers undoubtedly bears hardly upon Ireland; but I fear this is not a good opportunity for promising legislation on the subject.

## *ORDERS OF THE DAY.*

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### SUPPLY.—REPORT.

Resolutions [11th June] *reported.*

Resolution 1 *agreed to.*

(2.) "That a further sum, not exceeding £6,879,764, be granted to Her Majesty, on account, for or towards defraying the Charge for Civil Services and Revenue Departments for the year ending on the 31st day of March 1878."

**Sir GEORGE CAMPBELL** (Kirkcaldy, &c.) said, he had given his hon. Friend the Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs Notice that he should propose the reduction of this Vote, on the ground that the House ought to be informed what Sir H. Drummond Wolff and Mukhtar Pasha were doing in Egypt. Since he had sent the Notice, however, a Paper had been issued which gave some information, though not to a very recent date. It only carried the information as to what these gentlemen were doing down to the 22nd of February.

There was also a despatch from Lord Rosebery dated the 14th of April. In face of the horrible accounts which had come to hand of the sickness and mortality among our troops in Egypt, it was most desirable that the House should know what the two Commissioners were about, whether they had come, or were likely to come, to any conclusion, or whether they were merely dribbling away their time without result. He admitted there was ground for sending Sir H. Drummond Wolff to Egypt, but he thought there had been ample time to arrange to reorganize the Egyptian Army. They now had what was very important—the official confirmation of Lord Rosebery that the British Exchequer was charged at the rate of upwards of £1,000,000 sterling per annum for the extraordinary expenses incurred in Egypt, and though he would not seriously object to the Vote being agreed to, he thought now that the House was about to be broken up, possibly till October, hon. Members were entitled to some more explicit information on the several points connected with the administration of Egypt than had yet been given. It was most important, too, that the constitution of the Egyptian Army should be settled as soon as possible; and there were several other questions on which it was highly desirable that Sir H. Drummond Wolff should report with as little delay as possible.

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS (Mr. BRYCE) (Aberdeen, S.) said, it was only a quarter of an hour since he had received at the Foreign Office Notice of the question which his hon. Friend had just raised, and consequently he was hardly prepared to go fully into the numerous questions relating to the administration of Egypt. He did not think that the House would desire that the subject should be treated in an imperfect way, and without having the whole matter put fully and fairly before them. The questions raised were of great gravity and complexity. He desired to remind his hon. Friend that on Friday night the Secretary of State for War had answered some observations he had made on the same subject, but his hon. Friend was not in the House at the time to hear the answer. As regarded Army reorganization, he could assure his hon. Friend that the matter was making progress, and that a good deal of pains had been bestowed by Sir H. Drummond Wolff and Mukhtar Pasha on the question. The Government could not, however, at present lay any further Papers before the House. It was impossible to do so while communications were constantly passing and while criticisms were being exchanged. He could assure the House that Her Majesty's Government were fully alive to the question, and would push it on with all the care which its importance demanded. As to the health of the troops, he was glad to be able to state that recent Reports from Sir H. Drummond Wolff showed that the mortality had been somewhat exaggerated. The health of the troops was certainly not all that could be desired, but still it was not so bad as had been supposed. With regard to the administration of justice, he could only repeat what he stated a few days ago—that the Government were going through the Papers on the subject with a view to ascertaining whether any of them could be immediately presented. There was no intention that the negotiations between Mukhtar Pasha and Sir H. Drummond Wolff should be indefinitely prolonged.

Vote *agreed to.*

(3.) "That a sum, not exceeding £5,000,000, be granted to Her Majesty on account, for or towards defraying the charge for the Army Services for the year ending on the 31st day of March 1887."

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR (Donegal, E.) said, he wished to call attention to the distinct injustice inflicted upon quartermasters of Militia with regard to their retirement as compared with those of the Regular Army, with whom they were supposed to be on the same footing.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR WAR (Mr. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN) (Stirling, &c.) said, that the question of these quartermasters had come before him some time ago, and had been before other Secretaries of State for War, who had always given a decision contrary to the desires of the Militia quartermasters. If, however, the hon. Member would lay the details of the case before him he would look into it and carefully consider the matter.

Resolution *agreed to.*

Remaining Resolutions *agreed to.*

## PUBLIC WORKS LOANS (TRAMWAYS, IRELAND) BILL.—[BILL 259.]

(*Mr. Henry H. Fowler, Mr. John Morley.*)

### COMMITTEE.

Bill *considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Clause 1 (Amendment of section five of 6 & 7 Will. 4, c. 108) *agreed to.*

Clause 2 (Power of companies to issue paid-up shares) *agreed to.*

Clause 3 (Application of Act).

THE SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY (Mr. HENRY H. FOWLER) (Wolverhampton, S.) moved, in line 15, to leave out the word "hereafter." The object of the Amendment coupled with a further Amendment which he intended to propose, was to limit the application of the Act to public Companies which had already obtained or should obtain an Order in Council under the Tramways (Ireland) Acts and the Tramways and Public Companies (Ireland) Act, 1883, confirming a presentment of a Grand Jury with respect to a baronial guarantee of payment of dividends on the paid-up capital of the Company to within 12 months of the passing of the Act.

Question, "That the word 'hereafter' stand part of the Clause," put, and *negatived.*

Question, "That the words 'within twelve months of the passing of this Act' be there inserted,"put, and *agreed to.*

Question, that the Clause, as amended, stand part of the Bill, put, and *agreed to.*

Bill *reported;* as amended, to be considered *To-morrow.*

## LIQUOR TRAFFIC (LOCAL VETO) (SCOTLAND) BILL.—[BILL 72.]

(*Mr. M'Lagan, Dr. Cameron, Mr. Mackintosh, Mr. Noel, Mr. Cameron Corbett, Mr. Jacks, Mr. Mark Stewart, Mr. Lacaita, Dr. Clark.*)

### SECOND READING. BILL WITHDRAWN.

Order for Second Reading read.

MR. M'LAGAN (Linlithgow) said, that at the present stage of the Session he was unwilling to take any unfair advantage of hon. Members who might be absent by pressing this measure. Considering also that a great many Government Bills were on the Paper, and several of them relating to Scotland, he thought it more prudent, after consultation with his friends and the friends of the Bill, to ask the House that he should be allowed to withdraw the Bill.

Order *discharged.*

Bill *withdrawn.*

## RETURNING OFFICERS' CHARGES (SCOTLAND) BILL.—[BILL 281.]

(*The Lord Advocate, The Solicitor General for Scotland.*)

### CONSIDERATION.

Bill, as amended, *considered.*

Amendments made.

Amendment proposed, in page 6, line 2, by inserting after the word "and," the words "if necessary."—(*Sir George Campbell.*)

Question proposed, "That the words 'if necessary' be there inserted."

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Other Amendments made.

Amendment proposed, in page 8, line 20, by inserting after the word "be," the words "not more than."—(*Sir George Campbell.*)

Question proposed, "That the words 'not more than' be there inserted."

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Other Amendments made.

Amendment proposed, in page 8, line 38, to leave out from the word "For," to the word "sums," in line 45, both inclusive.—(*Sir George Campbell.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Bill."

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Amendment proposed, in page 9, line 7, to leave out the words "four guineas," and insert the words "two guineas."—(*Sir George Campbell.*)

Question proposed, "That the words 'four guineas' stand part of the Bill."

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

THE LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. B. BALFOUR) (Clackmannan, &c.) said, he understood that an hon. Member (Mr. Esslemont) meant to propose an Amendment to throw the expenses of Returning Officers upon the rates, as had been done in respect to England, but the hon. Member was not present.

MR. SPEAKER said, the subject could be dealt with on the next stage of the Bill. The Lord Advocate could only proceed with his own Amendments.

## FIRST SCHEDULE.

### PART I.—COUNTIES.

MR. J. B. BALFOUR said, he had several Amendments to propose on this Bill. As it passed through Committee, the number of 700 was fixed as the minimum number of electors to be served by one Presiding Officer and clerk. Since then he had had representations from one or two exceedingly experienced Returning Officers in Scotland, showing that in certain localities very great inconvenience might arise under this provision. In some parts of Lanarkshire the miners did not come out of the pits till 3 or 4 in the afternoon, and as there would only then be three or four hours available for voting, it was just possible that there might be a block at the polling booths. It would be a great evil if any portion of the electors should be shut out of the polls. He moved that the words "700" should be left out, and "500" inserted.

Amendment proposed, in page 5, line 18, to leave out "700" for the purpose of inserting "500,"—(*The Lord Advocate,*)—instead thereof.

Question proposed, "That '700' stand part of the Schedule."

MR. MACFARLANE (Argyll) asked whether, in the event of the Amendment being given effect to, there would be a proportionate reduction in the expenses of each polling station?

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL (Kirkcaldy, &c.) said, he was quite willing to accept the view of the right hon. and learned Lord Advocate that, in certain exceptional cases, 500 should be the minimum; but he was afraid that if they simply put down 500 that number would be made the rule. He hoped the Lord Advocate would make the matter clear.

MR. J. B. BALFOUR said, he proposed to guard against the danger suggested by inserting the words "regard being had to the circumstances of each locality."

MR. JOHN WILSON (Edinburgh, Central) said, that at the meeting which the Scotch Members had with the Lord Advocate, this question was fully discussed, and the conclusion then come to was that 500 was much too small, and that 700 was much more like the proper number. He agreed with the hon. Member for Kirkcaldy that the Returning Officer, if this proposal were adopted, would be likely to fix 500 as a general rule, and he thought it would be much better if the Lord Advocate would accept 600.

MR. J. B. BALFOUR said, that the circumstances of localities varied infinitely. The case the Government desired to meet was that of the Lanarkshire mining districts, in which the miners might come up in thousands two or three hours before the closing of the poll. It had been pointed out to him that, inasmuch as political feeling ran very high, it would be most unfortunate if there was anything like a fight at the polling stations for access during the last hour or half-hour. He could imagine no greater evil than that a number of persons should in this way be debarred from voting.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL pointed out that the provision of the Schedule was not as to where 700 polled, but where there were 700 voters on the roll.

MR. DONALD CRAWFORD (Lanark, N.E.), speaking as the Representative of a mining constituency in Lanarkshire, expressed his opinion that the suggestion of the hon. Member for Central Edinburgh (Mr. John Wilson) would meet the necessities of the case.

Mr. J. B. BALFOUR said, if that were so, he would accept the suggestion.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

On the Motion of The LORD ADVOCATE, Amendment made in line 18, page 5, by substituting "600" for "700."

Consequential Amendments made.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL said, he would move an Amendment, to the effect that the sum allowed to be charged for the use of a ballot box should be reduced from £1 to 10*s.*, as had been done on the representation of a practical man (Mr. Cremer) in the case of the English Bill.

Amendment proposed, in page 5, line 28, to leave out "£1 1*s.*," in order to insert "10*s.*,"—(*Sir George Campbell,*)—instead thereof.

Question proposed, "That '£1 1*s.*' stand part of the Schedule."

Mr. J. B. BALFOUR said, he would follow the precedent set in the case of the general Bill, and would accept the Amendment accordingly.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Other Amendments made.

Part II.—Burghs.

Mr. J. B. BALFOUR, in moving an Amendment to increase the allowance to the Returning Officer for printing the polling papers from 10*s.* to a sum not exceeding £1 per 1,000, said, that, in some cases, printers charged double prices at Election time, on the ground of being much pressed by work. The Returning Officer had sometimes only the briefest notice as to the contest, and there might be difficulty in getting the polling papers printed, unless the Returning Officer could pay the printer's price.

Amendment proposed, in page 8, line 7, to leave out "10*s.*," in order to insert "£1,"—(*The Lord Advocate,*)—instead thereof.

Question proposed, "That '10*s.*' stand part of the Schedule."

Mr. BUCHANAN (Edinburgh, W.) said, the purpose of the Bill was to cut down the fancy prices charged at Election times.

Mr. BIGGAR (Cavan, W.) said, he agreed with that view; but he would point out that, in this case, the candidates could not be materially fleeced; and, in some country places, where there was only one printer, a Returning Officer might be placed in an awkward dilemma.

Mr. MACFARLANE said, he concurred in that representation.

Question put, and *negatived.*

Question, "That '£1' be there inserted," put, and *agreed to.*

On the Motion of The Lord Advocate, the following Amendment made:—In page 5, line 9, at end, add—"in the case of a new machine; but where an old one is used, 2*s.* 6*d.*"

Other Amendments made.

Mr. ESSLEMONT (Aberdeen, E.): I beg to move that the Bill be re-committed in respect of a New Clause and Schedule; and that it be an Instruction to the Committee, that they have power to provide for the payment of the expenses of Returning Officers out of the rates.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be re-committed in respect of a New Clause."—(*Mr. Esslemont.*)

Sir R. ASSHETON CROSS (Lancashire, S.W., Newton): I feel bound to oppose the Motion. I objected very strongly to what was proposed to be done in this direction in the case of the Irish and English Bills, and I hope that the House will again divide on the subject. It is not necessary that the matter should give rise to a long discussion, but I certainly hope that a division will be taken upon it.

Dr. CAMERON (Glasgow, College): I hope my hon. Friend will press the Motion, because nothing could be worse in view of a settlement of the question than that any difference should be made in the law of Scotland as compared with that of England and Ireland. If the three Bills are to go to "another place" with a provision for the payment of the Returning Officer's expenses in two of them, and omitted in the third, an effort may be made to assimilate the three measures in the wrong direction. I quite agree with the right hon. Gentleman opposite that it is not necessary to take up much of the time of the House in arguing the question, but I trust that my hon. Friend the Member for Aberdeenshire (Mr. Esslemont) will press his Motion.

Mr. E. STANHOPE (Lincolnshire, Horncastle): I think it right to say, in support of what has been said by my right hon. Friend, that this is a matter which has been suddenly sprung upon the House and the country when a great majority of Members were absent, and when no one in the country has had a fair and reasonable opportunity of expressing their opinion with regard to so momentous a change. I wish it to be distinctly understood by the ratepayers that the House of Commons, without giving a fair opportunity to the country to express an opinion on the subject, propose to place this heavy charge upon them.

MR. E. ROBERTSON (Dundee): The right hon. Gentleman opposite says that this proposal has been sprung upon the House and the country. The right hon. Gentleman may speak for himself and that portion of the House with which he is connected; but I altogether deny that it has been sprung upon that portion of the country to which I belong, because if there was any principle adopted by the whole of the Radical Party at the last Election, it certainly was this, that the payment of the expenses of the Returning Officers should be borne by the rates. As to the threat addressed by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Lincolnshire (Mr. E. Stanhope) to the ratepayers, I do not suppose that the ratepayers in Scotland are likely to be taken in by any threat of the sort. This is an attempt on the part of Gentlemen opposite to prevent the full expression of public opinion by confining the representation of the constituencies to those who have it in their power to pay heavy Election expenses. I believe that the public opinion upon this question is quite ready to go a great deal further than this proposal, and to include other expenses besides those of the Returning Officers among those which ought to be paid out of the rates. I trust that the House will treat Scotland in the same way it has already treated England; and as this is a Scotch measure, I hope that the English Tories will have the goodness to keep their hands off it.

MR. EDWARD CLARKE (Plymouth): I think that the hon. Gentleman who has just spoken has proved a little too much in endeavouring to repudiate the charge which I think is perfectly true—that this matter has been sprung upon the country at a time when the House of Commons is thoroughly incompetent to discuss it. I think it is most unfair to bring forward a proposal of this kind after the announcement of the Dissolution, when hon. Members have practically been driven away from the House. Most of the hon. Members who were competent to discuss a question of this kind are now absent, and I think the hon. Gentleman, if he has proved anything, has proved a good deal too much. He says that it is a principle which is dear to the Liberal and Radical Parties, and that they had made up their minds upon the question before the last Election. If that were so, why should it not have been brought forward at an earlier period of the Session at a time when it could be fairly discussed? If, after the last Election, hon. Members from Scotland came back with a burning desire to make the ratepayers pay their Election expenses, and to secure that they should have very little to pay for themselves, why not have made their proposal to the House before this? It will not be found that anyone on this side of the House is afraid to go back to his constituents and say that he is prepared to resist this proposal for throwing the expenses of the Returning Officers upon the rates. I quite agree that Scotland ought not to be treated differently from England and Ireland, and it is for that reason that I am going to resist the proposal which has been made. I trust that all Three Kingdoms will be treated alike, and the only way to secure that they shall all be treated alike is not to allow a proposal of this nature to be thrust upon Parliament by such a remnant of the House as is now present. My object is to protect the constituencies, and I think the best way to do that is to resist this proposal in every Bill in which it is contained until the feeling of the ratepayers can be fairly impressed upon the matter.

MR. HANDEL COSSHAM (Bristol, E.): I think the best way to treat the constituencies of the country is to leave them in the hands of their Members. At present, there is a serious complaint that the present heavy charges which attend an Election contest prevent a very large number of the working classes from appealing to the constituencies. Hon. Gentlemen on the other side of the House have always been in the habit of endeavouring to win Elections by the use of a long purse. I am not, therefore, surprised that an opposition to this proposal should have come from them. [*Cries of* "Oh!"] If hon. Gentlemen opposite want illustrations I could furnish them with a good many, but at the present moment they must accept my word that it is so. They have always done all they could to make Parliamentary Elections expensive, whereas we have done all we can to make them cheap. Instead of sending men to this House to take care of the national purse, they have sent men who have made themselves exceedingly free with the national purse. I, therefore, hail more than the privilege of voting for a Member of Parliament, and the constituencies wish to be able to vote for the men of their choice, irrespective of whether they happen to be rich men or not. I feel certain that the ratepayers of the country will welcome most heartily the passing of this clause, in order that in future they may be able to select the best man as their Representative.

THE LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. B. BALFOUR) (Clackmannan, &c.): This matter is one which has engaged the attention of Scotch Members for some time, and about a fortnight or three weeks ago there was a meeting which resulted in the Amendments which have since been introduced into this Bill. A very general opinion was then expressed in favour of this proposal, although there were some doubts as to whether it was quite germane to the Bill. Shortly after that meeting was held I received a Paper or Memorial signed by not fewer than 40 Scotch Members, not being Members of the Government, in favour of the proposal. So that, undoubtedly, there has been a strong expression of opinion on the part of a large majority of the Members from Scotland on the subject. On Friday last a similar Amendment was introduced into the Bill as applicable to England and Ireland, and I think it is quite plain that there should not be a different rule for Scotland. On the contrary, I think this House is almost bound, as a mere corollary, to do the same thing for Scotland as has been done for England and Ireland, especially as there is such a large consensus of opinion in favour of the proposal on the part of the Scotch Members.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR (Donegal, E.): The hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for Plymouth (Mr. E. Clarke) took upon himself to speak of what he called this side of the House, but in reality he was only speaking for a very small section of this side of the House. Now, there is a contingent quite as large as that for which he speaks which is not likely to follow his suggestion, but which will take good care to oppose resolutely anything that emanates from the Conservative Benches. The Conservative Benches represent the old history of the House of Commons, when it was a preserve for the moneyed and privileged classes, and when no reform could be brought about unless something like a revolution was impending. Under the present proposal the electors of every portion of the Kingdom will be able freely and fairly to make a real choice of their Representatives, and they will not be restricted to a selection from among the moneyed classes. Unless it is considered desirable that this House should still continue to represent to a certain degree class privileges, I think it is necessary to give every facility in aid of those who are not in a position to pay heavy Election bills. It is enough for us who represent Ireland to know that on this occasion a great body of those who represent Scotland are practically unanimous. We take that as a sufficient indication of the manner in which we ought to vote.

MR. CARVELL WILLIAMS (Nottingham, S.): It is not very easy to please hon. Gentlemen opposite in this matter. They objected to discuss the proposal at half-past 2 in the morning, and they now seem adverse to deal with it at half-past 2 in the afternoon. The question has been asked again and again, why should this measure or anything like it be pressed forward at this moment? The answer is a very obvious one—namely, because we are on the eve of another General Election, and because this further Election is to occur very shortly after the previous Election. As an hon. Gentleman near me says, it is just possible that a third Election may rapidly follow Election number two. It has been pointed out that these Bills have been before the House for several weeks, and, as the Session is comparatively young, I think the progress which has been made with them is rather remarkable than otherwise. Personally, I am quite prepared to face the wrath of the ratepayers on the subject. I am quite satisfied that no measure could be more popular among the Liberal Party, however it may be regarded by hon. Members opposite. If this is the last vote it may be in my power to give, I shall always reflect with pleasure that I gave it in favour of the principle contained in this clause.

MR. J. W. BARCLAY (Forfarshire): I only wish to state that this question was fully discussed in Scotland at the last General Election, and the opinion of the electors, as far as I could gather, was decidedly in favour of the proposal now presented. I think that it is most desirable that the expenses of Elections, as far as the candidates are concerned, should be reduced as much as possible, in order that the constituencies may have the fullest choice, and may select the most worthy Representatives whether they are rich men or poor. I have, therefore, great pleasure in supporting the proposal.

MR. DUCKHAM (Herefordshire, Leominster): I feel that I should not be discharging my duty if I did not express the opinion which I entertain on the subject, and which I have repeatedly expressed both in and out of this House; for this is not the first time that the question of throwing the Election expenses upon the rates has been brought before the House of Commons. Similar arguments to those which have been used by my hon. Friend the Member for Bristol (Mr. Cossham) were used then—namely, that the expenses of School Board elections and of the elections of Poor Law Guardians are thrown upon the rates at present. I do not think that there is any parallel between those cases and the expenses of Parliamentary Elections. We are sent here to discharge the business of the Empire, and that business is by no means confined to the affairs of the ratepayers; and although it may be a matter of consideration whether the expenses of Parliamentary Elections might not be thrown upon the Imperial resources, I certainly fail to see any justification for throwing them upon the rates.

Question put.

The House *divided*:—Ayes 91; Noes 35: Majority 56.—(Div. List, No. 131.)

*Ordered*, That it be an Instruction to the Committee that they have power to provide for the payment of Returning Officers out of the rates.

Bill *considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

New Clause (Returning Officers expenses to be defrayed out of the local rates,)—(*Mr. Esslemont,*)—*brought up*, and read a first time.

Motion made, and Question, "That the Clause be read a second time," put, and *agreed to*.

Clause *added* to the Bill.

Amendment proposed, to omit Schedule 2.—(*Mr Buchanan.*)

Question proposed, "That Schedule 2 stand part of the Bill."

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

THE LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. B. BALFOUR) (Clackmannan, &c.) said, there were some other Amendments, but they were not down on the Paper.

THE CHAIRMAN: The Bill has only been re-committed in regard to a new clause, and any further Amendment the right hon. and learned Gentleman desires to propose must be brought up on the Report.

Bill to be read the third time *Tomorrow*.

## SEA FISHING BOATS (SCOTLAND) BILL [*Lords*].—[BILL 270.]

(*The Lord Advocate.*)

### COMMITTEE.

Bill *considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Clauses 1 to 5, inclusive, *agreed to.*

Clause 6 (Loan on security of boat).

On the Motion of The LORD ADVOCATE, Amendment made, in page 2, line 17, by leaving out "C." and inserting "B (1)."

Clause, as amended, *agreed to.*

Clause 7 (Recording of mortgage in register) *agreed to.*

Clause 8 (Discharge of mortgage).

On the Motion of The LORD ADVOCATE, Amendments made, in page 2, line 32, by leaving out "receipt," and inserting "discharge;" page 2, line 33, after "attested," by inserting—

"In the form contained in Schedule B (2) hereto annexed, or as near thereto as circumstances permit."

Clause, as amended, *agreed to.*

Clause 9 (Right of mortgagee).

On the Motion of The LORD ADVOCATE, Amendments made, in page 3, line 3, after "mortgage," by inserting—

"Or failing concurrence without payment or consignation of the amount of any prior mortgage;"

page 3, line 12, after "attested," by inserting—

"In the form contained in Schedule B (3) hereto annexed, or as near thereto as circumstances permit;"

page 3, line 12, by leaving out "endorsement," and inserting "transfer endorsed;" page 3, line 18, after "of," by inserting "marriage;" page 3, line 21, by leaving out "written evidence thereof," and inserting "a written declaration thereof, signed and attested by two witnesses;" page 3, line 32, after "15," by inserting—

(Definition.)

"The term 'boat' shall include the gear, sails, and other fittings necessary for the purpose of equipment, but shall not include nets and fishing apparatus."

Clause, as amended, *agreed to.*

On the Motion of The LORD ADVOCATE, Amendment made in Schedules, page 4, line 9, by leaving out "and in her appurtenances;" page 4, line 17, in margin, by leaving out "ship," and inserting "boat;" page 4, line 20, after "B," by inserting "(1) Mortgage;" page 4, line 35, by leaving out "and in her appurtenances;" page 5, line 13, in margin, by leaving out "ship," and inserting "boat;" page 9, at end of Schedule B (1.), by inserting—

(2.) Discharge.

"Received the sum of in
discharge of the written security. Dated at
this day of
18 .
A.B.
C.D. Witness.
E.F. Witness."

(3.) Transfer.

"I [or "we"] in consideration of this day paid to me [or "us"] by
hereby transfer to the benefit
of the within security. In witness whereof I
[or "we"] have hereunto
subscribed my [or "our"] name, this
day of one thousand eight hundred
and , in the presence of [here name
and designate the two witnesses].
A.B.
C.D. Witness.
E.F. Witness."

Question, "That the Schedule, as amended, stand part of the Bill," put, and *agreed to.*

Bill *reported;* as amended, to be considered *To-morrow.*

## PETERHEAD HARBOUR OF REFUGE BILL.—[BILL 266.]

(*Mr. R. W. Duff, Mr. Hibbert, Mr. Henry H. Fowler, The Lord Advocate, Mr. Solicitor General for Scotland.*)

CONSIDERATION.

Bill, as amended, *considered.*

Clause 16 (Power to levy rates).

ADMIRAL FIELD (Sussex, Eastbourne), in moving an Amendment on the clause, said, that at present it laid down that the Admiralty should not levy rates on any vessel or boat forced to use the harbour as a refuge by "stress of weather." That made a limitation which was most undesirable. Stress of weather was only one of many causes which would induce ships to seek a harbour of refuge. They had to seek a harbour of refuge when leaking heavily; or when there was a mutiny amongst the crew; or from the loss of a spar; or by any accident to the machinery. It was not to be endured, when they were founding a new harbour of refuge on that coast, that there should be the slightest impediment to such vessels seeking refuge in it. Therefore, he proposed to add, after "stress of weather," the words "or other cause."

Amendment proposed, in page 6, line 11, after the word "weather," to add the words "or other cause." — (*Admiral Field.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there added."

THE CIVIL LORD OF THE ADMIRALTY (Mr. R. W. DUFF) (Banffshire) said, he would accept the Amendment, which he thought would be an improvement to the Bill.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Words *added.*

Clause, as amended, *agreed to.*

Bill read the third time, and *passed.*

## SALMON AND FRESHWATER FISHERIES BILL.

(*Mr. Mundella, Mr. Acland.*)

[BILL 244.] THIRD READING.

Order for Third Reading read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read the third time."

SIR R. ASSHETON CROSS (Lancashire, S.W., Newton) said, he had received remonstrances from several Fishery Boards against the manner in which this Bill was being rushed through the House. These Fishery Boards feared that under the Board of Trade the interests of the Freshwater Fisheries would be prejudiced through their being subordinated to the larger interests of the Sea Fisheries. The Bill either went too far or did not go far enough, and it would have been better to have postponed legislation until it could have been undertaken with more deliberation and discussion.

SIR EDWARD BIRKBECK (Norfolk, E.) said, he concurred in the remark that had been made by the right hon. Gentleman that the measure did not go far enough. A distinct pledge was given by the President of the Board of Trade early in the Session that there should be a Central Department for dealing with these matters, if he could not see his way to the establishment of a Fishery Board for England and Wales as was proposed by his (Sir Edward Birkbeck's) Bill. That Central Authority, it was promised, should have the control not only of all the fisheries, both inland and sea, but also of the police of the sea—namely, the cruisers. It was also understood that the very important question of statistics should be provided for, and that a practical man should be appointed to the Department who really knew what the wants of the fishermen were. On the occasion of a very important deputation of delegates from all the fishing ports to the Board of Trade, the President distinctly promised the fishermen that there should be established elected Councils at the various fishing ports, who should be in direct communication with the Fishery Department of the Board. It was a matter of great regret that those promises had not been carried out, and great disappointment would be felt by the fishing industry. He feared that the subject had suffered because the President of the Board of Trade had been prevented by ill-health from devoting that amount of attention to it which it would otherwise have received from him. He earnestly hoped that the Government would see their way to withdraw the Bill with a view to its re-introduction in a much better form in another Session.

Mr. EDWARD CLARKE (Plymouth) said, that as one who had seconded the Resolution when the discussion took place which resulted in this Bill being introduced, he would like to express his regret that the Bill had been brought forward at all, as it did nothing to fulfil the pledges given by the Board of Trade. There did not appear to be any right hon. Gentleman on the Treasury Bench who could explain what the Bill was, and he was afraid the fact of its being passed would only be used as an excuse for delaying larger and more important legislation.

The SECRETARY to the BOARD of TRADE (Mr. C. T. D. Acland) (Cornwall, Launceston) explained that the object of the Bill was simply to transfer the jurisdiction over the Salmon Fisheries from the Home Office to the Board of Trade, so as to secure unity of administration over all fisheries.

Mr. E. STANHOPE (Lincolnshire, Horncastle) said, he was in favour of the Bill so far as it went, although, as his hon. Friend had said, it only carried out part of the pledges given by the Government.

Motion *agreed to.*

Bill read the third time, and *passed.*

## MERCHANT SHIPPING (FISHING BOATS) ACTS AMENDMENT BILL.

(*Mr. Mundella, Mr. Acland.*)

[BILL 274.] SECOND READING.

[ADJOURNED DEBATE.]

Order read, for resuming Adjourned Debate on Amendment proposed to Question [11th June], "That the Bill be now read a second time."

And which Amendment was, to leave out the word "now," and at the end of the Question to add the words "upon this day three months."—(*Mr. Edward Clarke.*)

Question again proposed, "That the word 'now' stand part of the Question."

Debate *resumed.*

Mr. EDWARD CLARKE (Plymouth) said, he would ask leave to withdraw the Amendment which he had proposed to this Bill. He might say he had been in communication with the hon. Gentleman who had charge of the Bill, and he proposed to withdraw the Amendment on the understanding that the Committee stage should not be taken until Monday next, in order that persons interested in it might be communicated with.

Sir EDWARD BIRKBECK (Norfolk, E.) said, he would remind the hon. Member who had charge of the Bill that one of the prominent officers of the Board of Trade gave a distinct pledge to the fishing interest that after the introduction of the Bill there should be a month's delay before the second reading. Though he was in favour of the provisions of the measure, with one exception only, he thought when the House realized the fact that none of these Bills could have been distributed to the fishing interest round the coast till yesterday, they would consider it very unfair indeed that the second reading should be pressed in the way it was being done. There was one very important clause affecting the lives of fishermen, especially in the North Sea—namely, Clause 21, which he hoped the hon. Member in charge of the Bill would take into consideration with a view to its amendment, if not of its withdrawal, because he knew that there were very strong objections entertained to it by fishermen on the East Coast.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT) (Derby) expressed a hope that the hon. and learned Member for Plymouth would not press his objection to the Committee stage being taken before Monday, because in that case it would involve the loss of the Bill.

MR. EDWARD CLARKE said, that he should just like to say to the House that this Bill was introduced on the early morning of Friday last. It was put down for second reading — ["Order, order!"]

MR. SPEAKER: The hon. and learned Gentleman is not allowed to speak again.

THE SECRETARY TO THE BOARD OF TRADE (Mr. C. T. D. ACLAND) (Cornwall, Launceston) explained that the course of events had prevented the Government from carrying out the pledge as to the interval between the first and second reading. The Bill was much desired in Grimsby, Hull, and other Northern and Eastern ports. All the clauses had for some time past been communicated to all who were interested, and their replies had been favourable.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Main Question put, and *agreed to.*

Bill read a second time, and *committed* for Friday.

## INTOXICATING LIQUORS (SALE TO CHILDREN) BILL.—[BILL 157.]

(*Mr. Conybeare, Mr. Theodore Fry, Mr. Cossham, Mr. Valentine, Mr. Allison, Mr. O. V. Morgan, Mr. Channing.*)

### COMMITTEE.

Order for Committee read.

Motion made and Question proposed, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair."

VISCOUNT GRIMSTON (Herts, St. Albans), in moving that the House do this day three months resolve itself into the said Committee, said, this Bill was another piece of grandmotherly legislation, and, as usual in such cases, it had overreached itself like vaulting ambition, and had fallen on the other side. The Bill provided that

> "Every holder of a licence who sells, or allows any person to sell, any description of intoxicating liquors to any person under the age of thirteen years,"

should be liable to certain penalties. With regard to the immoral consequences attending the sale to children, he contended that they were much more likely to ensue in the case of children over the age of 13 than under that age. Another point that he wished to impress upon the House was, that if the labourer on returning from his work was compelled to go himself to a public-house for the purpose of getting a glass of beer, he would probably meet his friends there, and be induced to remain in the public-house, so that a Bill brought in to encourage temperance would have precisely the opposite result. He hoped on these grounds that the House would agree to his Amendment.

Amendment proposed, to leave out from the word "That," to the end of the Question, in order to add the words "this House will, upon this day three months, resolve itself into the said Committee,"—(*Viscount Grimston,*)—instead thereof.

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question."

MR. CAVENDISH BENTINCK (Whitehaven) said, he was informed that the hon. Member who had made the Motion to go into Committee had authority from the hon. Member for Cornwall (Mr. Conybeare) to move that the Order be discharged, and he thought the hon. Member might very well exercise that discretion. He did not wish to weary the House with a discussion on this most ridiculous and tyrannical Bill. He contended that there was no evidence that children became drunken by being sent for liquor, and he could hardly bring himself to believe that the late Home Secretary, with his experience, would rise in his place and say that this proposal ought to be carried out. A Bill so wide in its scope as this, and so very vague with regard to its provisions, ought not to be entertained by the House of Commons at this period of the Session.

He asked for an explanation from the Government as to what course they intended taking with regard to the Bill.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT) (Derby) said, this alarming Bill, which was so ridiculous and tyrannical, had been for many years, in almost identical words, in operation in Scotland, where it had never produced any mischievous effects. On the contrary, it had been found very beneficial. The Bill was identical with the Scotch Act, except that the word "supply" was used in the latter instead of "sell." He believed that the opponents of the Bill when they learned the facts with regard to Scotland on the second reading were almost ashamed of their opposition, and he thought it was understood that if any alteration were to be made in the Bill it would be by a simple Amendment in Committee. In Scotland it had been held that the word "supply" did not apply to a child going to a public-house to get beer for its parents, but for its own consumption. That was really the whole case, and a simple Amendment in Committee to that effect was all that was required.

SIR RICHARD WEBSTER (Isle of Wight) said, that on the second reading the Home Secretary distinctly undertook on the part of the Government to see that proper clauses were inserted to meet the objections urged by those who objected to the Bill as introduced, who had not been shamed out of their opposition as had been suggested. He would like to know whether the Motion to go into Committee had been made with the assent of the hon. Gentleman whose name stood first on the Bill (Mr. Conybeare), because it had been understood that it was not his wish that the Bill should be pressed forward? It was not the case that the Scotch law was identical with this Bill. He believed that there the age was 16 instead of 13, and there were words limiting its operation in that country. He wanted to know whether they were going to punish the publican and leave the parent who sent the child to the public-house scot-free? The publican could not know the age of the child, but the parent did, and it seemed to him a strange thing to introduce legislation to punish the former, while the latter was not subject to any penalty. While he was desirous of doing everything to promote temperance and of supporting proper legislation in that direction, it seemed to him that the Bill, as it then stood, would effect no good whatever.

MR. PICTON (Leicester) said, he was one of those who opposed the second reading of the Bill; but he must differ from the hon. and learned Member who had just sat down as to the intention of many of those who opposed the Bill. They opposed it because it was supposed that it was intended to prevent a parent sending his child for liquor, but they now understood that the Bill would simply have the effect of forbidding the sale of intoxicating liquors to children for their own consumption. He hoped the House would go into Committee on the Bill to amend it in that direction.

MR. STUART-WORTLEY (Sheffield, Hallam) said, that, unlike the hon. Member for Leicester (Mr. Picton), he was rather friendly to the Bill at first, but thought it unfortunate that parents should be prevented from sending their children to public-houses where liquor was not consumed on the premises. What the House then wanted was something better than that *non-possumus* and passive attitude of the Government with reference to the Bill. They wanted some assurance that Amendments with the object stated would be promoted, and without that assurance they could not assent to the Bill going on. It had been understood previously that this Bill was not intended to apply to those public-houses where drink was consumed off the premises.

SIR TREVOR LAWRENCE (Surrey, Reigate) said, he intended to oppose the Bill as it stood at present. It was a constant habit for working people to send out their children for the dinner beer.

MR. RITCHIE (Tower Hamlets, St. George's) asked an assurance from the Government that the object of the Bill was only to prevent the supplying of liquor to children for consumption by the children themselves.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT) (Derby): Certainly.

MR. RITCHIE said, that if that was their view he would not oppose the going into Committee.

SIR JOHN GORST (Chatham) was understood to say that at present it was an offence against the law to sell spirits to any person under the age of 16. He asked whether it was the intention of the Government simply to extend the law with regard to spirits to all intoxicating liquors, and to modify the Bill so as to provide that the prohibition should only extend to consumption of liquor by the child?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE HOME DEPARTMENT (Mr. CHILDERS) (Edinburgh, S.) said, that the Government intended in Committee to introduce provisions to that effect.

Bill *considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Clause 1 (Sale of liquors to children to be illegal).

MR. HANDEL COSSHAM (Bristol, E.): Having taken charge of the Bill for my hon. Friend the Member for Cornwall (Mr. Conybeare), I wish to move in this clause to substitute the word "serves" for the word "sells." The effect would be to impose the penalty upon the person who serves the child with liquor, and not to restrict it to the person who sells it.

Amendment proposed, in page 1, line 8, leave out the word "sells," and insert "serves."—(*Mr. Cossham.*)

MR. STUART-WORTLEY (Sheffield, Hallam): I should like to know from the Attorney General what the effect of this Amendment would be?

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir CHARLES RUSSELL) (Hackney, S.): The word used in the Scotch Act is "supplies," and I understand from my right hon. and learned Friend the Lord Advocate that the use of that word is understood to apply only to the case of persons who knowingly supply. I think the word "supplies" would be better either than "sells" or "serves." In order to prevent the penalty from attaching to the holder of a licence who innocently supplies intoxicating liquor to a child under 13, I propose to amend the clause so that it shall run in this way—

> "Every holder of a licence who shall knowingly supply, or shall allow any person to supply, any description of intoxicating liquors to any person under the age of thirteen years," &c.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL: I move that the words "knowingly supplies" be inserted.

*Sir John Gorst*

Question, "That the words 'knowingly supplies' be there inserted," put, and *agreed to.*

SIR RICHARD WEBSTER (Isle of Wight): I have to move the insertion, after the word "supplies," of the words "for his or her own consumption." I have some doubt whether, considering some of the decisions which have been given, the word "supplies" will be sufficient, and I think my hon. and learned Friend the Attorney General should propose the insertion of some additional words to make the matter clear.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL: I think the Amendment of my hon. Friend would come in better in line 2 of the clause, after the second word "supply." The Government have no objection to the Amendment.

SIR RICHARD WEBSTER (Isle of Wight): Perhaps the Amendment would come in better in line 10. The clause would then run—

> "Every holder of a licence who supplies, or allows any person to supply, any description of intoxicating liquors to any person under the age of thirteen years, for his or her own consumption."

CAPTAIN VERNEY (Bucks, N., Buckingham): I wish to propose an Amendment which would come before that, in line 9—namely, the insertion of the word "apparently." The clause would then read—"apparently under the age of thirteen."

SIR RICHARD WEBSTER: The object of the hon. and gallant Gentleman will be covered by the word "knowingly."

MR. BRODRICK (Surrey, Guildford): I desire to move an Amendment to the words "thirteen years." I think that is too high a limit. I think 10 years will be quite high enough. There are a considerable number of objections to the age of 13. It is a very doubtful age, and I would put it to the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer whether he thinks that 10 years would not be a proper limit? It is better to take some age which would be more likely to be known for purposes of this kind than the age of 13. I will, therefore, ask the Government to accept the age of 10 years.

Amendment proposed, in page 1, line 10, to omit "thirteen," and insert "ten."—(*Mr. Brodrick.*)

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT) (Derby): I do not know what the hon. Member really calls a tender age. At the age of 13 a child ought to be at school. No doubt, in many instances they are not, but they ought to be. If it is good for them to drink they can drink under the supervision and control of their parents; but they certainly ought not to be allowed to obtain it on their own account.

MR. F. S. POWELL (Wigan): I hope that the age of 13 will be retained. I think that age is the most suitable.

MR. HANDEL COSSHAM (Bristol, E.): If the age were reduced to 10 years, I think it would entirely destroy the value of the Bill. Personally, I should prefer to see it raised to 16, as it is in Scotland. Certainly, as a considerable part of the value of the Bill has been taken out of it by the action of the Government, I do not see why the Committee should not raise the age to 16.

CAPTAIN VERNEY (Bucks, N., Buckingham): I shall certainly support any proposal to raise the age to 16. It seems absurd to limit it to 13, and I should like to know what hon. Member of this House would allow his own children to drink at the age of 13, or to be allowed to purchase spirits or other intoxicating liquors on his own account. I am satisfied that no hon. Member would desire a child of his own even to enter a public-house at that early age for the purpose of purchasing intoxicating liquors of any sort.

MR. BRODRICK (Surrey, Guildford): I am afraid that some of these children do indulge in intoxicating liquors at a much earlier age than that. I do not know that a boy of 12 is the worse for drinking a glass of beer. But I have no objection to withdraw the Amendment, if the sense of the Committee is opposed to the change.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Amendment proposed, in page 1, line 10, after the words "thirteen years," to insert "for his or her own consumption."—(*Sir Richard Webster.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

CAPTAIN VERNEY: I beg to move that "16" be substituted for "13."

THE CHAIRMAN (Mr. COURTNEY): The hon. and gallant Member is too late.

CAPTAIN VERNEY: Cannot I move the substitution of the age of 16?

THE CHAIRMAN: Not now. The words "thirteen years" have already been agreed to.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Question proposed, "That Clause 1, as amended, stand part of the Bill."

MR. DUNCOMBE (Yorkshire, E. R., Howdenshire): I have an Amendment to move in line 10, after the word "years," to insert—

"Unless such person applies to be served with the sanction, and at the bidding, of those under whose control he or she may be living."

My object in moving this is to meet cases in which children may be sent in a *bonâ fide* manner to fetch beer. I am not quite sure, however, whether that object is not met by the Amendment which the Government have inserted.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL: Yes, it is.

MR. DUNCOMBE: Then I shall not move the Amendment.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Clause 2 (Legal proceedings to follow Licensing Acts, 1872-1874) *agreed to.*

Clause 3 (Extent of Act).

MR. HANDEL COSSHAM (Bristol, E.): I beg to move the Amendment which stands in the name of my hon. Friend the Member for Cornwall (Mr. Conybeare), to add to the clause—"and Ireland." The object of the Amendment is to exclude Ireland from the operation of the Bill.

Amendment proposed, in page 3, to add "and Ireland."—(*Mr. Cossham.*)

MR. JOHN O'CONNOR (Tipperary, S.): I should certainly feel it my duty to protest against the inclusion of Ireland in the Bill. I remember the discussion which took place some time ago in reference to the measure, and it was then generally understood that it was to be applied to England and Wales only. The conditions of the trade in Ireland are entirely different from those which exist in England, Scotland, and Wales.

SIR TREVOR LAWRENCE (Surrey, Reigate): I understand that Scotland is excluded because that country is already provided for; but as Ireland is not provided for, and as there are certainly children of tender age in that country, I fail to see why the Bill should not be made applicable to Ireland. I should like to know on what principle the proposal to exclude Ireland is made?

Mr. HANDEL COSSHAM: I think the hon. Member for Tipperary (Mr. J. O'Connor) must have misunderstood the Amendment. The clause, as it stands, excludes Scotland, but not Ireland, and the object of the Amendment is to exclude Ireland also.

Sir RICHARD WEBSTER (Isle of Wight): I should like some Member of Her Majesty's Government to explain why, if the Bill is promoted on the principles of temperance, and it is desirable that English children under the age of 13 years should not be allowed to obtain liquor for their own consumption, and if they do get it that the landlord who supplies it should be liable to prosecution—why it is not equally desirable that children in Ireland should be protected in the same manner?

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER (Sir William Harcourt) (Derby): The only reason is that the English Members, by a large majority, are in favour of the Bill, and wish it to be applied to England, while a considerable proportion of the Irish Members do not wish to see it applied to their country.

Mr. BRODRICK (Surrey, Guildford): I think if the right hon. Gentleman will examine the Division Lists, he will find that the majority in favour of the Bill comprised a considerable number of Irish Members. The majority of English Members present voted against the Bill. I protest against legislation being undertaken for England which is not equally good for Ireland. If there is any case for sending children to the public-house it is in England, where the majority of the people are beer drinkers, while in Ireland, where very little beer is drunk, there is no such necessity. I shall certainly take a division in favour of the inclusion of Ireland in the provisions of the Bill.

Mr. RITCHIE (Tower Hamlets, St. George's): I should like to remind the Committee that the circumstances of the case have now been entirely altered. I can understand why the Irish Members should object to the measure being extended to Ireland if it had remained in its original shape, and applied to a child who was simply sent to fetch the dinner beer. But surely no Irish Member can object to children being prevented from being supplied with beer for their own consumption. It seems to be forgotten that the Bill is only to affect the selling of drink to children for their own consumption. The objection which originally applied to the Bill certainly does not apply now, and I cannot understand why any Irish Member should raise an objection to it.

Mr. HASLETT (Belfast, W.): As an Irish Member I should certainly protest strongly against the exclusion of Ireland from the operation of the Bill.

Mr. LIONEL COHEN (Paddington, N.): If the principle of locality is to arise, I know many parts of England in which the principle of the Bill will be inoperative, because the evil which it is intended to remedy does not exist, and, as a matter of justice, I think the Bill ought to be applied to Ireland as well as to England and Wales.

Sir TREVOR LAWRENCE (Surrey, Reigate): If Ireland is not added the Bill will probably slip through both Houses of Parliament, whereas if Ireland is added we shall probably hear much more about it. Therefore, I think the reason the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer has given is not a sound reason for the omission of Ireland.

Sir JOHN GORST (Chatham): I have such a high opinion of the Irish Members that I really cannot believe that hon. Gentlemen who represent Ireland can object to the Bill as it now stands. They may very reasonably have had an objection to it as it went into Committee; but now that it has been altered and simply inflicts penalties on the holders of licences who supply intoxicating liquor to children of tender years, for their own consumption, I cannot believe that hon. Gentlemen who represent Ireland can object to it as I understand its provisions now. In this House I have always advocated equal laws for England, Ireland, and Scotland; and I should be very sorry if one of the last measures we are to pass in the present Parliament is one which is to extend beneficial provisions to the people of England from all share of which the Irish people are to be excluded.

Mr. ARTHUR O'CONNOR (Donegal, E.): Allow me to remind hon. Members that there may exist a difference of opinion among Irish Members on this question as well as among English or Scotch Members. I do not know what the general body of the Irish Members may be inclined to say in regard to this matter; but if the decision rested with me personally I should feel bound to give it in this instance in favour of temperance, and on behalf of the protection of children. I cannot understand why anyone who is not connected with the publicans' interest should object to the prevention of the sale of intoxicating drink for their own consumption to children under 13, whether in Ireland or in England. I, for one, certainly propose to oppose the Amendment in the interests of the children of Ireland.

Mr. SEXTON (Sligo, S.): I presume that the Bill has been brought forward for Ireland because it is understood that some social need for it exists. I do not believe that any such need exists for it in Ireland; but I must say that I am not in favour of publicans anywhere being allowed to sell drink for their own consumption to children of tender years. I shall, therefore, oppose the Motion for the exclusion of Ireland.

Mr. DAWSON (Leeds, E.): I understood that the reason why the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer supported the Amendment was that he believed a majority of the Irish Members were against the Bill; but the right hon. Gentlemen seems now to be discarded by those whom he was so anxious to please. The right hon. Gentleman made a somewhat remarkable proposition. Although he was convinced in his own mind that a certain course of action was right in itself, still, if a majority did not agree with him, he was ready to withdraw his own opinions and adopt it. That certainly seems to me to be a singular method of carrying on the legislation of this country. I should have thought that the Government would be convinced that that which is right for England would be right also for Ireland. For myself, I hope that the Bill will be extended to Ireland, because I believe that there is no measure which should be carried for one part of the Kingdom only, and not for the whole of it.

Mr. JOHN O'CONNOR (Tipperary, S.): When I proposed that the provisions of this Bill should not be extended to Ireland I was not aware that the measure had undergone important alterations. I did so because I knew from personal experience that in Ireland a Bill of this kind, as originally introduced, was unnecessary, superfluous, and absurd. For that reason alone I opposed its extension to Ireland. The administration of the law in Ireland in regard to the evils which the measure proposes to remedy is perfectly satisfactory, because it may be readily understood that the police avail themselves of every opportunity they can obtain of persecuting the publican and his trade, and I was apprehensive that this provision might afford them increased opportunities for carrying on that persecution. I may say that the only case in which a child is ever sent to the public-house in Ireland, either for spirits or beer, is in a case of emergency, when a person really sick requires it. There is no such institution in Ireland as dinner beer, and children are never sent to the public-house to obtain that article of luxury. The same observation applies to supper beer. The people of Ireland never eat suppers. But I find that the Bill has been modified in certain important particulars. When I entered the House I was not aware that those modifications had been made. I now find that the evil grappled with is the supply of a child with intoxicating liquor for his or her own consumption. It is, therefore, quite clear to me that the reason for my opposition to the measure as it originally stood has been removed; and, therefore, I shall not insist on the exclusion of Ireland from the provisions of the Bill.

Mr. HANDEL COSSHAM (Bristol, E.): After the discussion which has taken place I beg to withdraw the Amendment.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Clause *agreed to,* and *added* to the Bill.

Clause 4 (Short title) *agreed to.*

Clause 5 (Commencement of Act).

Sir TREVOR LAWRENCE (Surrey, Reigate): This clause provides that the Act shall come into operation on the day that it is passed. I think that such a change of the law ought scarcely to be brought into operation instantly. Some little time ought to be given so that the trade should have an opportunity of becoming acquainted with the provisions of the Act. I will therefore move, as an Amendment, to leave out the words "day of the passing thereof," in order to insert "the 1st of January, 1887."

Amendment proposed, in line 19, leave out "day of the passing thereof," and insert "1st of January, 1887.—(*Sir Trevor Lawrence.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Clause."

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT)(Derby): I think the date suggested by the hon. Member is much too distant. I would suggest the 31st of July, 1886.

SIR TREVOR LAWRENCE (Surrey, Reigate): I am quite agreeable.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Question, "That the words '31st of July, 1886,' be there inserted," put, and *agreed to.*

Clause, as amended, *agreed to.*

Preamble.

MR. EDWARD CLARKE (Plymouth): The Preamble recites that—

> "Whereas it is expedient to protect young children against the immoral consequences resulting from their being permitted or compelled to purchase intoxicating liquors."

I think the words "or compelled" are quite unnecessary and should be left out, and after the words "intoxicating liquors" there ought to be inserted "for their own consumption." I will therefore move to omit the words "or compelled."

Question, "That the words 'or compelled' stand part of the Preamble," put, and *negatived.*

MR. EDWARD CLARKE: I now propose to insert, after "intoxicating liquors," the words "for their own consumption."

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir CHARLES RUSSELL) (Hackney, S.): I cannot accept that Amendment.

MR. EDWARD CLARKE: This is not the operative part of the Bill, but only recites the principle, and I think it puts it in connection with the real provisions of the measure. I certainly think that some such words are required.

VISCOUNT GRIMSTON (Herts, St. Albans): Unless these words are inserted, I take it that it would be impossible to send a child even for his parents' beer.

SIR CHARLES RUSSELL: I think the words as they stand in the Preamble are quite sufficient.

MR. EDWARD CLARKE: I do not think the hon. and learned Attorney General can have followed the words of the Preamble, because they really prevent the children from doing what the operative provisions of the Bill allow.

Question, "That the words 'for their own consumption' be there inserted,"—(*Mr. E. Clarke,*)—put, and *agreed to.*

Preamble, as amended, *agreed to.*

Bill *reported;* as amended, to be considered *To-morrow.*

## PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS (RETURNING OFFICERS) ACT (1875) AMENDMENT BILL.—[BILL 282.]

(*Mr. T. M. Healy, Mr. Chance.*)

THIRD READING.

Order for Third Reading read.

Bill *re-committed* in respect of a New Clause.

Bill *considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

MR. LABOUCHERE (Northampton): I beg to move the insertion of the following clause:—

> "Where a returning officer has, pursuant to the provisions of the principal Act, required security to be given for the charges payable in respect of an election, he shall, on being paid the charges under this section, forthwith pay back to the person or persons entitled to same the sum or sums which have been deposited with him as such security."

MR. CAVENDISH BENTINCK (Whitehaven): I strongly protest against this clause; but before giving practical effect to my opposition I will wait until the Bill has reached its next stage.

Question, "That the new Clause be added to the Bill," put, and *agreed to.*

Schedule 2.

MR. RITCHIE (Tower Hamlets, St. George's) said, it was advisable that the Committee should reconsider the decision which the House had arrived at a few nights ago, and by which an alteration of the law was effected, throwing the cost of the Returning Officer's charges on the rates. The Bill, when originally introduced, never contemplated any such alteration of the law. Whatever the opinion of individual Members might be as to the desirableness of carrying out this alteration, he thought there would be but one opinion that such an alteration ought only to be carried out after thorough deliberation by the House. No such deliberation had been exercised in this case, and he now moved that the 2nd Schedule be omitted.

Amendment proposed to omit Schedule 2.—(*Mr. Ritchie.*)

Question proposed, "That Schedule 2 stand part of the Bill."

MR. CHANCE (Kilkenny, S.) observed that a great deal of time had been spent on this question, and he believed there was a considerable agreement on both sides of the House with respect to it. He hoped the House would not agree to the Amendment. It had received the support of Her Majesty's Government, and was not by any means a new principle. Mr. Fawcett, in 1874, introduced a Bill similar in its character to the present measure.

SIR JOHN GORST (Chatham) said, he must deny that there was any agreement on both sides of the House on this question. If this provision was allowed to pass, Her Majesty's Government must take the sole responsibility of its passing. He had always been in the main favourable to the principle of the constituency paying the necessary expenses of the election; but he never dreamt of suggesting that that principle should be hastily adopted by Parliament in its expiring days. The persons most affected by this proposed change in the law had had no opportunity of expressing their opinions on the matter. It was desirable that the ratepayers should have an opportunity of considering the question, and Parliament should wait until it had a clear statement on the part of the ratepayers that they were willing to accept the burden.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR (Donegal, E.) said, he believed that the Government would not feel their responsibility in this matter overwhelming. On a question of Order, he asked whether, having passed Sections 2, 3, 4, and 5 of the Bill, it was now competent for an hon. Member to move to omit this Schedule? If the Schedule were omitted and nothing proposed in substitution, the Bill would be reduced to an absurdity.

MR. SPEAKER said, there was nothing contrary to Order in moving the omission of the Schedule, because another Schedule might be brought up in substitution, or if the Schedule was struck out consequential changes might be made in the portions of the Bill to which the hon. Member called attention.

SIR TREVOR LAWRENCE (Surrey, Reigate) said, that if the country was going to be, as seemed probable, subjected to the trouble of elections closely following one another, a heavy burden would be thrown on the ratepayers. He protested against this provision passing into law in the closing days of an expiring Parliament.

Question put.

The House *divided*:—Ayes 97; Noes 65: Majority 32.—(Div. List, No. 132.)

Bill read the third time, and *passed.*

## COAL MINES BILL.—[BILL 92.]

(*Sir Richard Cross, Mr. Stuart-Wortley, Mr. Forwood.*)

COMMITTEE. [*Progress 11th June.*]

Bill *considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Clause 1 (Repeal of part of s. 18 of 35 and 36 Vict. c. 78) *agreed to.*

Clause 2 (Attendance at inquest of relatives of deceased person).

SIR R. ASSHETON CROSS (Lancashire, S.W., Newton): The clause provides that where an inquest is held it "shall be lawful for the husband, wife, child, or other near relative" of the deceased to attend in person or by agent, and to examine any witness, subject to the order of the Coroner. I propose to leave out the words "husband, child, or other near," and to substitute the word "any."

Question, "That the words 'husband, child, or other near' stand part of the Clause," put, and *negatived.*

Question, "That the word 'any' be there inserted," put, and *agreed to.*

Clause, as amended, *agreed to,* and *ordered* to stand part of the Bill.

Clause 3 (Formal investigation as to explosion or accident).

Sir R. ASSHETON CROSS explained that in regard to this clause he was prepared to accept the clause as drafted in the Government Bill.

Question, "That Clause 3 stand part of the Bill," put, and *negatived.*

Clause 4 (Appointment of an assessor to coroner) *agreed to.*

Clause 5 (Short titles and construction of Acts) *agreed to.*

The UNDER SECRETARY of STATE for the HOME DEPARTMENT (Mr. Broadhurst) (Birmingham, Bordesley) moved a new clause in substitution of Clause 3.

Question, "That the Clause be added to the Bill," put, and *agreed to.*

Bill, as amended, *considered;* read the third time, and *passed.*

### MARRIED WOMEN (MAINTENANCE IN CASE OF DESERTION) BILL.—[Bill 111.]

(*Mr. Pulley, Mr. Thomas Blake, Mr. Winterbotham, Mr. Warmington.*)

COMMITTEE.

Further Proceeding on going into Committee [19th May] *resumed.*

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Bill *considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Clause 1 (Wife may summon husband for desertion).

Mr. WARMINGTON (Monmouthshire, W.): The clause, as it stands, provides that where a married woman is deserted by her husband, it shall be lawful for her to summon him before the justices, who, if satisfied that he is able wholly or in part to maintain his wife and family, may order that the wife shall be no longer bound to cohabit with her husband, and that such order shall have the force and effect of a decree of judicial separation on the ground of cruelty. I propose to amend the clause by leaving out that portion which provides that the order of the justices shall have the effect of a decree of separation on the ground of cruelty.

Amendment proposed, in page 1, line 14, leave out from "order" to "provide," in line 18 inclusive.—(*Mr. Warmington.*)

Amendment *agreed to.*

Mr. WARMINGTON moved, in page 2, to omit the words—

> "That the legal custody of any children of the marriage under the age of 10 years shall in the discretion of the Court or magistrate be given to the wife."

Question, "That those words stand part of the Clause," put, and *negatived.*

Mr. WARMINGTON moved, in the same sub-section, in lines 7 and 8, to leave out the words "or for the custody of the children by the wife."

Question, "That those words stand part of the Clause," put, and *agreed to.*

Mr. WARMINGTON moved, in line 11, to strike out the words "or for the custody of the children."

Amendment *agreed to.*

Mr. WARMINGTON moved, in line 15, to leave out the words—

> "And provided also that all orders made under this Act shall be subject to appeal to the Probate and Admiralty Division of the High Court of Justice."

Amendment *agreed to.*

Question proposed, "That the Clause, as amended, stand part of the Bill."

Sir R. ASSHETON CROSS (Lancashire, S.W., Newton): I should like to have some assurance from the hon. and learned Attorney General that the clause, as it has been altered, is satisfactory.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir Charles Russell) (Hackney, S.): I have carefully considered the Amendments proposed by the hon. Gentleman, and I am satisfied with them. The objectionable parts of the Bill have been entirely excised; and, as it stands now, it simply provides a direct civil remedy for maintenance in case of desertion. My right hon. Friend is aware that the present law of subsistence is unsatisfactory. This Bill gives a more direct remedy.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Clause 2 (Summons, how granted) *agreed to.*

Clause 3 (Short title) *agreed to.*

Mr. WARMINGTON: I now propose to insert the following clause after Clause 1:—

"From and after the passing of this Act it shall be lawful for any child, if of the age of ten years, and for any adult person on behalf and as next friend of any child whom his or her father is bound to maintain, to summon such father before any two justices in petty sessions, or any stipendiary magistrate, and thereupon such justices or magistrate, if satisfied that such father, being able wholly or in part to maintain such child, has wilfully refused or neglected so to do, may order that such father shall pay to such person or persons who shall be named in such order as the person to receive the same, and who shall be willing to undertake to apply the moneys to be received under such order in or towards the proper maintenance of such child (so far as the monies to be received under such order shall extend), such weekly sum as the court or magistrate may consider to be in accordance with the means of such father and with any other means available for the maintenance of such child.

"Any order made under this section shall be enforceable and enforced in the manner mentioned in section one of this Act, and may from time to time be raised in the manner mentioned in such section, upon proof that the means of the father or child have been altered in amount since the original order or any subsequent order raising it shall have been made."

This clause is intended to place the law in regard to children who are deserted by their father upon the same footing as that which applies to the case of a married woman deserted by her husband, and it provides for the issue of a summons against the father and the enforcement of the order of the Court.

Question proposed, "That the Clause be read a second time."

SIR R. ASSHETON CROSS (Lancashire, S.W., Newton): I should like to have the opinion of the Attorney General in regard to this clause.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir CHARLES RUSSELL) (Hackney, S.): The clause simply applies, in the case of a child who is deserted by its father, the same provisions which are applied to a wife deserted by her husband. I have no objection to it.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Bill *reported,* with an amended Title; as amended, *considered;* read the third time, and *passed.*

## WESTMINSTER ABBEY RESTORATION BILL.—[BILL 284.]

(*Mr. Secretary Childers, Mr. Henry H. Fowler.*)

SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

THE SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY (Mr. HENRY H. FOWLER) (Wolverhampton, E.), in moving that the Bill be now read a second time, said, its object was to give authority to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners to make grants out of funds under their control for the restoration of Westminster Abbey.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."—(*Mr. Henry H. Fowler.*)

MR. CARVELL WILLIAMS (Nottingham, S.) said, he did not intend to offer any opposition to the principle of the Bill, because Westminster Abbey was a structure in which Nonconformists took as much interest as Episcopalians. He thought it strange, however, that the repair and maintenance of the Abbey should be imposed upon an Ecclesiastical Body such as the Dean and Chapter, which could not have much experience in such matters. The Dean and Chapter were, no doubt, admirably constituted for the discharge of their ecclesiastical duties; but they were no better qualified for the maintenance of the Abbey than others that might be named. He thought it would be much more reasonable if the care and maintenance of the Abbey should be placed—like the Scottish churches—in the hands of Her Majesty's Board of Works. What, however, he now asked for was information respecting the present system in force; who was responsible for the repairs ordered; whether an architect or a builder was called in; whether there was a permanent appointment of the architect and builder; or whether the work required to be done was carried out in sections, or whether fresh contracts were taken; and if the House of Commons was made acquainted, from time to time, with the progress of the restoration? The Dean and Chapter, he saw, were, according to the Bill, to report to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners the amount of money they had spent. He thought it strange that one Ecclesiastical Body should be called upon to report to another Ecclesiastical Body, in reference to a matter of this nature; and, so far as he was concerned, he did not think that the thing was altogether on a satisfactory footing.

MR. W. H. SMITH (Strand, Westminster) said, he thought that the hon. Member for Nottingham could hardly be serious in making the suggestion that the Treasury should add to its other duties the charge of the ecclesiastical buildings. It must be quite clear to the hon. Member that the Dean and Chapter were responsible, and to as high authority as Parliament itself—the public opinion of this country—for the maintenance of the Abbey, which was an ornament not only dear to them as an ecclesiastical building, but which was also of great value and dear to the whole country. An arrangement was made some time ago between the Dean and Chapter and the Ecclesiastical Commissioners for the appropriation of certain funds for the purpose of restoring and maintaining the fabric of the Abbey; but those funds had proved altogether insufficient, and they now came, not to ask for a grant from Parliament, but that authority should be given to the Commissioners to make an advance out of funds which came into their hands for the maintenance and restoration of the edifice. The advance would be secured on the estates of the Dean and Chapter, and only that day he had received a letter from the Dean stating how sadly the repairs were needed.

Mr. CAVENDISH BENTINCK (Whitehaven) said, he was far more disposed to agree with the hon. Member for Nottingham (Mr. Carvell Williams) than with the right hon. Gentleman. It was not now for the first time that he stated that the sooner the cathedral churches of this country were out of the hands of the Deans and Chapters the better. There was hardly a cathedral church in England which had not been seriously damaged by the Deans and Chapters acting on the advice of church architects. He would not object to the second reading of the Bill provided he had an assurance from the Secretary to the Treasury that the money to be advanced by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners should be expended on nothing whatever but the necessary repairs, and that no restoration would be carried out. No church had suffered more than Westminster Abbey. The late Dean was a worthy man, but he was not well instructed in art, and he fell under the dominion of the late Sir Gilbert Scott, and the carrying out of certain ideas and crotchets ran away with all the funds which ought to have been expended in proper repairs. He saw in the Bill that the money was to be spent on "substantial repairs, restorations, and improvements." It was not desirable that the church architects should be allowed to alter any of the main features of the building according to their fancies. Such were the vast powers vested in the Dean and Chapter that if they thought fit they might pull down the magnificent western tower. He hoped he should obtain an assurance from the Secretary to the Treasury that the word "restorations" would be struck out.

Mr. HENRY H. FOWLER said, that the Bill did not in any way interfere with the custodians of the Abbey, who were the Dean and Chapter. But a letter had been received from the Dean in which he said that this was no question of ornamentation or beautifying the exterior, but simply to prevent it from coming down, and that it was for that and nothing else the funds were required. He would not himself object to see the word "restorations" omitted. The sole object of the Bill was to give £10,000 simply and solely for repairs.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Bill read a second time, and *committed* for *To-morrow.*

## *QUESTION.*

### PARLIAMENT—ORDER OF BUSINESS.

Mr. W. H. SMITH (Strand, Westminster) asked the Secretary to the Treasury what would be the Business taken to-morrow?

Mr. HENRY H. FOWLER said, that he should to-morrow move the second reading of the Appropriation Bill. On that his right hon. Friend the Vice President of the Council (Sir Lyon Playfair) would make his statement on education. The Appropriation Bill would then be proceeded with, and subsequently other Government Business having relation to financial and other matters and entitled to precedence on Thursday.

### WAYS AND MEANS.

### CONSOLIDATED FUND (APPROPRIATION) BILL.

Resolution [11th June] *reported,* and *agreed to.*

*Ordered,* That leave be given to bring in a Bill to apply a sum out of the Consolidated Fund to the service of the year ending on the thirty-first day of March, one thousand eight hundred and eighty seven, and to appropriate the Supplies granted in this Session of Parliament, and that Mr. Courtney, Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Mr. Henry H. Fowler do prepare and bring it in.

Bill *presented,* and read the first time.

House adjourned at Five o'clock.

# HOUSE OF LORDS,

*Thursday,* 17*th June,* 1886.

MINUTES.]—PUBLIC BILLS—*First Reading*—Losses by Riot (Compensation) * (156); Terms of Removal (Scotland) * (157); Poor Law Loans and Relief (Scotland) * (158); Salmon and Freshwater Fisheries * (159); Medical Acts Amendment * (155); Coal Mines * (160); Turnpike Roads (South Wales) * (161); Parliamentary Elections (Returning Officers) Act (1875) Amendment * (162); Conveyancing (Scotland) Acts Amendment (163); Married Women (Maintenance in Case of Desertion) * (164); Land Tax Commissioners' Names * (165); Peterhead Harbour of Refuge * (166).

*Third Reading* — Labourers (Ireland) Acts Amendment (120); Patents Amendment * (133), and *passed.*

PROVISIONAL ORDER BILLS — *First Reading* — Local Government (County Divisions) * (167); Local Government (Highways) * (168); Local Government (Poor Law) (No. 7) * (169); Local Government (No. 3) * (170); Local Government (No. 4) * (171); Local Government (No. 5) * (172).

## LABOURERS (IRELAND) ACTS AMENDMENT BILL.

(*The Lord FitzGerald.*)

(NO. 120.) THIRD READING.

Bill read 3ª (according to order).

On the Motion of The Lord CLONCURRY, the following new clause (A) inserted after Clause 2:—

"The sixth section of the Labourers (Ireland) Act, 1883, shall be amended, and shall be read as if the words following were added at the end of the said section, 'And, save by agreement with the owner and occupier, such lands only shall be selected as immediately adjoin, and are accessible from, a then existing public road.'"

New Clause *agreed to.*

*Moved,* in Clause 13, at end add—

"And the Local Government Board may refuse to confirm a scheme or part of a scheme where a petition against the scheme shall be signed and lodged by ratepayers whose holdings, or the aggregate of whose holdings, are valued under the Acts relating to the valuation of rateable property in Ireland at three-fourths of the whole annual value of any electoral division or townland included in the scheme and defined in the petition against the scheme."—(*The Lord Cloncurry.*)

LORD FITZGERALD said, he was willing to accept the Amendment.

Amendment *agreed to.*

*Moved,* to insert the following new Clause:—

"No appointment made under this Act or under the said Acts shall be valid until it has received the sanction of the Local Government Board for Ireland."—(*The Lord Viscount Midleton.*)

LORD FITZGERALD said, he was unable to accept the new clause, but was prepared to adopt one enabling the Local Government Board for Ireland to remove any officer appointed under the Act if necessary.

VISCOUNT MIDLETON said, he was quite willing to withdraw his clause in favour of the proposal of the noble and learned Lord.

New Clause (by leave of the House) *withdrawn.*

On the Motion of The Lord FITZGERALD, the following Amendment made:—

(Power to remove officers.)

"(C.) Any officer or person appointed to any office or place under the Act, or under the said Acts, may be removed from such office or place by the Local Government Board for Ireland."

(Repeal of 48 & 49 *Vict.* c. 77, s. 6.)

"(D.) The sixth section of the Labourers (Ireland) Act, 1885, shall be, and is hereby repealed."

Bill *passed,* and sent to the Commons.

## CONVEYANCING (SCOTLAND) ACTS AMENDMENT BILL.

(*The Earl of Dalhousie.*)

(NO. 163.) FIRST READING.

Bill read 1ª (according to order).

THE DUKE OF ARGYLL said, this was a Bill which had just been read a first time, and which, as he understood, affected to a very large extent, and in an injurious manner, the property of many of the Royal Burghs of Scotland, as well as that of many individual proprietors in that country. He understood that it was a Bill which had passed through the other House with hardly a word of explanation or comment, and even without any debate. Many of those persons whose property was most injuriously affected by the Bill were not aware that it had been introduced. He therefore wished to ask his noble Friend below him (Earl Spencer) when he proposed to move the second reading of the Bill? It was one which, in his (the Duke of Argyll's) opinion, ought not to be passed into law during the present Session, because he thought that Parliament had not had time to consider it properly.

THE LORD PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL (Earl SPENCER) said, he wished he could deal with the Bill, but unfortunately it was not in his charge. The Secretary for Scotland, who had charge of it, was obliged to be absent from his place that evening; but he should have proposed that the Bill be read a second time to-morrow, as the time for winding up the Business of Parliament was rather short.

THE DUKE OF RICHMOND AND GORDON hoped that the noble Earl would not press the second reading of the Bill to-morrow. The Bill was not yet printed, and it was doubtful whether it would be circulated to-morrow. The Bill contained a number of intricate provisions which affected in a very serious manner an enormous amount of property all over Scotland.

EARL SPENCER said, he was quite willing to defer the second reading until Monday.

THE DUKE OF ARGYLL gave Notice that he would move that the Bill be read a second time that day three months. He had seen the Bill, and he knew that it was very seriously objected to by many of the burghs in Scotland. It was particularly objected to by the capital of Scotland. That morning he had received a telegram and letter pointing out the grave nature of the Bill. He did not think it ought to be proceeded with this Session.

LORD WATSON said, the Royal burghs of Scotland were indebted to the noble Duke for the notice he had given of opposition to the Bill. The Bill had been pressed on in a somewhat rapid manner. It was not known to many of the persons interested in it, and it had not been submitted to all of the learned bodies in Scotland for their revision or approval.

Bill to be *printed;* and to be read 2ª on *Monday* next.

## ISLANDS OF THE SOUTHERN PACIFIC —THE NEW HEBRIDES—ACTION OF THE FRENCH.

### NOTICE OF QUESTION.

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY: My Lords, as the noble Earl the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs is not present, I beg to give Notice that to-morrow I shall ask him whether he has any information to give to the House with respect to the reported and the unexpected action of the French Government in the New Hebrides?

House adjourned at Five o'clock,
till To-morrow, a quarter
past Four o'clock.

## HOUSE OF COMMONS,

*Thursday, 17th June,* 1886.

MINUTES.] — PRIVATE BILLS (*by Order*)— *Second Reading*—Orkney Roads, *put off.*

*Considered as amended* — Shanklin and Chale Railway (Extension to Freshwater)*.

PUBLIC BILLS — *Ordered* — *First Reading* — Merchandise (Fraudulent Marking) * [291].

*First Reading*—Patents Amendment * [289].

*Second Reading* — Consolidated Fund (Appropriation); Incumbents of Benefices Loans Extension * [276]; Public Works Loans * [288]; Idiots * [287]; Revising Barristers' Appointment * [245]; Oxford University (Justices) * [280].

*Committee* — *Report* — Metropolitan Board of Works (Money) * [285]; Westminster Abbey Restoration * [284]; Shop Hours Regulation (*re-comm.*) [216].

*Committee—Report* — *Third Reading* — Patriotic Fund * [271]; Contagious Diseases (Animals) * [268]; Tithe Rent-Charge (Extraordinary) Redemption (*re-comm.*) [264].

*Considered as amended*—Public Works Loans (Tramways Ireland) * [259]; Sea Fishing Boats (Scotland) * [270].

*Considered as amended—Third Reading*—Intoxicating Liquors (Sale to Children) [157], and *passed.*

*Third Reading*—Customs * [267], and *passed.*

*Re-committed*—*Committee—Report —Considered as amended—Third Reading*—Returning Officers' Charges (Scotland) * [281], and *passed.*

*Withdrawn*—Church Sites (Compulsory Powers Repeal) * [171]; Parliamentary Elections * [82].

PROVISIONAL ORDER BILLS—*Second Reading* — Elementary Education Confirmation (Birmingham) * [272]; Elementary Education Confirmation (London) * [273].

## *PRIVATE BUSINESS.*

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### ORKNEY ROADS BILL [*Lords*] (*by Order*).

### SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."

MR. LYELL (Orkney and Shetland): I rise for the purpose of moving, as an Amendment, that the Bill be read a second time on this day three months. The reason I take that course is that I regard the measure as a piece of exceptional legislation. In the first place, its name—"the Orkney Roads Bill"—is altogether a misnomer, and conveys a misapprehension. It is not promoted by the county of Orkney at all; but, on the contrary, it is petitioned against by the Commissioners of Supply of that county. I myself presented a Petition against the Bill on their behalf in February last. I have said that it does not deal with the Orkney roads; it is promoted by four Island proprietors to relieve themselves of their share of the Consolidated Public Road Debt, with the view of throwing the entire burden on the other Islands and the Mainland proprietors. It is, in point of fact, an attempt, by a Private Bill, to set aside the provisions of the Roads and Bridges Act, which was passed so recently as the year 1878, and by which the management of roads in Scotland is regulated. That Bill deals with the maintenance of roads in the Orkneys, but not specially with the debt upon them; and these four proprietors of Island property are now trying to relieve themselves of their share of the debt, in order to throw it upon the proprietors of land and heritages on the Mainland and other Islands. The effect, if they are allowed to relieve themselves of the responsibility, will be to increase the burden borne by their neighbours. I must say that I think it would be highly improper for Parliament to relieve private individuals in this manner by a Private Bill, and by so doing to set aside a Public Act passed only eight years ago, which dealt with the whole question. The Orkney roads were constructed under two Acts of Parliament passed in 1857 and 1867, and under the provisions of those Acts most of the existing Island roads were made. The whole of the roads, however, were not constructed by means of borrowed money, and the principal promoter of this Bill constructed three roads in the Island with which he is connected upon a valuation assessment by virtue of a private arrangement between himself and his tenants. He himself undertook to pay a portion of the poor rates, and by that means the roads were constructed, the tenants consenting to an increased assesment in order to meet the charge for making the roads. The roads were constructed, piece by piece, in the course of a series of years, and no debt was incurred. If, under the present Bill, it is intended that the tenants should be relieved of the cost of maintaining the roads, there might be some fairness in the proposal; but if the Bill passes, although it will, undoubtedly, relieve the proprietors, it will not confer any benefit whatever on those who actually did make the roads. It will, undoubtedly, relieve certain proprietors who are the promoters of the Bill; but the occupying tenants and the proprietors of other Island property, who get no benefit from the roads in the Mainland, will receive no benefit at all. No doubt, some of the Islands get a smaller advantage from the Mainland roads than others; but it has been distinctly proved that a great number of the inhabitants of these Islands do derive benefits from the Mainland roads. These roads were mainly constructed under the auspices and at the instigation of the Island proprietors, with the object of affording as much benefit as possible to the inhabitants of the Islands, who are at liberty to carry their horses and carts over these roads, while a large number of them travel over them by foot. The postal communication goes over miles of these Mainland roads, and, consequently, the inhabitants generally derive large benefit from them. The principle of the Roads and Bridges Act of 1878 was that the whole of the roads in the county should be maintained by those who make use of them. All the tolls were to be abolished, and the whole of the debts were consolidated. The duty of maintaining the roads fell upon the elected and proprietary trustees. The object of the Act was to put the management of the roads in the hands of one body, as far as possible, so that they should be maintained for the benefit of the entire community. The Act deals exceptionally in some cases with the debts which had been incurred prior to the passing of the Act; but the proprietors in the Islands of Orkney do not appear to have seen any reason why they should be placed in any exceptional position, judging from the action they took when the Roads and Bridges Bill was before Parliament. They acquiesced in the principle of that Bill, and they refrained from disputing the provisions of the Act from 1878 down to 1883, when the Act came into full operation. Since 1883 there has been no protest against the Act, and it is only now that these four Island proprietors have come forward to protest against it, and to endeavour by a Private Bill to set aside it sprovisions. If this Bill passes, the tenants on the Islands where there are no roads may fairly be asked to be relieved of all payment for road maintenance in their district, and a very great hardship will be inflicted upon the townspeople—the householders in towns upon the Mainland and in the Islands who will still be called upon to pay this debt. Under the Roads and Bridges Act the assessment in the small towns has been practically doubled. By the local Orkney Road Acts of 1857 and 1867 the householders in the towns only pay half-rates; but the Roads and Bridges Act made the assessment uniform for all houses, lands, and tenements. The result has been that the inhabitants of Stromness and St. Margaret's Hope, and of the fishing Islands, have had to pay a double assessment for roads from which they only derived indirect benefit; and if this Bill passes an additional burden will be thrown upon all the Mainland proprietors. It is calculated that the assessment in the towns will be increased to the extent of one-third. That I submit would be a great hardship, and the inhabitants generally protest against being called upon to pay a larger assessment from which they will derive no proportional benefit. The roads which have been constructed by the promoters of this Bill share with the other Road Trusts in the management of the roads in the Orkneys; and it seems to me that the promoters, who are perfectly well able to contribute their share towards the burden, ought not to be afforded the relief which is contemplated by this Bill. Their property has been benefited more by the passing of the Roads and Bridges Act of 1878 than almost that of any other proprietor in the Orkneys. I may add that the Commissioners of Supply have petitioned against the Bill. It is an attempt on the part of the promoters to relieve themselves of a legitimate burden, in order that they may throw it upon the great bulk of the householders and landowners on the Mainland of Orkney. I beg, therefore, to move that the Bill be read a second time upon this day three months.

Amendment proposed, to leave out the word "now," and at the end of the Question to add the words "upon this day three months."—(*Mr. Lyell.*)

Question proposed, "That the word 'now' stand part of the Question."

MR. J. A. CAMPBELL (Glasgow and Aberdeen Universities): The hon. Member who has just spoken has rightly described this Bill as one to relieve certain Island proprietors of their share of the debt for the roads on the Mainland of Orkney. The hon. Member stated further, as an objection to this Bill, that it is an attempt by private legislation to interfere with the provisions of a Public Act. That may appear to be so at first sight; but the question is whether there is not sufficient justification for the proposal? The hon. Member said that the promoters of the Bill wish to relieve themselves of a burden, and throw it upon others. I think it would be more correct to say that they are protesting, by this Bill, against a burden being imposed upon them which was never contemplated at the time the Roads and Bridges Act for Scotland was passed. The roads in the Orkneys have been made, as the hon. Member said, under two Private Acts passed in the years 1857 and 1867. All the roads in the Orkneys have, I believe, been made under those Acts, and the guiding principle of the Acts was that each Island should be constituted into and form a separate district for roads. Except when otherwise specially provided, the assessments were to be levied in pursuance of these Acts on the Island or district in which the roads were constructed. The roads were made on the principle that each Island formed a separate district in itself. When the Roads and Bridges Act of

1878 was passed a general principle was adopted with regard to the maintenance of roads; but with respect to the burden of debt, as the hon. Member has stated, special provisions were made where exceptional circumstances were shown to require them. In the case of two counties—Argyllshire and Forfarshire—special provisions were made with regard to the incidence of the old debt; and no doubt if the people of Orkney had been properly alive to their interests they would have obtained similar treatment to that which was accorded by Parliament to the inhabitants of the counties of Argyll and Forfar. But that idea does not seem to have dawned upon the minds of the people of Orkney. They do not appear to have comprehended that the Act of 1878 would affect them in the way in which it has. That was a mistake for which they must bear the blame; but, at the same time, as it bears very hardly on individuals, surely it is not unreasonable that the persons who feel themselves aggrieved should desire relief from the injustice to which they have been subjected, and ask Parliament to correct the mistake. It is with the object of removing the injustice that this Bill has been promoted. The state of the case is this. On the roads of what is called the Mainland of Orkney, which is the largest Island of the group which forms the Orkneys, there is a considerable amount of debt; but on the other Islands there are very few cases of debt. Some of them have none at all. Indeed, some of them have no roads at all; others have made their own roads; and this considerable debt applies only to the Mainland of Orkney. I do not agree with my hon. Friend that the roads of one Island are necessarily of use to the people who live on another, especially in the Orkneys, where the communication between the different Islands is not of such a nature as to make the roads of the Mainland of use to the inhabitants of the other Islands. The principle which is now contended for, although not recognized as applying to debt, in the Act of 1878, is recognized with reference to the construction and maintenance of new roads and bridges. In the 58th section of that Act it is provided that new bridges and roads cannot be constructed except on the responsibility of the persons who live on the Island in which they are made; so that one Island is not responsible for the cost of constructing roads and bridges on another. This is the only principle which I think can be considered fair, and it is upon that principle that the roads and bridges have been constructed hitherto. It certainly seems inequitable that the burden of the old debt should be spread over those who before the passing of the Act had no responsibility whatever connected with it. My hon. Friend has said that the proprietors who have promoted this Bill were parties to the making of the roads on the Mainland, and consequently to the contracting of the debt. There, again, the hon. Member is altogether under a mistake. No doubt, as members of the Commission of Supply, and as Members of the County Board, they gave their approval to the plans which were submitted to them for the construction of the roads, and for raising the money to defray the cost of construction. But at that time they knew that they themselves, as being interested in other Islands, had no responsibility whatever for the financial part of the transaction. Therefore, it is scarcely fair to say that because the Commissioners of Supply approved of the construction of the roads of the Mainland, the proprietors in other Islands should be saddled with a share of the debt in contracting which they had no interest whatever. I may mention, also, that the objection which at first sight meets us in regard to this Bill was considered by the Secretary for Scotland; and he replied, through the Under Secretary, that while of opinion that it was undesirable to override the scheme of legislation embodied in the Roads and Bridges (Scotland) Act of 1878, as is proposed in this Bill, he considered that the circumstances of the Islands of Orkney were of a very special nature, and he intimated that it was not his intention to make any objection to the Bill being proceeded with. The provisions of the Bill have already been adopted by the other House of Parliament, and the measure now comes down to this House for our consideration. There can be no doubt that if the position of the roads in these Islands had been brought under the consideration of Parliament in 1878 special provision would have been inserted in the Act passed in that year, giving to the smaller Islands of Orkney the same relief that was given, on similar grounds, in Forfarshire and Argyllshire. In those counties there existed a large debt upon certain roads. That debt was retained in the position which it occupied at the time of the passing of the Act, and it was not spread over other portions of the counties. No doubt the people of Orkney were in fault in not having properly brought their case under the notice of Parliament while the Roads and Bridges Act was being passed; but they did not think the Act would affect them in the way it has done. That may be explained in this way. The Act of 1878 was popularly regarded in Scotland as an Act for the abolition of tolls, and there never were any tolls levied in Orkney. It seems never to have occurred to the people of these Islands that they would be affected by the Act, and therefore they made no representation to Parliament. I believe that if they had made a representation the same relief would have been given as in the counties of Argyll and Forfar. I trust that under the circumstances of the case the House will consent to read this Bill a second time.

Mr. RAMSAY (Falkirk, &c.): I should regret very much if the statement which has been made by the hon. Member for Orkney (Mr. Lyell) should induce this House to reject this Bill and refuse to send it to a Select Committee. The hon. Gentleman said that the Commissioners of Supply have opposed the Bill. I do not doubt it. I can easily conceive that the Commissioners of Supply on the Mainland may very well desire that the burden for the interest of their debt should be thrown upon property which has neither contracted debt for the making of roads nor derived any benefit from the expenditure which was incurred in contracting the debt which now exists; but I feel sure that such a course of injustice as that of compelling the owners and occupiers of land who gain no benefit from these roads, and who have no debt of their own to bear this burden, will not receive the sanction of this House, and that the application of those proprietors for relief will be attended to. The hon. Gentleman opposite (Mr. Campbell) has referred to the exclusion of the counties of Argyll and Forfar from the operation of the Act of 1878 with regard to the debt upon the roads of those counties. I was a Member of this House at the time that Act passed, and I took an active part in promoting the amendment of the Bill in that particular. I know that what we did on that occasion was a source of great satisfaction to the people of Argyllshire, who strongly objected to be included in the general provisions of the Bill. The hon. Gentleman (Mr. Lyell) is undoubtedly correct in stating that no objection was raised by the people of Orkney at the time of the passing of the Roads and Bridges Act to their being included in the provisions of that Bill; but, as my hon. Friend opposite (Mr. Campbell) has said, there can be very little doubt that if the proprietors of land in these Islands had come forward in 1878, and had made the representation which they now make, the Government would not only have listened to them, but would have meted out to them the same exemption from the provisions of the Act which was given in the case of Argyllshire and Forfarshire. With regard to Argyllshire, it is provided by the Argyll Local Act that the county shall be divided into districts, and each district so divided is constituted into a county of itself for road purposes, with power at any time, by resolution, for the Road Trustees of each district to dissolve its connection with the county for road purposes, and thereby place themselves under the operation of the Roads and Bridges Act. Although it is true, as the hon. Member for Orkney (Mr. Lyell) has said, that many of the persons who live upon these Islands receive little or no benefit from the roads on the Mainland, yet when they pass over to the Mainland they have to make use of the roads, even if they travel only on foot. It might have been a matter for the consideration of a Committee, seeing that the roads on the Mainland are thus occasionally used, to what extent the Islands should be exempt—whether in whole or in part—from contributing towards the interest of the debt incurred for the construction of these roads; but there can be no reason for exempting them from their fair and proper contribution to the cost of maintaining them. As it is in the power of the county of Orkney, at the option of the Road Trustees, to separate themselves from the Local Acts and place themselves exclusively under the Roads and Bridges Act, I cannot see what ground of complaint the Commissioners of Supply can have if any of their neighbours seek to be relieved from the payment of a debt which they never contracted nor derived any advantage.

Mr. MACDONALD CAMERON (Wick, &c.): The Orkney group is composed of 22 Islands, and under the Roads and Bridges Act of 1878 they were formed into one county for the purposes of assessment. It is now proposed by some of the gentlemen holding property in some of the Islands to relieve themselves from their share of the debt incurred in making roads all over the county. The valuation assessment rental of these Islands is, I believe, £14,000, and their assessment to the debt amounts to about £450 a-year, which, if this Bill passes, would be thrown on the proprietors of houses and land on the Mainland for the debt incurred in making roads all over the county. I think that would be most unfair, because the Act of 1878 made the county the unit for assessment. If Parliament is to allow the owners of property in one portion of the county to come in and free themselves from their portion of the liability for the debt incurred in making the roads of the county, because they seldom use the roads in the course of 12 months, not only would the Act become a dead letter, but a great amount of confusion would arise and a very bad precedent for future legislation would be set. I trust the House will very carefully consider the matter before they consent to pass the Bill. I hope my hon. Friend the Member for Orkney (Mr. Lyell) will press the Amendment to a division, and that the House will evince its desire to protect the ratepayers generally from being unduly taxed, as they would undoubtedly be if this Bill is allowed to become law.

Dr. CAMERON (Glasgow, College): There is one point in connection with this Bill which I think is of some public importance. The Bill proposes to remedy a grievance which is alleged to exist in the Islands of Orkney in the same way as a similar grievance was remedied in the case of Argyllshire and Forfarshire by the Roads and Bridges Act of 1878. I have not the smallest objection to that being done; but the grievance felt by the gentlemen who are promoting the Bill is a grievance which is not confined to them. In the Report of the Crofters' Commission attention was called to a number of cases in which the inhabitants are obliged to pay part of the assessment for making roads. Although they live in a part of the county far removed from the roads they are required to contribute to, in some instances, as much as 20 miles. The Commissioners recommended in their Report that the case of these ratepayers should be met by general legislation; and I am of opinion that when we have a recommendation of that kind from an important Body we ought not to take the exceptional step now proposed, for the simple purpose of relieving these four landed proprietors from the burden imposed upon them, but that the grievance which has been pointed out should be remedied by general legislation. That seems to me to be the best course which we can take in this case. It is a matter which requires to be dealt with by a public measure and not by a Private Bill, and for that reason I shall support the Amendment and vote against the second reading.

The CHAIRMAN of WAYS and MEANS (Mr. Courtney) (Cornwall, Bodmin): I hope the House will hesitate before it decides upon rejecting this Bill at the present stage. I think it ought to follow the Constitutional practice of reading the Bill a second time, and sending it upstairs to be considered by a Select Committee. Of course, it could not be considered this Session; but, in accordance with the Resolution which was recently passed, the Bill will be suspended at the stage it will have reached, and its further progress deferred until next Session. I admit that the opposition to the Bill is based upon a principle which, as a general rule, I consider to be a sound one—namely, that you should not in a Private Bill interfere with a public law. I have laid down that principle myself once or twice in the course of the present Session, and I think it is a principle which should be invariably followed, unless there are strong and special grounds for taking a different course. I cannot see that in this Bill there is any attempt made with the future management and maintenance of the roads in Orkney, as prescribed in the Roads and Bridges Act; and, therefore, I shall support the second reading. The opponents of the Bill object to the measure on the ground that it is a violation of the provisions of the Roads and Bridges Act. That is scarcely so, because, so far as the Roads and Bridges Act is concerned, this Bill only affects the pre-existing debt which had been incurred in respect to the roads on the Mainland of Orkney before the Act of 1878 was passed. The whole question, therefore, is whether the arrangements made in regard to the pre-existing debt, in the Roads and Bridges Act, is one which ought to be maintained? Now, the Roads and Bridges Act itself, as has already been pointed out, contained a special arrangement in regard to Argyllshire and Forfarshire; and, therefore, the presumption is that as the case of Orkney is on all fours with those of Argyll and Forfar, if it had been brought before Parliament at the time the Roads and Bridges Bill was passing through this House a similar provision would have been made with respect to the debts already existing in the Islands of Orkney as was made in regard to the road debts of Argyll and Forfar. Under the Roads and Bridges Act the pre-existing debts in Orkney were thrown upon the whole county, and, in consequence, certain districts which had incurred no debt whatever, but had paid for the construction of their own roads, were charged with a share of the debt incurred in the construction of the roads upon the Mainland. By the same Act the debts of the county of Argyll were kept distinct, and the burden of defraying them was thrown upon the districts in which they had been incurred. The object of the present Bill is simply to carry out the same principle in reference to Orkney, and to confine the debts incurred before the passing of the Roads and Bridges Act to those portions of the county by which they were incurred. The measure does not in any respect apply to the future, but only to the past. The allegation of the Commissioners of Supply is that this case was overlooked, and that, in consequence, certain Islands in the Orkney group were subjected to an injustice which ought to be remedied. I do not propose to pass any opinion upon that allegation; but I do submit that it is one which ought to be considered by a Committee upstairs. It is distinctly a case of that kind which cannot be judicially considered and disposed of in the House itself. I may add that the Bill has already been before the other House, and sent down to the House of Commons as a measure which ought to be sanctioned. I would strongly recommend the House to assent to the second reading of the Bill, so that in the due course of time it may go before a Select Committee next Session, which will examine all the facts of the case, and see whether the promoters of the measure have made out a good case to justify Parliament in departing from the provisions of the Roads and Bridges Act with respect to the pre-existing debt of the Islands of Orkney.

Question put.

The House *divided:*—Ayes 81; Noes 82: Majority 1.—(Div. List, No. 133.)

Words *added.*

Main Question, as amended, put, and *agreed to.*

Second Reading *put off* for three months.

## PRIVATE BILLS.

### STANDING ORDERS FOR THE SUSPENSION OF PRIVATE BILLS, OR BILLS TO CONFIRM ANY PROVISIONAL ORDER OR CERTIFICATE.

THE CHAIRMAN OF WAYS AND MEANS (Mr. COURTNEY) (Cornwall, Bodmin): I have to move a series of Standing Orders to provide for the suspension of Private Bills and Provisional Orders during the remainder of the present Session, with the power of resuming them next Session at the stage they may occupy in this. The first provides that the promoters of every Private Bill which shall have been introduced into this House, or brought from the House of Lords in the present Session, shall have leave to suspend proceedings in order to proceed with the same Bill next Session. I may explain that it is customary to pass these Orders when the Session is about to be prematurely brought to a close.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That the Promoters of every Private Bill which shall have been introduced into this House, or brought from the House of Lords in the present Session of Parliament, shall have leave to suspend any further proceeding thereupon, in order to proceed with the same Bill in the next Session of Parliament."—(*The Chairman of Ways and Means.*)

MR. SEXTON (Sligo, S.): I see that this Order has undergone an alteration since it was placed upon the Paper. As it originally stood, the words were—

> "The promoters of every Private Bill which has been introduced into this House."

It now stands—

> "The Promoters of every Private Bill which shall have been introduced into this House."

MR. SPEAKER: The object of the alteration is simply to cover the case of Bills which may be brought up from the House of Lords after the passing of this Standing Order.

MR. SEXTON: The explanation is perfectly satisfactory; but before the House proceeded to affirm this Standing Order I thought hon. Members had a right to know what it exactly meant. On the 31st of May I moved, in the Belfast Main Drainage Bill, to insert a new clause in reference to the municipal franchise of that city. I believe that the House was prepared to affirm that clause by a majority. An hon. Member above the Gangway on this side of the House moved that the consideration should be postponed in order that the Lords might, in the meantime, have an opportunity of considering a general Bill for extending the municipal franchise in the Irish boroughs. We assented to that proposal, and the consideration of the Belfast Bill was adjourned until Monday next; but, in the meantime, hon. Members above the Gangway blocked the Municipal Franchise Bill, and have, consequently, prevented it from reaching the House of Lords. If, by this first Standing Order proposed by the Chairman of Ways and Means, it is intended to allow the promoters of the Belfast Main Drainage Bill to suspend that Bill in its present stage and proceed with it in a Winter Session, without the insertion of the clause which I proposed on the 31st of May, and without the House of Lords having passed the Municipal Franchise Bill, I feel bound to stigmatize the arrangement as a gross breach of faith. The clause which I proposed would have been inserted in the Belfast Bill three weeks ago if it had not been for the understanding which was arrived at that the Lords should have an opportunity of expressing their opinion upon the Municipal Franchise Bill. Under these circumstances, I feel bound to move an Amendment to the Standing Order proposed by the Chairman of Ways and Means to insert, after the word "Bill," in line 1, the words "except the Belfast Main Drainage Bill." If that Amendment is adopted, the promoters of the Belfast Main Drainage Bill will be unable, by taking advantage of the present form of the Standing Order, to delude, deceive, and humbug the House of Commons. I may remind the House that when this question was under discussion three weeks ago the Chancellor of the Exchequer distinctly intimated that we were entitled this Session either to have the Municipal Bill considered by the House of Lords, or to have the clause which I proposed inserted in the Belfast Main Drainage Bill. I must insist on the performance of the engagement in one form or another, and I therefore beg to move the Amendment.

Amendment proposed, in line 1, after the word "Bill," to insert the words "except the Belfast Main Drainage Bill."—(*Mr. Sexton.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

THE CHAIRMAN OF WAYS AND MEANS: With respect to the alteration which has been made in the verbiage of the Standing Order now under consideration—namely, the substitution of the words "shall have been" for "has been," I may explain that it has only been done in order to provide for the case of a Bill which may, for instance, be brought up from the House of Lords to-morrow. As the Order now stands, it will apply to Bills not only already here, but to all which may be brought up from the other House before the close of the Session. I apprehend that there can be no objection to that proposal. In regard to the Belfast Main Drainage Bill, it is not intended that this Order should, nor will it, interfere in the slightest degree with the power of the House over that Bill. The Belfast Bill stands for Consideration and Report on Monday next; and, whatever may be done with regard to this Standing Order, when the Private Business of the House is reached on Monday it cannot be removed from the Order Paper. As a matter of fact, when the Order is reached on Monday, it is perfectly competent for any hon. Member to move that the Order be discharged and that the Bill be withdrawn. The House may deal with the Order in any way it likes. This power of suspension has reference only to such Bills as survive when the Session closes, and which it has been found impossible to go on with. They will be hung up, in accordance with the usual practice, until next Session. Whenever the Business of Parliament has been interrupted by a premature Dissolution, that has been the invariable practice, and the Bills which have survived, but have not been disposed of, have been hung up until the next Session. If the House decides to take no action at all in regard to the Belfast Main Drainage Bill, it will be brought up again next Session precisely at the point which it has now reached. This Standing Order will not in any way affect the power of the House to deal with that Bill. This Order will not affect the consideration of that Bill in any shape or form, and hon. Gentlemen below the Gangway may move the insertion in it of any clause they like.

Mr. SEXTON: After the explanation of the hon. Gentlemen, and upon the clear understanding that the promoters of the Bill will not have the power on Monday next to withdraw it from the consideration of the House, I am perfectly willing to withdraw the Amendment.

The CHAIRMAN of WAYS and MEANS: The hon. Gentleman will have full power of proceeding with the adjourned debate upon his Amendment when the Bill is brought on on Monday.

Mr. SPEAKER: Does the hon. Member withdraw his Amendment?

Mr. SEXTON: Yes, Sir.

Mr. ARTHUR O'CONNOR (Donegal, E.): Have the Government any objection to introduce the words of my hon. Friend as an Amendment?

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER (Sir William Harcourt) (Derby): I think it would be irregular to pass an Amendment upon a matter which stands on the Order Book for consideration on Monday next. If we were to insert the words proposed by the hon. Member for Sligo (Mr. Sexton), it would have the effect of preventing the House from taking the Belfast Main Drainage Bill into consideration on Monday next. This Order is clearly meant to apply to Bills which have not been dealt with by the House before the Prorogation, and to continue such Bills in the stage they have reached after the re-assembling of the new Parliament. I certainly think that the best course for the hon. Member for Sligo to follow is to wait until Monday, and then take the course which may seem to him to be best in regard to the Belfast Bill. So far as I am able to understand the matter, I think his object will be attained by deferring any question with regard to the Belfast Bill until Monday. This Order only applies to Bills which may not have been disposed of by the day of the Prorogation of Parliament; and before the Prorogation of Parliament takes place this Bill will have been disposed of in one way or other.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Main Question put, and *agreed to.*

(1.) *Ordered,* That the Promoters of every Private Bill which shall have been introduced into this House, or brought from the House of Lords in the present Session of Parliament, shall have leave to suspend any further proceeding thereupon, in order to proceed with the same Bill in the next Session of Parliament.

(2.) *Ordered,* That the Promoters of every such Bill shall give notice in the Private Bill Office, not later than the day prior to the close of the present Session, of their intention to suspend any further proceedings thereon; or, in the case of Bills which shall have been suspended on the Report of a Committee, or which, having passed this House, shall then be pending in the House of Lords, of their intention to proceed with the same Bill in this House in the next Session.

(3.) *Ordered,* That an Alphabetical List of all such Bills, with a statement of the stage at which the same were suspended, shall be prepared by the Private Bill Office, and printed.

(4.) *Ordered,* That not later than three clear days after the next meeting of Parliament, every Bill which has been introduced into this House shall be deposited in the Private Bill Office, in the form required by Standing Order No. 201, with a declaration signed by the Agent annexed thereto, stating that the Bill is the same, in every respect, as the Bill with respect to which proceedings have been so suspended, at the last stage of its proceeding in the House in the present Session; and, where any sum of money has been deposited, that such deposit has not been withdrawn, together with a certificate of that fact from the proper officer of the Chancery Division of the High Court of Justice in England or Ireland, or the Court of Exchequer in Scotland, as the case may be.

(5.) *Ordered,* That such Bills, indorsed by one of the Clerks in the Private Bill Office, as having been duly deposited with such declarations and certificates annexed, be laid by one of the Clerks of that Office upon the Table of the House, in the next Session of Parliament, in the order in which they shall stand upon such

List, but not exceeding 50 Bills on any one day.

(6.) That in respect of every Bill so laid upon the Table, the Petition for the Bill, and the order of leave to bring in the same in the present Session, shall be read, and thereupon such Bill shall be read a first time; and a second time (if the Bill shall have been read a second time previously to its being suspended); and if such Bill shall have been reported by any Committee in the present Session, the Order for referring the Bill to a Committee shall be dispensed with, and the Bill ordered to lie upon the Table, or to be read a third time, as the case may be.

(7.) That in case any Bill brought from the House of Lords in the present Session, upon which the proceedings shall have been suspended in this House, shall be brought from the House of Lords in the next Session of Parliament, the Agent for such Bill shall deposit in the Private Bill Office, prior to the first reading thereof, a declaration, stating that the Bill is the same, in every respect, as the Bill which was brought from the House of Lords in the present Session; and where any sum of money has been deposited, that such deposit has not been withdrawn, together with a certificate of that fact from the proper officer; and so soon as one of the Clerks in the Private Bill Office has certified that such deposit has been duly made, the Bill shall be read a first time, and be further proceeded with in the same manner as Bills introduced into this House during the present Session.

(8.) That all Petitions presented in the present Session ageinst Private Bills, or against any Bill to confirm any Provisional Order or Certificate, and which stood referred to the Committees on such Bills, shall stand referred to the Committees on the same Bills, in the next Session of Parliament; and that all Notices and grounds of objection to the right of Petitioners to be heard given in the present Session within the time prescribed by the Rules of the Referees relating to such Notices shall be held applicable in the next Session of Parliament.

(9.) That no Petitioners shall be heard before the Committee on such Bills, unless their Petition shall have been presented within the time limited in the present Session.

(10.) That in case the time limited for presenting Petitions against any such Bills shall not have expired at the close of the present Session, Petitioners may be heard before the Committee on such Bill, provided their Petition be presented previous to, or not later than, seven clear days after the next meeting of Parliament.

(11.) That all Instructions to Committees on Private Bills in the present Session, which shall be suspended previously to their being reported by any Committee, be Instructions to the Committees on the same Bills in the next Session.

(12.) That no new Fees be charged in respect of any stage of a Bill upon which Fees have already been incurred during the present Session.

(13.) That all Standing Orders complied with in respect of any Public Bill introduced, or intended to be introduced, during the present Session, shall be held applicable to any Bill for the same objects introduced in the next Session, and where the Examiner has already reported upon the compliance with the Standing Orders in respect of any such Bill, he shall only Report in the next Session whether any further Standing Orders are applicable.

(14.) Bills to confirm any Provisional Order or Certificate introduced into this House, or brought from the House of Lords, in the present Session, shall be suspended from the close of the present Sssion, in order to be proceeded with in the next Session of Parliament.

(15.) That with regard to any such Bills the Order of Leave in the present Session shall be read, and thereupon the Bill shall be read a first time and a second time (if the Bill shall have been read a second time during the present Session); and if such Bill shall have been reported by any Committee in the present Session, the Order for referring the Bill to a Committee shall be dispensed with, and the Bill ordered to lie upon the Table, or to be read a third time, as the case may be.

(16.) That all applications made, and Certificates given, and all other proceedings taken with reference to any Bill introduced, or intended to be introduced, in the present Session for confirming any Provisional Order in respect to the Inclosure of Commons, under "The Commons Act, 1876," shall be deemed to apply to any Bill introduced for the same object in the next Session.

(17.) That Standing Order 39 be suspended, and that the time for depositing Duplicates of any Documents relating to any Provisional Order or Certificate be extended to not later than seven clear days after the next meeting of Parliament.

(18.) That all Petitions for Private Bills deposited in the present Session, in the Private Bill Office, as to which the Examiners have not already reported, and all Petitions for leave to deposit a Petition for a Bill, or for additional Provision, deposited or presented during the present Session, shall be suspended from the close of the present Session, and the Standing Orders complied with in respect of the same shall be held applicable to such Petition or Petitions in the ensuing Session.

(19.) That the said Orders be Standing Orders of this House, and be printed.

## STANDING ORDERS.

Standing Order 135, line 1, was read and amended by inserting, after the word "owner," the word "lessee."

Standing Order 183A, line 2, was read and amended by inserting, after the word "agreement," the words "or which extends the time for taking land compulsorily or by agreement."

Standing Order 200A was read and amended, in line 6, by leaving out the words "on an Order of the House."

In line 8, by leaving out, after the word "Order," the words "for the Second Reading of," and inserting the words "of the Day relating to."

In line 12, by leaving, out, after the word "Order," the words "for the Second Reading of," and inserting the words "of the Day relating to."

"In line 13, by leaving out, after the word "Bill," the words "or the Order for commitment thereof, as the case may be."—(*The Chairman of Ways and Means.*)

## *QUESTIONS.*

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### POST OFFICE—LETTERS TO THE NIGER AND GULF OF GUINEA.

Mr. HUTTON (Manchester, N.) asked the Secretary to the Treasury, For what reason letters weighing not over half an ounce with 4*d.* stamps addressed to the British possessions on the Niger and in the Gulf of Guinea are opened by the Post Office authorities, and returned to the writers marked insufficiently prepaid?

The SECRETARY to THE TREASURY (Mr. Henry H. Fowler) (Wolverhampton, E.): On inquiry I fail to ascertain that any such letters have been opened at the Post Office and returned to the writers. If the hon. Member will furnish the Postmaster General with the particulars of any letters stated to have been so dealt with the matter shall be investigated.

### LIGHTHOUSE KEEPERS (IRELAND)—NOTICE OF EXAMINATIONS.

Mr. COX (Clare, E.) asked the President of the Board of Trade, If it is a fact that the coastguards in Ireland receive notification of the time when examinations for the positions of lighthouse keepers on the Irish Coast are to be held, and that the information is not afforded to the light keepers, whose sons are thereby deprived of the opportunity of competing for those positions; and, whether the same facilities will be given to sons of light keepers to compete for places under the Board of Irish Lights as are now given to the sons of coastguards?

The SECRETARY to the BOARD (Mr. C. T. D. Acland) (Cornwall, Launceston) (who replied) said: I am informed by the Commissioners of Irish Lights that, on application being made for the appointment of lightkeeper, a printed form of questions as to age, antecedents, &c., is sent to the applicant, and should his replies appear satisfactory his name is placed on a list with others to be called up for examination as occasion may require, the number placed on the list at a time being generally restricted to 12, and a preference given to those who have either been to sea or brought up to some trade. When an examination is to be held, all the approved candidates get timely notice of the date thereof, no special notification being given to any in preference to others. As a matter of fact, there are in the service a number of men who are the sons of lightkeepers.

### ADMIRALTY (SHIP BUILDING, &c.)—CONTRACT PRICES.

Commander BETHELL (York, E.R., Holderness) (for Mr. Charles Wilson) (Hull, W.) asked the Secretary to the Admiralty, The reason for so great a difference in the contract prices given for building the *Australia* and *Galatea*, £152,000 each; *Narcissus*, £153,500; *Orlando* and *Undaunted*, £164,257 each; the tonnage and horse power being the same for each ship?

The SECRETARY to the ADMIRALTY (Mr. Hibbert) (Oldham): The contracts were given to the three firms who sent in the lowest tenders, and were so distributed to insure the most rapid completion of the ships, this being an object of the greatest importance.

### INDUSTRIAL SCHOOLS (IRELAND)—SIR JOHN LENTAIGNE.

Mr. BIGGAR (Cavan, W.) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, What is the age of Sir John Lentaigne, Inspector of Industrial Schools; what time he is able to give to the daily discharge of his duties in that office; whether he has applied for an assistant; and, whether it is intended to provide one; and, if so, who will be appointed?

The CHIEF SECRETARY (Mr. John Morley) (Newcastle-on-Tyne): Sir John Lentaigne, who is a tried and valuable public servant, has now, I understand, reached his 83rd year. He has recently applied for an assistant, and the Irish Government had hopes that they might be able to make arrangements by which, while securing for some little time longer the aid of his large experience in the working and management of reformatories and industrial schools, they might, to some extent, relieve him of the labour of actual inspection in remote localities by the temporary appointment of an assistant for which there is power in the Act. The Treasury, however, with whom the financial question rests, have not seen their way to sanction the cost that would be involved in this arrangement, and we have, therefore, now to determine what is best to be done for the public interest. This is under our consideration at present.

MR. BIGGAR asked the Chief Secretary, whether he could state how many posts Sir John Lentaigne held at the present time?

MR. JOHN MORLEY said, he was unable to answer the Question.

### PORTUGAL—QUARANTINE AT TERCIA —THE "MAGGIE."

MR. CARBUTT (Monmouth, &c.) (for Mr. WILLIAM ABRAHAM) (Glamorgan, Rhondda) asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, What has been the result of the representations addressed by Her Majesty's Government to the Portuguese Government on the subject of the quarantine imposed upon the British vessel *Maggie*, of Port Talbot, Glamorganshire, by the Portuguese authorities at Tercia; and, whether he will lay upon the Table the Correspondence which has passed on the subject?

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. BRYCE) (Aberdeen, S.): The Portuguese Government have declined to entertain the claim for compensation preferred by Her Majesty's Government on behalf of the owners of the *Maggie*, giving as their reason that the Local Authorities of the Azores have power, in cases which they consider exceptional, to set aside the general quarantine regulations issued by the Government. There will be no objection to lay the Correspondence on the subject on the Table.

### POST OFFICE—ACCELERATION OF MAILS TO OBAN.

MR. RICHARD CAMPBELL (Ayr, &c.) asked the Secretary to the Treasury, Whether the Postmaster General, having regard to the increasing importance of the burgh of Oban and the large influx of visitors there during the summer months, will reconsider the reply recently given by him to a Memorial and a Petition from the Magistrates and Town Council and the Ratepayers of Oban respectively, praying for an acceleration of the mails from the South to that burgh, so that the unnecessary delay at present arising through the detention of the mails at Stirling may be obviated, and the inhabitants of Oban enabled to receive and answer their letters on the same day?

THE SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY (Mr. HENRY H. FOWLER) (Wolverhampton, E.): In reply to the Question of the hon. Member, I beg to state that the Postmaster General is not unmindful of the importance of acclerating the arrival of the London Night Mail at Oban during the summer season; and, while the objections to the plan proposed by the Memoralists still hold good, his Lordship is endeavouring by negotiations with the Railway Company to effect an improved arrangement in another way.

### ARMY (AUXILIARY FORCES)—LIVERPOOL VOLUNTEERS.

MR. F. S. POWELL (Wigan) asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether it is a fact that the greater number of or all the Volunteers of Liverpool are unprovided with great coats, owing to the inadequate amount of the Capitation Grant; whether two of the Volunteers who were kept under arms during many hours of heavy rain on the occasion of Her Majesty's recent visit to Liverpool, have since died from the effects of such exposure without proper clothing; and, whether the Government intend to propose such an increase of the grant as will supply the Volunteers with sufficient means to provide against the recurrence of so lamentable an event?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN) (Stirling, &c.): I am informed that it is a fact that the greater number of the Volunteers in Liverpool are without great-coats, and I regret to hear that the deaths of two Volunteers are said to be due to exposure to inclement weather during Her Majesty's visit. As regards the capitation grant, I must refer the hon. Member to the reply I made on the 11th instant to a Question of the hon. and learned Member for North-East Lanarkshire.

### BOARD OF TRADE—COLLECTION AND PUBLICATION OF LABOUR STATISTICS.

MR. BRADLAUGH (Northampton) asked the President of the Board of Trade, What steps have been taken by the Government to give effect to the Resolution of the House of March 3rd, directing that immediate steps should be taken to insure in this Country the full and accurate collection and publication of Labour Statistics?

THE SECRETARY TO THE BOARD (Mr. C. T. D. ACLAND) (Cornwall, Launceston) (who replied) said: Since the Resolution of the House in March last, the Board of Trade have arranged with the Treasury the necessary establishment for giving effect to it, and they trust before long to make a considerable progress in the collection and publication of labour statistics. Immediately on the passing of the Resolution, the existing staff of the Statistical Department of the Board of Trade directed their attention to the collection of some important information with regard to this question, and with the additional assistance now obtained the business will be pushed forward as energetically as possible.

## CHURCH BUILDING ACTS—GRANTS BALANCE.

VISCOUNT LEWISHAM (Lewisham) asked the Secretary to the Board of Trade, What is the amount of the balance remaining in the hands of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners from the million and a-half fund voted by Parliament in 1815 and 1824 for building churches; whether the Commissioners now use this balance solely for the purpose of making "nominal" grants, which are often not paid, to persons building churches under the Church Building Acts in order to bring churches so aided under the provisions of the pew renting sections of those Acts whereby as many as four-fifths of the seats may be let, and only one-fifth let free for the use of the general body of the parishioners; whether it is the fact that but for this arrangement pew rents could only be legally levied, in the case of churches in public patronage, under the provisions of the Blandford Act of 1856, whereby half the seats and those as advantageously situated as the rented ones, must be free; and, whether the Commissioners are prepared to expend the balance of the fund in substantial grants towards the building of churches the purpose for which the money was originally voted by Parliament?

THE SECRETARY TO THE BOARD (Mr. C. T. D. ACLAND) (Cornwall, Launceston): The balance of the moneys referred to by the noble Lord may be said to amount to about £8,000. The Commissioners use this money — not solely, but partly—for making in aid of the erection of churches small grants which the persons building and promoting those churches desire to obtain for the purpose specified. The pew rent provisions of the Blandford Act of 1856 are confined—comparatively speaking—to a very limited class of cases, in all of which there has been or must be provided a substantial permanent endowment. This is not the case with respect to ordinary Church Building Act churches. According to a recent Resolution of the Board, the Commissioners have determined that they will not sanction any scales of pew rents based on future grants of the character referred to, unless the proportion of free to rented sittings is at least equal both as regards number and quality. The Commissioners have no intention of making any change in their established practice in this respect. I understand that the noble Lord's ideas, both as to the non-payment of grants voted, and as to there being any necessity under the Church Building Act to leave the particular proportion of one-fifth of the sittings free, are based on misapprehension.

## ARMS ACT (IRELAND)—SEIZURE OF ARMS AT LISNASKEA, CO. FERMANAGH.

CAPTAIN M'CALMONT asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If it is true that the police lately seized a case containing 14 revolvers, one double-barrelled gun, and 50 rounds of ammunition for each revolver, consigned to Arthur Dunne, a prominent Nationalist of Lisnaskea, county Fermanagh; and, whether Arthur Dunne was in possession of a licence for the sale of firearms?

THE CHIEF SECRETARY (Mr. JOHN MORLEY) (Newcastle-on-Tyne): It is true that the police seized the arms and ammunition referred to. They were consigned to Arthur Dunne, who had no licence, but of whose politics the Government have no knowledge whatsoever. The case is before the Attorney General.

### ARMY (AUXILIARY FORCES)—BAYONETS FOR THE VOLUNTEERS.

MAJOR GENERAL GOLDSWORTHY (Hammersmith) asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether it is intended to test the bayonets which are now in possession of the Volunteers?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN) (Stirling &c.): As soon as circumstances will allow of it, bayonets of the long, triangular Martini-Henry pattern, which have undergone the full test, will be issued to Volunteers. Meanwhile, it is not considered necessary to test the short Snider converted bayonets now provisionally in their possession.

### RAILWAYS (ENGLAND AND WALES)—SOMERSET AND DORSET RAILWAY —CASE OF JOHN COX.

MR. CHANNING (Northampton, E.) asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether he has received further information as to the case of John Cox, the signalman recently sentenced at Taunton to six months' imprisonment for an error, which would have been made impossible if the Somerset and Dorset Railway had adopted the safety arrangements recommended by the Board of Trade; and, if so, whether he is now prepared to express an opinion as to the justice of advising the remission of the said sentence?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. CHILDERS) (Edinburgh, S.), in reply, said, he had received some further information, but not sufficient to enable him to arrive at a decision.

### SCOTLAND—BYE-LAWS FOR PUBLIC ROADS—REGULATIONS AS TO BICYCLES AND TRICYCLES.

MR. MENZIES (Perthshire, E.) asked the Lord Advocate, Whether he is aware that there is now a great want of uniformity in the bye-laws of the different counties in Scotland applicable to bycicals and tricycles; and, whether he will introduce a Bill making the Secretary for Scotland the approving authority in the case of those bye-laws instead of the sheriff of each county.

THE LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. B. BALFOUR) (Clackmannan, &c.), in reply, said, he was aware that numerous complaints had been made on the subject of the diversity of the bye-laws in different counties in Scotland, causing great inconvenience to those who used bicycles and tricycles. The Secretary for Scotland and he had been considering this matter, and they thought there might be greater uniformity, and that with a view to bringing about that uniformity, instead of the bye-laws being submitted to the Sheriffs, they thought they might be put into the hands of the Secretary for Scotland. They would consider whether this matter should be dealt with by a separate Bill, or whether it should be dealt with in a measure comprehending various amendments on the Roads and Bridges Act of 1878.

### FISHERIES (IRELAND)—LOANS FOR BUILDING FISHING SMACKS.

MR. HOOPER (Cork, S.E.) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether he is aware that last January a rule was made by the Inspectors of Irish Fisheries, according to which loans for the building of fishing smacks can be advanced to fishermen on the security of the fishing smacks themselves; whether applications for such a loan were made last February by Kinsale fishermen; and, what is the cause of the great delay in granting the sums applied for?

THE CHIEF SECRETARY (Mr. JOHN MORLEY) (Newcastle-on-Tyne): The Rule to which reference is made in this Question was passed by the Privy Council in January last, and applications under it from Kinsale and other parts of Ireland were held over pending a decision of Government as to the extent to which the Rule was intended to apply. The decision arrived at some little time ago was that the extended facilities were intended to be limited principally—indeed, almost exclusively—to applications from the West and North-West Coasts, where the fisheries are least developed. I have no doubt the applicants from Kinsale have been so informed by this time.

### LAW AND JUSTICE—THE TRUCK ACT —THE RHYMNEY COMPANY.

MR. BRADLAUGH (Northampton) asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, If he can state the result of the prosecution for breach of the Truck Act against the Rhymney

Company, of which Sir H. Tyler, M.P. is Chairman?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. CHILDERS) (Edinburgh, S.): I have not yet received any written official report from the Inspector. But he has sent me a telegram and a newspaper account of the proceedings, from which I gather that there were in all 14 charges against the company for infringing the Truck Act. With regard to the first case heard, the Bench came to the unanimous conclusion that a breach of the Act had been clearly made out against the Rhymney Company, and they imposed a fine of £20, and allowed £10 10*s*. costs. The other 13 charges were withdrawn, on the understanding that the Company should not appeal in the case already decided, and that they should undertake that there should be no further infringement of the Act. I have every reason to hope that the understanding will be carried out.

## SOUTH AFRICA—THE KIMBERLEY DIAMOND MINES.

SIR ROBERT FOWLER (London) asked the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, Whether his attention has been called to the beneficial results from the compounds erected for the Natives working in the Diamond Mines at Kimberley, in preventing their demoralization from drinking; and, whether Her Majesty's Government will recommend the High Commissioner to support the present system?

MR. M'ARTHUR (Leicester) asked the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, Whether his attention has been called to a Letter from the Good Templars' Lodge of Central South Africa to the Secretary for Native Affairs at the Cape, dated 24th March, 1886, in which complaint is made of the want of proper protection for the Native labourers at Kimberley, and the consequent demoralization of large numbers of them by the spread of drunkenness and disorder; and, whether, as a means of abating the evils complained of, Her Majesty's Government will consider the expediency of recommending the extension of the compound or barrack system, under adequate Government inspection?

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. OSBORNE MORGAN) (Denbighshire, E.): I am afraid my hon. Friends forget that the diamond mines of Kimberley belong to the Cape Colony, which is a self-governing Colony, and, that being so, the matters referred to in the Questions do not in the ordinary course come under the cognizance of the Colonial Office, nor are we in a position to interfere in them.

SIR ROBERT FOWLER asked whether the Home Government would use its influence with the Cape Government in the direction indicated in his Question?

MR. OSBORNE MORGAN said, he could ask the Governor of the Cape Colony to make a report on the matter; but the Colonial Office did not like interfering with the self-governing Colonies in matters like this, for which they, and not we, were responsible.

## ELEMENTARY EDUCATION ACTS—RELIGIOUS DENOMINATION OF TEACHERS.

MR. CONWAY (Leitrim, N.) asked the Vice President of the Committee of Council, Whether there is any provision in the Elementary Education Acts which authorises the managers of Board Schools, built and maintained by general rate for common use, to exclude the professors of any Christian Denomination from employment as teachers in the schools; whether the Finsbury Division of the School Board for London differs in this respect from other Metropolitan Divisions; whether, in the 45 Board Schools of the Finsbury Division, 735 teachers are employed by the School Board, and paid out of the rates; how many of such teachers have been trained in the Roman Catholic Training Colleges recognised by the Education Department; whether any attempt is being made to remove from the Gillespie Road, Highbury Vale, Board School Miss Mary Birch, who was trained for two years under the Education Department in the Liverpool Roman Catholic Training College, though erroneously represented in the Board's Returns as trained in the Stockwell Nonconformist College; whether Miss Birch is duly certificated by the Education Department, has likewise obtained her full drawing certificate, and two science certificates from the Science and Art Department, has always received good reports from Her Majesty's Inspector, and has taught for several years in the Gillespie Road Board School with marked success, and without complaint from children or parents; and, whether the local managers of Finsbury Board Schools, with whom, under the Board's regulations, rest the appointment and supervision of teachers, are justified in representing and treating the Board Schools of that Division as a "Protestant preserve," from which Roman Catholic teachers, though otherwise in all respects qualified, are, on account of their religion, to be excluded or expelled?

THE VICE PRESIDENT (Sir LYON PLAYFAIR) (Leeds, S.): A School Board may select any qualified teachers it chooses for employment in the Board schools. There is no difference in this respect between Finsbury and other Metropolitan divisions. The hon. Member is probably correct in stating that there may be 735 teachers in the Finsbury Board schools, but I have not had time to verify the figures. We have no knowledge of and do not inquire into the religious denominations of the teachers. Miss Mary Birch was trained for two years in the Liverpool Roman Catholic Training College, and her certificate was issued in 1879. She has been on the staff of Gillespie Road Board school since May, 1881, and has during that time uniformly received good reports from Her Majesty's Inspector. The Department have no information as to any proposal to remove her from the school. I have no knowledge as to the practice of the Managers of the Finsbury Board schools in regard to the appointment and dismissal of teachers, and have no control over their action.

## LIGHTHOUSE ILLUMINANTS—WIGHAM'S DOUBLE QUADRIFORM GAS LIGHT.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR (Donegal, E.) asked the President of the Board of Trade, Whether he has seen reprinted from the Scientific Proceeding of the Royal Dublin Society a statement by Professor W. F. Barrett, of the Royal College of Science, Dublin, respecting the result of practical experiments which he had made with Wigham's double quadriform lighthouse gas light, in which the following passage occurs:—

> "I cannot but think that the facts here recorded are worthy of attention. They demonstrate that the double quadriform arrests the attention, as a conspicuous glare to the naked eye, and as a clearly defined object in an opera glass, through a fog of sufficient depth and density to cut off a first class light shining through an annular lens at half the distance, and to quench the sound of a fog siren adjacent to the double quadriform,"

and also that this gas light is twice as powerful as any yet tried by the Trinity House or the Board of Trade; whether this double quadriform was refused a trial at the South Foreland experiments by the Trinity House; and, whether, in the interests of navigation and the saving of life at sea, the Board of Trade will desire the Trinity House to test this light, in comparison with the best light in their possession, in order that the truth may be ascertained as to what is the best light for the illumination of lighthouses?

THE SECRETARY TO THE BOARD (Mr. C. T. D. ACLAND) (Cornwall, Launceston) (who replied) said: The attention of the Board of Trade has been called to the opinion expressed by Professor Barrett with regard to what is known as the Double Quadriform. It was not thought desirable to include any such form of apparatus in the recent experiments made by the Trinity House at the South Foreland, as the object of those experiments was to ascertain the relative values of oil, gas, and electricity as lighthouse illuminants, and to obtain the *data* necessary to settle any question as to the effect that would be produced by any combination of burners or apparatus used in the experiments. I am advised that this result has been attained, and that the effect of using such an apparatus as the Double Quadriform is calculable from the results already obtained, so that no further experiments for this purpose are required.

## HIGH COURT OF JUSTICE—APPEALS.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR (Donegal, E.) asked Mr. Attorney General, Whether there would be any difficulty in arranging for appeals from a Judge in the Queen's Bench Chambers being taken direct to the Court of Appeal, instead of first going to a Divisional Court and thence to the Court of Appeal?

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir CHARLES RUSSELL) (Hackney, S.) said, that the present system of appeals was governed by the rules laid down by the Judges. An opinion, no doubt, existed that the appeal ought to be direct to the Court of Appeal. He would bring the matter to the attention of the Lord Chancellor.

any effectual help to the poor people whose property was destroyed?

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. OSBORNE MORGAN) Denbighshire, E.): We have received three despatches on this subject from Mr. Thurston, the officer administering the government of Fiji, which show, unfortunately, that the late hurricane has been attended by very serious damage to property and some loss of life. Mr. Thurston has depatched Circulars to all the parts of the Colony enjoining the Chiefs to keep him well informed as to the condition of their districts, and has sent responsible officers to the districts most injured for the purpose of distributing relief among the Natives. I fear, however, that some time must elapse before the Islands recover from the effects of this visitation as the assistance tendered by the local Government must necessarily be limited.

### PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS (SCOTLAND)—SHERIFF SUBSTITUTES AS PRESIDING OFFICERS.

MR. MACFARLANE (Argyll) asked the Lord Advocate, If, in view of the approaching election, he will instruct Sheriffs to avoid appointing Procurators Fiscal and Sheriff's Substitutes as Presiding Officers, whose duty it might be to investigate and adjudicate upon cases that might arise during the election?

THE LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. B. BALFOUR) (Clackmannan, &c.), in reply, said, he thought that, for the reason indicated in the Question, it would be well that Sheriff Substitutes and Procurators Fiscal were not appointed Presiding Officers at the Election, and he would address a communication to the Sheriffs expressing that view.

### ISLANDS OF THE SOUTHERN PACIFIC—REPORTED MASSACRE AT THE NEW HEBRIDES.

MR. HOWARD SPENSLEY (Finsbury, Central) asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Has the Government any definite knowledge of the asserted massacre of French citizens at the New Hebrides; if not, does the Government intend to make due inquiry into the matter, and in the meantime take steps for a joint occupation of the Islands?

SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH (Bristol, W.): Before the hon. Gentleman answers that Question, I should like to ask him another on the same subject—namely, Whether Her Majesty's Government have received information as to the alleged hoisting of the French flag in the New Hebrides, and if he can state the nature of any communications that may have passed between the two Governments on the subject?

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. BRYCE) (Aberdeen, S.): In reply to the Question of the hon. Member for Central Finsbury, and to the Question just addressed to me by the right hon. Baronet the Leader of the Opposition, I have to state that the only official information in the possession of Her Majesty's Government as to the reported massacre of French citizens at the New Hebrides is derived from the statement made to Lord Lyons by M. de Freycinet, on the 10th of June, that a French Company had sent a considerable number of Frenchmen to work in the New Hebrides, of whom several had been massacred by the Natives; the rest had called upon the Company either to make provision for their safety or to remove them. On the application of the Company to the Governor of New Caledonia, two French ships had been sent with troops on board by the Governor to the places where Frenchmen were in danger. On that occasion M. de Freycinet added that it was possible that a temporary post might be established until quiet should be restored, but that the measure taken had no political significance, and that there was no question whatever of occupying the New Hebrides, or of anything tending to relax the obligations of France towards Great Britain respecting them. On the 14th instant, Lord Lyons again saw M. de Freycinet, and represented the excitement, both in England and Australia, which the mere presence of French troops in the New Hebrides was calculated to produce. M. de Freycinet repeated, in the most positive manner, his assurance that France had no designs affecting the political condition of those Islands, nor any intention of occupying them, and that she held herself bound by her agreement with England to respect their independence. He did not know whether any troops had been in fact landed, but if there had been any put on shore they would be withdrawn directly the emergency had passed away.

The only official information respecting the hoisting of the French Flag which Her Majesty's Government possess is contained in a telegram from the Acting British Consul in New Caledonia to the Governor of New South Wales stating that he had reason to believe that the French Flag was hoisted in the New Hebrides, and that he had made a formal protest to the Governor of New Caledonia. The commanders of two British ships of war now at the New Hebrides have been directed to report occurrences without delay. No report as to the hoisting of the French Flag has yet been received from them. Lord Lyons has been further directed to call the immediate attention of the French Government to the reported hoisting of the French Flag, and to the excitement resulting from it, and to inquire as to the circumstances under which it took place, as well as to the particulars of the massacre referred to in the Question. The House may rest assured that Her Majesty's Government is fully sensible of the gravity of the matter.

SIR HERBERT MAXWELL (Wigton): Can the hon. Gentleman inform us how long it takes for telegraphic information to come to this country from the New Hebrides?

MR. BRYCE: The New Hebrides are at least three days' sail from the nearest point in Australia with which telegraphic communication exists.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL (Kirkcaldy, &c.): Who is the British Consul at New Caledonia who sends these alarming telegrams? Is he a mercantile gentleman or a paid Consul?

MR. BRYCE: The hon. Gentleman had better give due Notice of that Question. All I can say at present is that the official in question is the Acting Consul.

## THE GENERAL ELECTION, 1885—RETURNS OF ELECTION EXPENSES.

MR. CARVELL WILLIAMS (Nottingham, S.) asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, When the Return of Election Expenses incurred by Candidates at the last General Election will be presented?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. CHILDERS) (Edinburgh, S.): The three portions of this Return—English, Scotch, and Irish—have been duly received, and are now in the hands of the printers; but the Irish portion is not in a very complete state and will require to be completed in proof. The Return will be presented in "dummy" this afternoon, and no time will be lost in preparing it for publication, but the revision of proofs will take considerable time.

## LAW AND POLICE (SCOTLAND)—SHEEP STEALING IN PERTHSHIRE.

MR. MENZIES (Perthshire, E.) asked the Lord Advocate, Whether his attention has been called to the prevalence of sheep stealing in Perthshire; and, whether it would be possible, by giving temporarily further and exceptional powers to the police in Scotland, to deal specially with the crime in question?

THE LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. B. BALFOUR) (Clackmannan, &c.), in reply, said, his attention had been repeatedly called to the prevalence of sheep stealing in Perthshire within the last few years, and he had had various communications with the county on the subject. The abolition of tolls and the facilities now afforded for selling and removing sheep were believed to have conduced to the increase of the crime, and it had been suggested that a system of registered marks should be established, and that sheep should not be removed without the written authority of the owners of the marks. This would, however, he feared, impose an undue restriction upon the movement of sheep, and the only remedy would seem to be for the police to exercise as great vigilance as possible. The giving of exceptional powers to the police could only be done by Statute, and great care would be required not to make them of such a character as to impede lawful dealings in sheep. If his hon. Friend had any suggestions to make on the subject he should be glad to consider them.

## PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS—THE VOLUNTEERS.

MR. PALMER (Durham, Jarrow) asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether section 460, Volunteer Regulations, referring to the assembly of Corps during Parliamentary elections, apply to recruits and small bodies of Volunteers under training or instruction in camp?

MR. DONKIN (Tynemouth) asked whether the Artillery Volunteers at

Tynemouth, numbering 240, would be allowed to assemble and go into barracks on the 24th instant?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN) (Stirling, &c.): I think the case referred to by the hon. Member for Tynemouth does fall under the provision of Section 460 of the Volunteer Regulations, and that such an assembly cannot be allowed. I am, however, of opinion that the restriction would not apply to a small party of recruits or other Volunteers assembled merely for instructional purposes.

### DUTCH WEST INDIES—ISLAND OF CURACOA—CASE OF MR. GODDEN.

MR. BANISTER FLETCHER (Wilts, Chippenham) asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether the attention of Her Majesty's Government has been invited to the consideration of the various acts of oppression to which Mr. Godden, a British subject and merchant of the City of London, has for some years been persistently subjected, both directly and indirectly by the Dutch authorities in Curaçao, a system of oppression that, in 1885, culminated in the imposing on the said Mr. Godden of taxes such as no other proprietor in the Dutch West Indies is obliged to pay; taxes assessed on a valuation of his property made by a Commission composed of employés of the Dutch Colonial Government, and of Mr. Godden's Dutch competitors in trade, and not by independent citizens of Curaçao as required by the Law of that Island; whether Her Majesty's Government have instituted an inquiry as to some of the grievances indicated, and what is the result of that inquiry; whether the Dutch Colonial authorities in the West Indies profit by having conceded to a second party lands in the adjoining Island of Aruba, previously granted by them to Mr. Godden, and for which he has continued to meet all obligations, and has been accredited accordingly by the same authorities; though, at the same time, excluded by the second Concessionaire, and with their sanction, from possession of the said lands; and, whether, as the Dutch Colonial and Home Law Courts afford no remedy for the aforesaid and other grievances, Her Majesty's Government will make an official representation on the subject to the Netherlands Government?

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. BRYCE) (Aberdeen, S.): It would be impossible, within the limits assigned to the answer to a Question, to enter into the merits of this case. It has been inquired into and very fully considered by Her Majesty's Government. A representation was addressed to the Netherlands Government asking for a favourable consideration of Mr. Godden's complaint, and an unfavourable reply having been received from them, the opinion of the Law Officers of the Crown was taken upon the legal aspect of the case. The question at issue is really one of law, and turns on the proper construction of an Ordnance under which the lands in Curaçoa are assessed. Mr. Godden was informed in April last that unless he could show that there was any inequality in the application of the Dutch Assessment Law, there did not appear to be any ground for the further intervention of Her Majesty's Government. I may add that Her Majesty's Government will give the fullest consideration to any further arguments which Mr. Godden may adduce in support of his case.

### CROFTERS (SCOTLAND) (No. 2) BILL—APPOINTMENT OF COMMISSIONERS—MR. MACFARLANE.

MR. MACFARLANE (Argyll): I have to ask the Solicitor General for Scotland a Question of which I have given him private Notice. My attention has been called to a statement made by him in the House on Friday, when I was not present, to the effect that I had recommended one of the candidates for appointment as a Commissioner under the Crofter Bill. I have to ask, When, and to what Member of the Government, either verbally or in writing, did I make any recommendation whatever?

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR SCOTLAND (Mr. ASHER) (Elgin, &c.): My hon. Friend is under a misapprehension with regard to what I said when speaking on this matter in the House on Friday, no doubt consequent on his not being present at the time. I find that what I said is reported more fully in *The Scotsman* than in any other newspaper I have seen, and on referring to it I find that I am there reported to have said—

> "Among other recommendations which were put before the Government in support of Mr. Hosack's appointment were one by the hon. Member for Argyleshire and another by the hon. Member for the Wick Burghs."

That statement is, Sir, in all respects correct. Upon the 10th, Mr. Hosack transmitted to the Scottish Office a letter from my hon. Friend addressed to the Rev. Mr. W. R. Taylor, which I will read—

> "62 Portland Place, May 6th, 1886.
>
> "Dear Mr. Taylor,—In reply to yours of the 29th, I have to say that if an opportunity offers I should be very glad to say a word on behalf of your friend, Mr. Hosack. I suppose he has made his application in the proper quarter. I may say that my persistent action on behalf of our people has not endeared me to the Government."

This letter, I assume, was written in reply to a letter from Mr. Taylor to my hon. Friend asking him to give a recommendation to Mr. Hosack. Mr. Taylor appears to have interpreted the letter as being a valuable testimonial in favour of Mr. Hosack, because he sent it to him, and Mr. Hosack, apparently taking the same view, transmitted it to the Scottish Office, and it thereupon took its place among other testimonials in the Scottish Office in favour of Mr. Hosack. I have no doubt the Secretary for Scotland put the same interpretation on this letter as Mr. Taylor, to whom it was written, and Mr. Hosack, to whom it was transmitted, and I venture to think the House will be of the same opinion in regard to what the meaning of the letter was.

MR. MACFARLANE: I would ask the indulgence of the House while I make a personal explanation. The letter referred to is six weeks old. It was addressed to a third person, a rev. gentleman for whom I have the greatest respect, who addressed me in favour of this candidate, and the answer I made him has just been read to the House. The intention of the answer, as I interpret it, is that if under the improbable contingency the Lord Advocate or any other Gentleman representing Scotch affairs in this House should make an appeal to me or ask my opinion or advice, which I need scarcely say did not take place, I would say to the Member of the Government who made the appeal that I knew nothing of this gentleman personally, but a rev. minister for whom I have a great respect spoke very highly of him. That opportunity which is referred to in my letter never arose, because, as I have said, no application was made to me. My opinion was not asked, but my action, light as it was, seems to have had a great effect on Her Majesty's Government. My letter was not intended for Mr. Hosack or the Government. I made no communication to the Government, and received none from them on the subject.

## IMPERIAL DEFENCES—THE FORTIFICATION OF SIMON'S BAY AND TABLE BAY.

MR. W. H. SMITH (Strand, Westminster): I wish to ask the Secretary of State for War, Whether adequate steps have been taken by the Government for ensuring the safety of naval and coaling stations of Simon's Bay and Table Bay against attack by an enemy; and if there is any truth in the report that proposals made by the Cape Government to connect the fortifications by a railway have been negatived by Her Majesty's Government?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN) (Stirling, &c.): With regard to Simon's Bay the approved permanent defences are being proceeded with rapidly. Those at Table Bay are still the subject of correspondence between the Home and Colonial Government, and, in the meantime, the provisional defence of Table Bay is considered fairly effective. With regard to the latter part of the Question, no final decision has been arrived at as to the conditions under which this railway should be constructed; but there is no departure from the opinion that the railway is indispensable for the military defence of these two important coaling stations.

MR. W. H. SHITH: Is it possible that a decision will shortly be taken on the question?

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: I should think so.

## *ORDERS OF THE DAY.*

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### CONSOLIDATED FUND (APPROPRIATION) BILL.

(*Mr. Courtney, Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Henry H. Fowler.*)

SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."—(*Mr. Henry H. Fowler.*)

### PUBLIC EDUCATION (ENGLAND).

### DEPARTMENTAL STATEMENT.

THE VICE PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL (Sir LYON PLAYFAIR) (Leeds, S.): According to the promise of the Prime Minister the Education Statement was to be made on the second reading of the Appropriation Bill. The Estimates which are before the House were prepared by the right hon. Gentleman opposite (Sir Henry Holland) when he was Vice President of the Council, and the Code, which made little alteration in the previous Code, was also signed by him before I entered Office. I have no complaint to make in the matter, and I only mention it in order to give him the credit. As the House will not be required at the present time to enter into the consideration of the detailed Estimates, it may be more convenient if I deal less with these, and direct more attention to the general results of our educational system than is usually the case in making the annual Statement. We ask the House to vote for elementary education, £3,422,989, or £123,092 more than last year. This increase is due to two causes—1. The increase in average attendance; 2. The increase of grant due to a higher efficiency in passing the Standards. On each of these causes of increased Estimates I have a few remarks to make. The natural increase due to the necessity of providing schools for an increasing population has been in past years largely augmented by bringing into schools neglected children under compulsory law. But, fortunately, there is now a partial exhaustion of this source of supply. For some years after 1870 the increase in average attendance varied from year to year from 7 to 13 per cent. Since 1880 it has been going down gradually from 6 per cent to 3 per cent, and we calculate it for the current year to be only 2·6 per cent. In time we may hope that the normal increase will only be that due to the growth of the population, which is about 50,000 annually. The next cause of the increase of the Estimate is one in regard to which we have full satisfaction—namely, to the higher results of education by a more satisfactory passing of the Standards. Last year the rate of grant per day scholar was 17*s.* 1½*d.*, and this year we are obliged to ask for 17*s.* 6*d.*, or an increase of 4½*d.* Of this 1¼*d.* is due to the cost of drawing being transferred from the Science and Art Department to the Education Department; but 3¼*d.* is entirely due to the increasing proficiency in passing the Standards, and better average attendance. The increase of school accommodation during the past year has been greater than the increase in school children. The increase of school seats in 1885 amounted to 172,000, while the increase in average attendance was only 98,000. It will be more interesting, however, to state what is the aggregate provision of school seats, and what is the use made of them by children. The population in 1885 is estimated at 27,499,041, and the school seats in elementary schools under the Department absolutely required are 4,583,173. The actual supply is now in excess of this demand by upwards of 400,000 seats; but although this is satisfactory in the gross, there are still several counties in which the accommodation is not equal to one-sixth of the population. In London the increase of school children is 12,000 annually, so that at the present rate of increase a new school for 1,000 children ought to be opened in London for at least 10 months in the year. But the adequacy of accommodation and the number of children on the school registers do not show how far the schools are fulfilling their purpose in educating school children. For every 100 children of school age who ought to be at school the public schools have provided 91 seats; but only 80 scholars are on the register, and only 62 are in daily attendance. Undoubtedly we are improving steadily, but there is still great need for further exertion. To show our rate of progress and existing deficiencies, I must remind the House of the dates of the Acts under which we work, and compare the rate of progress under these Acts and under the Codes which produced substantial changes in the educational system. The main Act which gave to England and Wales a national system of education was passed in 1870. In 1873 there was an amending Act, on which I need not dwell. The next important Act was Lord Sandon's Act of 1876, which made it the duty of every parent that his child should be taught during the age of 5 to 14. This Act introduced indirect compulsory attendance by imposing upon employers of labour the responsibility of seeing that the requirements of the Acts were obeyed. It also established School Committees in districts which had no School Boards. Then an Act of 1880 substituted direct for indirect compulsion by providing that no children should go to work till they had passed certain Standards. The Codes followed the changes in the Acts; and therefore the Codes of 1871, following Forster's Act of 1877, following Lord Sandon's Act, and Mr. Mundella's Code of 1882, following the Compulsory Act of 1880, are marked features in our national system. The Codes required time to show their effects, and I will take two years after each Code to show our progress in getting children into daily attendance at schools. In 1873, two years after the Code of 1871, out of every 100 children on the school registers 66·8 were in daily attendance. In 1879, two years after Lord Sandon's Code, the average attendance was 69·95; and in 1884, two years after Mr. Mundella's Code, 75·46 were in attendance; and last year—1885—we have the largest regular attendance on record—76·4, or more than three-fourths of all the children on the register attended school with regularity. This percentage exceeds that of Massachusetts, the best educated State in America, where the average attendance is 72·5, while in New York State it is only 59·6. This increase is very satisfactory, and shows that parents appreciate the schools and urge regular attendance; partly, also, because the Act of 1880 prevents the children being employed in labour till they pass certain Standards. But look at it in another way, and the House will see how much remains to be done. Of every 100 children on the registers we have now got 76·4 in daily attendance. But 23·6 per cent of absentees is a heavy allowance to make for sickness and other unavoidable causes. The number of children on the registers is 4,412,000, and of these no less than 1,041,000 are daily absent from one of the two openings of the schools. There is, therefore, much room for increased activity on the part of the managers of schools, as well as for increased efficiency in the working of the Code. Unquestionably, however, we are making great progress. Perhaps the House will appreciate this more easily if I show what proportion of the population is now in public elementary schools. For this purpose I must add the number of children who are being educated in workhouses, certified efficient schools, industrial schools, &c. This raises the number of children on the registers of all public elementary schools to 4,630,000 children. For every 100 of the population in the year 1869—the year before the Act of 1870—there were only 7·0 children at public schools, while at the present moment there are 16·67. If we compare this with foreign countries, we have great reason for gratification. Germany was long ahead of this country in a national compulsory system of education; but there is only one town in that country—Elberfeldt—which approaches our numbers; that town has 16·3 children out of 100 of the population at school. Berlin has only 10·64, Cologne, 12·8; Frankfort is still behind what we had in 1869. Hamburgh, which has excellent schools, has only nine children out of the 100 of population. The number which we have reached of 16·67 in 100 of the population is a reward for the liberality of Parliament. Before I leave this part of the question, I wish to state that there is a considerable improvement in regard to infant schools. The methods of instruction for older scholars and infants are different. The infants require separate and well-arranged departments. Much attention to this improvement has been given in recent years, and they are now improving more rapidly than schools for older children, as will be seen if we take the classification for the merit grant, and divide them into moderate and really good schools. The really good infant schools, comparing 1885 with 1884, show that they have increased by 6·8 per cent, while the really good schools for older scholars have increased by only 1·34 per cent. Before I pass to the instructional results of the schools, I ought to state how much extra-Parliamentary resources have come to the aid of the grant in last year. Voluntary contributions amounted to £757,000; the rates yielded £1,141,000; and the school pence amounted to £1,791,000. If we convert these sums into the aid per child taught, the rates gave 19*s.*, the voluntary contributions, 6*s.* 7¾*d.*, and the average school fee per child was 11*s.* 2¾*d.* in Voluntary schools, and 9*s.* 4*d.* in Board schools. I pass now to a more interesting part of the annual Statement—the results of the teaching. That these are rapidly improving are shown by the substantial fact that the House is asked to pay 4½*d.* per child more than it did last year for better average attendance and better results of teaching. In 1880, of all children examined in the Standards, 81·2 per cent passed; last year this had increased to 85·14 per cent. But that is a crude way of viewing the result. When children pass a Standard lower than Standard IV., or leave school at 14 years of age in order to enter into labour, the wear and tear of life soon rubs off their thin veneer of education. Standard IV. is fortunately the lowest Standard which most School Boards adopt to let children become half-timers at 10 years of age, and it can readily be passed by an average child. There are, however, some towns which have adopted Standard III., and one large town which still retains Standard II., though I am glad to say it is ashamed of it, and intends going one step higher. Generally, however, Standards IV. and V. are those prescribed. Now it is interesting to see what progress is being made in teaching children up to those Standards, which alone become to them a life-possession in education, and I am glad to say it is steadily increasing. The per centage of children in Standard IV. and upwards to all scholars examined was 24·61 per cent in 1880, and it has increased to 32·9 per cent in 1885. Still the schools seem to have little attraction for children when the exempting Standard has been reached, for they rapidly disappear from the school. Of the 407,137 children who came up for Standard IV. in 1884, as many as 166,732 disappeared from the examination lists of our schools in 1885; while the 221,491 scholars in Standard V. of 1884 had dwindled to 91,039 in 1885; and, lastly, of the 83,270 scholars in Standard VI. in 1884, there only remained one-fourth, or 21,416, in 1885. Opinions differ as to how far education should be carried in public elementary schools; but it should certainly be carried higher in our schools than in those of other countries, because we do not possess those continuation or improvement schools which most European nations have as part of compulsory or of formative education. Our elementary schools form a system in themselves, having little or no connection with secondary schools for the further teaching of working men. Sometimes a few scholarships are attached to them by which bright scholars may enter endowed schools. But for the mass of the people the education begins and ends in our public elementary schools, although they should be mere steps into continuation or improving schools. Last year a cry of over-pressure arose, and many persons believed that school children were being too severely urged. To a certain extent that was true as regards individual instances. It is a fact that English elementary schools demand much less work from children than foreign schools. Mr. Matthew Arnold's Report will soon be in the hands of Members. In it he contrasts the work of a Hamburgh child, as typical of a German child, with that of an English child. He says—

> "To release a child as we do from school at 10 or 11, because he passes the Fifth Standard, would be thought in Germany absurd and most injurious."

He tells us that the weekly number of hours for a Hamburgh child, between 10 and 14, is 32, while with us the Code only enjoins 20, though, in practice, 24 or 25 hours are given. Then in these 32 hours the German child has to learn 13 subjects, while in our 20 hours the English child has only seven matters of instruction. But in Germany there is no cry of over-pressure. The German child must remain within the school till he is 14, and is not releasable by any Standard. The popular schools in Hamburgh, in addition to the "three R's," history, geography, geometry, natural science, and drawing, have English as a compulsory subject, and French as an optional one. Thus, when the German or Swiss child leaves the elementary school, he is far in advance of the English child, even if the latter had passed Standard VII., which so few do. With the English child his education is then ended, while the foreign child, after leaving the elementary school, finds continuation and improvement schools ready to receive him as part of the public system of schools. While, therefore, we may be justly pleased that our elementary schools are covering the area for primary education, we would sadly mistake our ability to raise the English working population to the intelligence of foreign working men if we do not give them means of advancing in knowledge. A pressure is now being put upon the Education Department which I foresee will become so great that the mind of Parliament must soon be taken in regard to it. This pressure is in the direction of technical education, and I must ask leave to say a few words in regard to it. Twice this Session the hon. Member for Salford (Mr. Mather) has had the first place to call the attention of the House to the subject; but he has given way to political exigencies. His Motion is as follows:—

> "That, in the opinion of this House, it is essential to the maintenance and development of our manufacturing and agricultural industries, in view of the rapidly increasing competition of Foreign nations, both at home and abroad, that our National system of Education should be so widened that manual training, the teaching of the natural sciences, and technical instruction may be brought within the reach of the working classes."

This Motion covers the whole question of technical education, and is, therefore, wide in its scope; but at present I desire to confine my remarks to that portion relating to elementary schools, in which the hon. Member demands that—

> "Our National system of Education should be so widened that manual training and the teaching of the natural sciences may be brought within the reach of the working classes."

It is to be observed that the Education Department has been gradually forced to include some technical subjects into the Code, and to extend instruction beyond the three R's. Manual work is already adopted to a limited extent. Thus girls are taught needlework, and pressure is constantly put on the Department to increase this form of manual teaching, to the exclusion even of the English in the upper Standards. Again, cookery is taught to girls in the last years of their attendance at school. As yet it has not widely extended, but it is rapidly growing. In 1884 only 7,597 girls earned the grant of 4*s.*; but last year they had increased to 17,754. Both school boards and voluntary associations are making arrangements to extend this humble but very necessary kind of technical instruction. Again, last year the Department made a serious attempt to introduce drawing systematically as a class subject, the Science and Art Department undertaking the examinations, while the Education Department made the payment which, as I have already stated, accounts for 1¼*d.* of the increased grant per child that we ask for this year. Now, drawing is of immense importance in training both the hand and eye, even while it is freehand drawing; and if we can extend it into mechanical drawing, so as to enable boys to understand working plans placed before them, it becomes almost half of technical education. Now, what has been the result of our year's experience? I cannot express it to you in figures, for I have not yet got them; but I may say generally that it is satisfactory in quality and unsatisfactory in quantity. The quality of the drawing has much improved in the schools; but there is an indisposition to take it as a class subject through all the Standards. The reason for this is obvious. By Lord Sandon's Act the amount of grant not conditional upon subscriptions is limited to 17*s.* 6*d.* per child. The schools naturally desire to reach this limit by subjects most easily taught among the six class subjects, and drawing is found to take more time and attention than some of the other subjects. The Government will have to consider seriously whether, as the examinations are already under the Science and Art Department, the payments should also, as formerly, be made by it, so as to remove the cramp which keeps down the growth of drawing in elementary schools. I have thus shown that there are various kinds of manual teaching as well as mental teaching encouraged by the Code. Now, a new demand is made that the use of tools in wood and iron should be taught to boys in larger schools. Already some of the large towns have built workshops and supplied them with tools for boys in the upper Standards of board schools. The boards in these cases do not ask us for money in aid of this equipment; but they demand, under Article 16 of the Code, that the Department should recognize the use of tools as a specific subject, and pay for it accordingly. The House need not be reminded that a specific subject is one taught to individuals and not to a class. The specific subjects are enumerated in Article 15; but the 16th Article invites the school managers to take any other specific subject if it is sanctioned by the Department. Two difficulties have met us in dealing with these demands. The first is that our Inspectors, able and talented as they are, have no experience in appraising the results of working with tools in wood and iron. This might be got over by asking the Science and Art Department to do so, because in administering the Whitworth scholarships it has got experience in this direction. But our main difficulty is that we do not like to enter into a branch of education without knowing the mind of Parliament. Unfortunately, the very important Reports of the Royal Commission on Technical Education have never even been discussed in Parliament, and have not yet seriously occupied the attention of the Government. That Commission found in various foreign countries that the use of tools is taught in elementary schools with excellent effect, and with this knowledge it would be difficult for the Education Department to say that it would not approve the teaching as a specific subject. But I would make a remark as to the conditions under which such an application could be considered. It is clear that the use of tools could not be encouraged among children learning the lower Standards. There is work enough to be done in giving literary education to these children. In after life they will have nothing but manual labour, and it would be hard to abstract any part of their time from the small amount of literary education which they get at school. After children have passed Standards V. or VI. the advantage of teaching the use of tools is more worthy of consideration, for it is then that they are apt to leave school altogether, and anything which would induce them to remain longer at school must prove a gain to themselves and to the State. Foreign countries keep all children to 14 years of age, and we fail in doing this. No less than 175,000 children have become half-timers by passing moderate Standards soon after 10 years of age. These are questions of importance, which cannot be determined by the Education Department without knowing the mind of Parliament. It is a great disadvantage to our educational system that there are not more frequent discussions on such subjects in the House. The political pre-occupations of recent years have stood in the way of such discussions; but the want of them paralyzes the hands of the Administration. Before referring to other subjects of technical education, I should like to make a few remarks on the progress of the Science and Art Department, as it, both directly and indirectly, does much to spread a knowledge of the Science and Art which form the true basis of technical education. The progress last year is remarkable. There are now 1,984 Schools of Science and Art under the Department, and last year 94,838 individuals were under instruction in Science and 69,837 in Art, besides those in the elementary schools. In subjects bearing directly on technical instruction, such as machine construction, building construction, applied mechanics, steam engines, practical chemistry, mining, and metallurgy, there were last year 28,639 persons under education. Gradually the localities are equipping well-furnished laboratories to make the chemical instruction practical as well as theoretical; and last year there were 14,587 places in these laboratories for experimental practice in chemistry. In Art, also, the progress of last year is very satisfactory, especially in the higher grades in which the subjects of design, architecture, and modelling are treated. The number of papers sent in for examination last month in the two grades of drawing was 57,867, showing an increase of 5,903 as compared with 1885. The Department of Science and Art now carries on a most useful work by circulating objects of artistic excellence to the various local museums throughout the country. There are now 30 local museums which have permanent loans made to them changed each year. Of these 14 have been added in the last two years, and the average value of each loan is £2,000. As the total sum granted by Parliament for the purchase of new objects is £10,000, it will be obvious that the local museums are supplied with objects of Art of greater value than the Annual Vote. The number of objects circulated to museums, exhibitions, and schools last year amounted to 26,718. Those who are interested in the promotion of technical education must be satisfied that this House and the Government have not been negligent in promoting it to a considerable extent, and even in anticipation of the demand which has only lately expressed itself in a more definite form than formerly. The House is aware that a Select Committee sat upstairs during this Session to inquire into the operation of the Endowed Schools Acts. Unfortunately, it has not been able, owing to the premature closing of the Session, to complete its evidence and to make its general Report. But I may state some general facts in regard to which there is no division of opinion. The Charity Commissioners adopted the views of the Schools Inquiry Commission, and divided the schools into three grades. The third or lowest grade of school was intended to meet the wants of the working classes exclusively, and was little above a higher elementary school. But the public elementary schools have advanced so much that the better schools are equal to the third grade endowed school, so that this class of school is now no longer regarded as necessary. It seems, therefore, to be expedient that these schools should be changed in their character into what foreign countries call improvement or continuation schools, and that they should be intimately connected by scholarships with the common elementary schools of the district. The Charity Commissioners have been spontaneously acting in this direction, and have been trying to impress upon these lower endowed schools more of a practical or technical character. It is in this direction that we must look for speedy development of advanced education for the working classes. Abundant evidence was given to the Committee that by the aid of scholarships to be competed for out of the elementary schools poor lads of promise were able to use the endowed schools of the country as schools of advancement. The Charity Commissioners have announced that in future they will endeavour to promote technical education through these schools. Returns were laid before the Committee showing that this had been done to a considerable extent already, even in advance of the demand which has recently arisen. A fully-equipped technical school requires a considerable endowment; but schools with smaller endowments teaching Science and Art can be used as stepping-stones to more advanced technical schools. It is in such a direction that the country must chiefly look for the development of technical education, because the Votes for Elementary Education are already so large that Parliament may be unwilling to give to them an indefinite extension. All the schemes of the Charity Commissioners have ultimately to be approved by the President and Vice President of the Education Department, so that by a cordial and active co-operation such as that which now exists between the two Bodies, a necessary link may be forged between the primary and endowed secondary schools of the country. It is the absence of any combination between primary and secondary schools which renders this country so inferior in educational organization to other countries in Europe. A few years ago a Select Committee, presided over by my right hon. Friend the Home Secretary (Mr. Childers), recommended, as a first step to obtain this organization, that a Minister of Education should be appointed. But Parliament in the following year, instead of consolidation, effected division in the educational work of the country by separating Scotch education from English education, and putting the former under the charge of the Secretary for Scotland. This, therefore, is the first year in which the Vice President of the Committee of Council for Education in England has nothing to tell the House about education in Scotland. I did all I could to prevent the repeal of this educational union last year; but I was unsuccessful, and the union was repealed. The Lord President is still a connecting link between the two countries; but the Vice President, who is responsible to this House for the educational administration of English education, has now no knowledge or responsibility for what is doing in Scotland. We used to receive much encouragement from the comparison of educational progress in the two countries; but now I know nothing about it till the Report comes out, unless the Lord Advocate follows me, and gives an educational statement for Scotland. I am afraid that I have detained the House too long upon a subject which bristles with statistics, and, if I had chosen to introduce them, with questions of controversy. I have avoided the latter, because there is now sitting a Royal Commission which is dealing very fully with the contested subjects of administration. They necessarily arise, however fairly and equally the balance is held between two systems—namely, voluntary and board schools. They are both working with the same end in view—the efficient elementary education of the people. The difficulties of working the two systems were greater formerly than they are now, and the Royal Commission will, no doubt, help us to remove the few points of friction which may remain. In the Select Committee on Endowed Schools we were all struck with one fact, that denominational difficulties seemed altogether to have disappeared. In a like Committee in 1873, on which I sat, our whole time was taken up in adjusting sectarian disputes. In the Committee of 1886 they had vanished altogether. This gives hopes for the future working of elementary education, because when the promoters of different systems have the same end in view it ought to be possible to work in complete harmony. This has been a year of great educational activity as regards inquiring into educational deficiencies. There is another Royal Commission of Inquiry in active operation. Its object is to devise the best means of educating the blind, the deaf, and the imbecile. Though a Member of that Commission, I have been too fully occupied with other work to take an active part in its deliberations; but from the evidence which I receive, and from my occasional attendances at its meetings, I am sure that we shall have a most valuable Report upon the means of educating those whose disabilities are so pitiable, and who look to us for the means of enabling them to become useful, and often productive, members of the community. In reviewing, as I have attempted to do, our educational position under the Department to which I belong, with no certainty that I will ever appear before you again in the position of Vice President, allow me to gratify my personal feelings, in which, however, I am sure you will share, by a concluding remark. I have pointed out to you that, so far as the original Act of 1870 founded a national system of elementary education, our progress since then has been eminently satisfactory. But the master builder who erected that edifice is no longer with us. In 1870 I was a mere apprentice hand in Parliament, and could do no more than lay a few bricks in the building which Mr. Forster was rearing. It is the only year since I entered Parliament in 1869 that we are no longer assisted by his counsels on all subjects which touched the welfare of the people. and I am sure that you would have thought my educational statement incomplete if I had failed to make some loving allusion to his memory.

Mr. CONWAY (Leitrim, N.) said, the Vice President of the Council had glided over certain little difficulties that existed. In the debate on the Education Act of 1870 it was over and over again laid down by speakers in that House that no harm was intended to the voluntary schools—that the board schools were to be supplementary and not competitive. The children in voluntary schools were quite as well taught as in board schools, and the voluntary schools were much more economically managed. The House ought, therefore, to see that no wrong was done to these schools. But since 1870 many of them had been crushed out of existence by the board schools; and between 1870 and 1880, 22, and between 1880 and the present time, 15, Catholic schools which had fulfilled every condition of the Code had been closed in consequence of the action of the board schools and their managers. In some cases the Department had shown itself ready to remedy grievances, but had been overborne by the school boards, who, in some respects, had more power than the Department. He hoped, however, that the Department would re-assert itself; and if the present Government again came into power, as he hoped they would, he earnestly trusted that they would remedy this most serious grievance.

Sir HENRY ROSCOE (Manchester, S.) said, he must congratulate the Vice President of the Council on his lucid and admirable statement, and trusted he would long continue to fill that Office. Having, together with the Surveyor General of Ordnance (Mr. Woodall) and his hon. Friend the Member for Salford (Mr. Mather), been engaged on the Royal Commission on Technical Education, he was extremely pleased to find the right hon. Gentleman speaking out so strongly and so decidedly on this important subject, which he believed the country now generally felt should be introduced into our elementary school system. It was interesting to know that the Vice President had long entertained these views—that he was, in fact, the first to draw attention to the subject many years ago. In comparing the work done in this matter on the Continent with that done in this country the first point that struck one was the great difference in regard to drawing. He found that abroad the attention paid to the subject, which was the foundation of technical instruction, was almost universal; whilst in this country, in no fewer than three-fourths of the schools, drawing was not taught at all. He was extremely glad to learn that this question had attracted the attention of the Education Department, and that we were actually paying 1¼*d.* per child per annum for this most important subject. The subject of manual instruction had been mentioned by the Vice President; and he wished to point out that the subject was comprised in the recommendations of the Royal Commission, who advised that proficiency in the use of tools for work in wood and iron should be paid for as a specific subject, arrangements being made for the work being done, as far as practicable, out of school hours. He agreed with the opinion of the Vice Presideut as to the desirableness, in the higher Standards especially, of introducing manual work. Just as they had laboratories for the teaching of practical chemistry, so they ought to have workshops and appliances for the teaching of manual work, and in which not furniture or boxes should be made, but correct geometrical forms should be constructed, and models illustrative of mechanical principles. It seemed to him that as the Department paid for manual work, such as sewing and cooking by girls, there was no reason why they should not pay on the results for manual work by boys. With regard to science teaching, in the first place he would congratulate the Vice President of the Council upon the great progress made by the Science and Art Department. That Department was unique in Europe. There was no such thing in any part of the Continent as a thoroughly well organized system of examinations extending all over the country and comprising all sorts and conditions of men. This system, founded by the late Prince Albert, had grown to really astonishing proportions; and as a rule the work done — he spoke from his experience as an examiner—was admirable, and was producing most marked and valuable results. But in education there was no standing still, and he held that there were many matters, especially manual instruction, that might with great advantage be taken up by the Science and Art Department. The Royal Commission had recommended, with regard to scientific instruction, that the class subjects should be only two in number instead of three, and that in the lower divisions of elementary schools the object lessons should include geography. In the elementary schools of the lower grade the object lessons were most admirably taught; but then there was a great break, and the object which the Commission had had in view was to render scientific teaching, elementary scientific teaching — continuous from the lower grade of the elementary schools to the higher grade until the point was reached where the subject became a specific one. He trusted the House would not lose sight of the importance of setting the foundations of technical instruction in the elementary schools, and that drawing and manual instruction would be further encouraged, for he felt sure that that was the direction in which we must look for giving that sound practical instruction which was needed in order that our artizans might be educated up to the highest pitch of proficiency, and to enable them to compete with success with foreign nations.

SIR HENRY HOLLAND (Hampstead) said, he must, in the first place, congratulate the right hon. Gentleman (Sir Lyon Playfair) upon the excellent and interesting statement which he had made. He had not only travelled over all the special questions of interest in this educational question; but he had managed to pass over all the many debateable points. He had been wise in adopting this course, as a Royal Commission was sitting to examine into such points; and he (Sir Henry Holland) trusted that they would be thoroughly threshed out before that Commission. He himself, certainly, in the few observations he had to make, would keep clear of these special matters. His right hon. Friend (Sir Lyon Playfair) had been kind enough to give him the credit for the preparation of the Estimates and signing the Code. As regards the Code, he would remark that he had thought it his duty to make as few alterations as possible. He regretted that it had been found necessary so often to alter the Codes, as such a course threw increased difficulties in the way of those who had to work them. He thought that the Code of 1883, for which the country was so largely indebted to the President of the Board of Trade (Mr. Mundella), who had done so much in the cause of education, should have a longer trial before any experimental changes were made. He also considered that as his own tenure of Office of Vice President was likely to be so short, he should only make such alterations as were called for by some immediate and pressing necessity. By referring to page 30 of the Code it would be seen that only two alterations had been made. The first was rendered necessary by the alteration as to drawing; the other was made to meet an objection raised by the Comptroller and Auditor General to the terms of Article 15 of the Code of 1883, which provided that, for the purpose of calculating the average attendance, each "attendance of a half-time scholar shall be counted as an attendance and a-half." This the Comptroller and Auditor General called "special attendances not actually made." He admitted that the power of defining an attendance was given by Section 97 of the Education Act of 1870; but he contended that the Department had no right to declare that an ordinary attendance should count for one and a-half or two attendances. This view was disputed by the Department; but there seemed no good reason to keep up the difference, as the principle of half-time was not disputed, nor the power of defining an attendance. An alteration was therefore made defining the attendance of a half-timer to be one hour and twenty minutes. As to the Estimates, he would only observe that the right hon. Gentleman had shown that the increase was entirely due, first, to increased attendances, and therefore increased grants; and, secondly, to increased efficiency. These improvements were most satisfactory, and must reconcile taxpayers to what was always *primâ facie* an unsatisfactory thing—namely, an increase of Estimates. He was glad to hear the statistics given by the right hon. Gentleman as to the attendance in this country compared with the attendance in Germany and America. Great doubt existed upon this point, and with a view of solving it Mr. M. Arnold was sent out, while the late Government were in Office, to inquire into this point, as also into the question of over-pressure and standards of education. He regretted that, owing to circumstances over which the right hon. Gentleman had no control, the Report of Mr. Arnold was not before the House; but he gathered from the statement of the right hon. Gentleman that the attendance here was better than in Germany; and the official Reports from the United States showed the same result; so that we had nothing to fear from a comparison with those countries which had been so often thrown in our teeth by speakers who had not really studied the question. He agreed with the right hon. Gentleman as to the great and increasing improvement in infant schools; but he thought that, in many cases, there was still room for improvement in the teaching of infants, and in interesting them more in their work. He believed that wherever the Kindergarten system, or some modification of it, had been introduced, good results had followed. As regarded technical education, he was fully alive to the difficulties of introducing it to any large extent in purely elementary schools. Nor did he believe that the ratepayers would assent to the increased charge which would have to be made if it were so introduced. His present impression was that they must look to endowments, and to the schemes of the Endowed Schools Commissioners, for the establishment of such schools in central and convenient localities; while, at the same time, they might hope to see some technical education given to those children in elementary schools who had passed the Fifth or Sixth Standards. It was unfitted for those who were in the lower Standards, and who had not mastered the indispensable subjects of reading, writing, and arithmetic. But this matter should receive the careful consideration of Parliament at an early date. As regarded grants for drawing, which was an important item in technical education, he did not quite see the force of the suggestion of his right hon. Friend that they should be paid by the Science and Art Department. It did not appear to him (Sir Henry Holland) that it made any real difference whether the amount in respect of such grants was paid by the Science and Art Department or by the Education Department. The money in either case must come out of the pocket of the taxpayer.

SIR LYON PLAYFAIR said, he referred to grants above the 17*s.* 6*d.* fixed by Lord Sandon's Act.

SIR HENRY HOLLAND said, he quite understood that; but if the amount was to be paid it would come out of the pocket of the taxpayer whether it was voted for the Science and Art Department or the Education Department, and the only difference was that in the latter case the Act referred to might have to be altered. And now, with the leave of the House, he would address himself to the speech of the hon. Member for North Leitrim (Mr. Conway), who was a skilled witness in educational questions, and to whom the House had listened with great interest. The hon. Member had made special reference to the Dan-y-Graig case, and as this case had come before him (Sir Henry Holland) as Vice President he desired to make some observations upon it. He would first point out to the House the position of the case when he had to deal with it. A decision against making the grant had been given by his Predecessor (Mr. Mundella) on December 12, 1884. That decision was based upon the interpretation given to the Act of 1870 by the Education Department — namely, that when once a school board had been started, they must supply any deficiency of accommodation in the district under their jurisdiction, and that the Board were the judges whether such deficiency exists. This opinion was based upon the wording of the 18th section of the Act of 1870, which he would venture to read to the House. It provided that the school board—

> "Shall, from time to time, provide such additional school accommodation as is, in their opinion, necessary in order to supply a sufficient amount of public school accommodation for their district."

He begged the House to observe that the board were to judge whether there was a deficiency; and it was very doubtful, to say the least of it, whether the Education Department could interfere with the exercise of their discretion. If the board failed to provide sufficient accommodation, the Department had express powers given to them to interfere, and to compel the board to do their duty; but it would seem that they had no power to prevent the board from enlarging their schools and providing more accommodation, although the Department might not be satisfied that such accommodation was in fact wanted. The action of the Department in assenting to the enlargement of their premises by the Board, and the reasons for such action, are stated in a letter of January 23, 1886, to the Rev. A. P. Wilson—

> "The application of the school board for permission to enlarge reached this office on the same day (viz., 21st February, 1884) as that upon which the warning before referred to was sent to you. It was not within their Lordships' administrative duty or power to direct the school board to postpone their own application (which they were entitled to make under Section 18) in favour of one from voluntary managers. With the view, however, of avoiding an unnecessary expenditure upon competing schools, a suggestion was made to the board to communicate with you upon the subject of your undertaking. The decision whether they would act upon this suggestion or not was a matter for their own discretion upon a review of the local circumstances within their knowledge."

Rightly or wrongly, however, the Education Department had in June, 1884, granted their assent to the board to enlarge their premises on the ground of the proved deficiency of accommodation, and the duty which rested upon the board to supply such a deficiency. The ratepayers had, therefore, been taxed for the enlarged school, and their interests had to be considered when the Department were asked to make a grant to a voluntary school, however good and efficient—and this school was undoubtedly both good and efficient—in the district of the school board. In these circumstances, he did not think he was justified—and the Lord President concurred in this opinion—in overruling the decision of his Predecessor and the practice of the Department. He would add, what had not been fully pointed out by the hon. Member for North Leitrim, that the Dan-y-Graig school managers could not have been taken by surprise by the refusal of this grant. They had not had, as they asserted, permission given to them by the Education Department to build, as no permission was needed, and none was therefore granted. But, on the other hand, they had full warning given to them in February, 1884, that the school board would be consulted as to the grant. In a letter of that date it was stated that—

> "For the purpose of avoiding any misapprehension, their Lordships cannot make any promise of annual grant until the school is in operation; and also that before giving such promise they will have, in accordance with their ordinary practice, to invite the opinion of the school board upon the application of the managers."

The managers, in these circumstances, could hardly blame the Education Department for their action, though they might find fault with the Act of 1870, or contend that it had been wrongly interpreted. Well, this was one of the questions which he hoped would be brought before the Royal Commission which was now sitting. Speaking for himself alone, he should like to see each case dealt with on its own merits. He did not suppose that the Education Department would desire to have this responsibility thrown upon them; but he was inclined to think that it should be put upon them; and that they should have power, if they had it not now, to refuse to allow a school board to enlarge their premises, and thus cast an additional burden upon the ratepayers, when, in the opinion of the Department, there was already sufficient accommodation in the district if the voluntary schools were taken into account. He thanked the House for the attention they had given to him; and he desired to conclude, as his right hon. Friend (Sir Lyon Playfair) had done, by expressing his sense of the great loss the cause of education had sustained by the death of Mr. Forster, and of the untiring zeal and ability which he had always displayed in promoting that cause.

Mr. MATHER (Salford, S.) said, the Vice President of the Council had referred to the fact that he had put a Notice on the Paper of his intention to open out the very wide subject of extending to the working classes the advantages not only of elementary education, but of manual training and science instruction generally. It was impossible on this occasion to enter upon that great subject. He would content himself with some observations on the new era which the Vice President had opened out before the House by the expression of his views upon the future of education in favour of bringing science and art teachidg and technical knowledge within the reach of the working classes. Those who had already spoken in the debate represented the professional knowledge of teachers in connection with educational matters. He belonged to that large army of employers who had to make use of the forces which the teachers in our elementary schools, Colleges, and educational institutions placed within their reach for the purpose of carrying on the great industries of the country. He had observed during the last 15 years in which the Education Act had been in operation that the youths coming into their employment year by year had shown a higher degree of refinement, greater brightness in their manners and aptitude, and a higher moral tone in their general conduct. To the Education Act of 1870 they must attribute these changes, and he would be the last to deprecate the advantages it had brought to the country. At the same time, there appeared to be a lack of those qualities which were necessary to enable us in the future to maintain the position of the country against the competition of other nations. The practical faculty of the boy coming into the workshop at the present time was not developed in the same measure as literary knowledge had been acquired. Such was the tendency of the education now given in our elementary schools that there was a distinct want felt on the part of employers of labour in consequence of the boys coming to them having scarcely a superficial training in science, and, so far as practice of the hand was concerned, as in drawing, hardly any training at all. He hoped from the speech of the Vice President that that state of things would speedily be altered. That could only be done by bringing manual training within the scope of the Elementary Education Act. This manual training would not interfere with the necessary literary instruction. On the contrary, it had been found, where manual training had been given in conjunction with elementary education, that all the subjects appertaining to that kind of education were more rapidly acquired, and more readily understood by the boys and girls, who during a certain portion of the school time had some means of manual employment. The experiments made in educating both head and hand together had been very successful in the United States. Manual training, if provided in our elementary schools for boys between the ages of 10 and 13, would tend to qualify a large number of the children of the working classes for occupations more likely to benefit themselves and the country than some of those they now followed. The great cry from all our Colonies had always been not to send them young people who had no knowledge of facts and things and the use of their hands, but to send those that had a practical training. Hitherto the Education Code had given much more encouragement to the literary than to the practical side of education. He had hoped to introduce for the consideration of the House the subject of having in our elementary schools a workshop or laboratory in which the boys could pass some hours a-week, and in which they would receive a training constituting the experimental stage for the subjects taught them in their class-room. He hoped the right hon. Gentleman, if he remained at the Education Department, would encourage this view. There could be no doubt that we had to meet in competition nations which had endeavoured to inculcate into the minds of the lowest classes the necessary knowledge to enable them to make the best use of the materials they possessed. No country possessed richer materials, so far as the bounty of Nature could bestow them, than our own. No country possessed in such large measure the energy, perseverance, and determination which distinguished the Anglo-Saxon race. But in the future we must not rely so much upon these natural resources, because other countries with less resources were still following closely upon our heels. We must meet intelligence with intelligence, knowledge with knowledge, and skill with skill. He had the greatest confidence that England in the future might maintain even a higher relative position than she had held in the past, for when once the attention of Parliament and the country was turned to our needs they would take the means necessary to supply them. It might be necessary that the country should be asked to supply larger funds for educational purposes, and money spent in that direction he would never deplore. It was money better spent than in the building of ironclads, which were very soon found to be obsolete and useless—["No, no!"]—or, at least, had to be altered. To insure our not being overtaken by the competitors who were beginning to draw up to us, the country must not begrudge an increased expenditure upon education. The sciences, he held, ought to be taught to children early in life, just as the mysteries and paradoxes of grammar and language were taught to them now. It was not the enemies who might come against us with physical force that we had cause to fear, but rather those opponents who, going into our markets with greater skill, greater knowledge, and greater enterprize, turned us out from possessions we had hitherto enjoyed, and which we hoped to hold against the world for all time. In defending those possessions any amount of money would be well spent. If every child were able to spend five hours per week in the workshop connected with every elementary school the working classes of the future would be intelligently trained from earliest youth in the mechanical arts to enable them to cope with the other nations of the world. The training of the head and hand must go together, and then he was sure that intellectually, industrially, and morally England would hold in the future a place higher than that she had held in the past, and that whatever progress other countries might make we would still hold our own against them. Before sitting down he wished to refer to another subject, and to urge that the school board should be made the proper authority for the remission of school fees. Great hardship was caused to parents by their being compelled to appear before Boards of Guardians to prove their poverty before they could obtain the remission of their children's fees.

MR. STANLEY LEIGHTON (Shropshire, Oswestry) said, that the Budget which the Vice President of the Council had explained to the House was the Estimate which had been prepared by his Predecessor in Office. He would have been glad if the Vice President of the Council had given the House the advantage of his opinion on some of the burning questions connected with the subject of elementary education in this country. He had given the House the benefit of some statistics; but while they expected those, they ought to have heard more in regard to the health of the children who were now under elementary training, and especially with reference to overpressure. There was no doubt, although the reports were not now so alarming as they had previously been, that there was still a great deal of injury being done to the health of children through the heavy tasks expected of them. He (Mr. Stanley Leighton) thought it would have been well if the Vice President of the Council had made some reference to the famous Report of Dr. Crichton Browne on this subject, for this was a Report which had justified the suspicions and the anxieties of the whole country. The Code was still enforced with a rigidity which was incompatible with the elasticity of human nature. A little more discretion should be permitted to the teachers to withdraw children from the examination. They should be allowed to do this without permission or direction from the Inspectors. Teachers naturally knew more about the children intrusted to their care than the Inspectors could know. That was a matter which had over and over again been pressed upon the House and the country by those who understood the working of elementary schools; and Vice Presidents, no matter what side of the House they sat upon, had not given due attention to the matter. He should like to have heard more from the right hon. Gentleman as to the system of payment by results as it worked in England and Wales. It was a question which the Education Department should take thoroughly in hand. Unless the health of the children was better looked after in our elementary schools, our system of education would keep them at a continued disadvantage in life. Again, he urged that they wanted continuation schools, and they wanted secondary schools; but they ought not to have the elementary schools mixed up with the secondary, otherwise, instead of enabling poor children to rise to the higher steps of the educational ladder, they would keep them back. The right hon. Gentleman the Vice President of the Council had spoken of his desire to ascertain the mind of Parliament on some of the subjects to which he had referred; but it should be remembered that they might fairly expect the Minister who had charge of the Education Department rather to lead Parliament on these questions than to follow it. The House wanted to know what the Minister of the Education Department had to say on these and cognate subjects; and he was of opinion that the right hon. Gentleman had not gone so far into the whole matter as the House had a right to expect.

Mr. MOLLOY (King's Co., Birr) said, that, as a Member of the Royal Commission on Education, he desired to express his concurrence with the views of the hon. Member for South Manchester (Sir Henry Roscoe) as to the desirableness of something being done to impart scientific and technical instruction to the pupils attending our elementary schools. This was a matter which he had himself frequently urged on previous occasions. At the present time it was found that the labour market of this country was being to a large extent destroyed, so far as Britons were concerned, by the importation of skilled foreign labour into the country. This labour was obtained at a much lower price as compared with what was ordinarily paid for it in our manufacturing districts; and it was far in advance, as regarded scientific skill, of anything which we could offer in our schools here. There could be no doubt that one of the great deficiencies we had to meet at the present time was the want of scientific and technical education. He hoped the hon. Member for South Manchester would come before the Royal Commission on the Education Acts and give evidence on this important point. The Commission desired to obtain evidence such as the hon. Member could give. He had a confident hope that they would be able to make their Report within about a year of the present time.

Mr. J. G. TALBOT (Oxford University) said, that he, too, was a Member of the Commission, and therefore he could not discuss controversial topics. He congratulated the Vice President on the able and interesting statement he had made. He thanked the late and the present Government for the appointment of the Commission which he urged without apparent effect in the course of the debate on the Education Vote last year. Pressure was brought to bear with more success after the debate; and the gravity of the subjects inquired into, and the evidence taken upon them, had been quite sufficient to justify the appointment of the Commission. Evidence of a practical kind had been given by persons of actual experience, and all such evidence would be gladly received and carefully considered. It was satisfactory to find that the voluntary schools were not only holding their own but making progress. In Church of England schools the accommodation had risen from

2,413,676 in 1883 to 2,515,770 in 1885; the average attendance had risen from 1,562,507 in 1883 to 1,637,426 in 1885, and the voluntary contributions of all denominations in 1885 amounted to £583,936. Notwithstanding the magnitude of the school board system, it must not be forgotten that there was all this voluntary agency, which was discharging a great deal of the educational work of the country. The Vice President strongly deplored that the House had so little time for the discussion of educational matters. If the Government had resisted the blandishments of Irish Members below the Gangway the House might have had more time this year. The past could not be retraced; but it was to be hoped that the House would in the future have more time to attend to the education of the country.

## PUBLIC EDUCATION (SCOTLAND.)

### DEPARTMENTAL STATEMENT.

THE LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. B. BALFOUR) (Clackmannan, &c.): Sir, I propose very shortly to lay before the House some words of explanation of the Scottish Educational Estimates, and regarding the progress of education during the past year. The House will notice that the total amount set down in the Estimate is £524,263. This involves an increase on the Vote of the previous year of £21,214; and the whole amount, practically, of this increase arises from the augmented earnings of the scholars, who will, it is believed, in the year for which the Estimate is taken, earn £19,366 more than in the current year. If the cost is greater I am quite sure the House will be gratified, and will consider it exceedingly satisfactory to find that the increase goes out in increased earnings of grants. In respect of administration there is an apparent increase of cost; but it is apparent only. The salaries of the officers of the staff were previously alone on the Scotch Estimates, and on these salaries this year there is a reduction of £1,000 as the result of the reconstruction of the Office. The increase on the whole cost, or apparent real increase, is due to the fact that the cost of the clerical staff was previously included in the English Vote. The English and Scottish branches, however, are now distinct; and the cost of the Scottish clerical staff, which is about £5,600, is now transferred from the English to the Scotch Vote, which explains the apparent increase on that head. When regard is had to the very large amount which requires to be disbursed by the Department — something exceeding £500,000 a-year—in very small sums in fulfilment of the conditions on which such grants are made, and after very careful verification, and when we consider the cost of correspondence — the grant being distributed to not fewer than 100 school boards after the necessary correspondence with the managers of more than 3,000 schools in all—and when we consider that besides there is the supervision by an inspecting staff numbering about 50, it will not be thought that the administration cost is large. It works out, I find, to about $1\frac{2}{3}$ per cent. The business of the Scotch Education Department is now carried on in Dover House, along with those of the Secretary for Scotland and the Lord Advocate; and it may be interesting to the Scottish Members to know that the number of the educational staff housed there is very nearly 50. There was recently some criticism of the expense of Dover House; but when it is kept in view that there are three Departments located there, and that the number in this Department alone is so considerable, I think it will be seen that any comparison between the cost of that Office and that of the Irish Secretary would be entirely misleading. In regard to the annual grants, it may be enough to say that the largest increase is in the amount which it is estimated will be earned by scholars in average attendance. This is partly caused by an increase of numbers, and I may quote one figure which I think will interest the House. In 1885 the increase on average attendance was as high as 5·12 per cent, being the highest increase from 1877 to 1883, down to which year large increases took place in consequence of the compulsory clause having only then come into full operation. It is not estimated that so high a rate of increase can be kept up during the current year—first, because it is higher than could be naturally expected to be kept up; and, secondly, because it is found by experience that there is a good deal of fluctuation. Taking the increase, then, not at 5·12, but at 3 per cent for the coming year, that would represent an increased attendance of 8,500 scholars.

The Department would be glad to see a still larger increase; but it is satisfactory to find that the increase of average attendance is keeping very considerably ahead of the growth of the population, which is estimated at 1 per cent per annum. Not only has the average attendance increased, but each individual scholar has, year by year, earned increased grants, and the increase is expected during the coming year to amount to about 6*d.* In 1873 the grant per scholar was 9*s.* 10¾*d.*, and that, recollect, was in voluntary schools, where presumably there were comparatively small numbers of the poorest class; but last year it rose to 18*s.* 0½*d.*, and for the coming year it is estimated at 18*s.* 7*d.* The average attendance at evening schools has slightly decreased. Attention is being directed to the improvement of these schools, for the Department have recognized that they are capable of improvement, and in time it may be found that they can be useful on their present footing. We hope that the decrease will not be perpetual, and the Department have endeavoured to provide a remedy for any evils they see in these schools by the provisions of the new Code to which I shall hereafter shortly refer. Another item of increase results from the attempts which have been made to improve the attendance. About £600 of the grant is paid, in proportion to the average attendance at the public schools, directly in aid of the local rates. The Department expect an increase on that item in certain parts of the Highlands where aid to local rates is most needed; and I may mention that a considerable portion of this increase results from the operation of a Minute which, it will be in the recollection of Scottish Members, was passed in 1885 as the result of a very interesting Report by a Commissioner sent down by the Department in compliance with a recommendation made by the Crofters Commission. The pressure of the education rate in some parts of the Highlands was found to be very heavy. The Department considered the best mode of meeting that difficulty, and they made provisions under which, instead of making a mere payment by way of money irrespective of attendance, and finding that irregularity of attendance was the great evil in these Highland parishes, they made the increase of grant proportionate to the increase of attendance. It was doubted in some quarters whether, considering the circumstances of the people and the conditions of distance and weather in these districts, it would be possible for much advantage to be taken of this arrangement; but by the increased efforts of the school boards to earn the grant, and the increased zeal to diffuse education, a very material addition has been awarded to these Highland schools, and so far as it has gone the results are very satisfactory. Additional grants have been earned under the Minute by 137 schools out of 201 inspected thus far. The total number of schools in these localities is 685, and 9,425 scholars have earned these extra grants, of whom nearly 4,000 have earned the highest rate that was possible, which I consider shows a very satisfactory state of things. The whole additional grant already paid on this head amounts to nearly £1,400, and it is anticipated that the total increase of grant on this head alone for the year will be about £4,000. The Minute also offered certain other advantages to schools in the Highland districts which give higher instruction. So far only two schools have availed themselves of these advantages, and they have earned the higher grant to the amount of £40. The Minute also gave an extra grant to outlying boards to enable them to give to the more promising pupils the opportunity of taking advantage of such higher teaching as would enable them to rise in life. As regards the teaching of Gaelic and the employment of Gaelic-speaking pupil teachers, the Minute has not had sufficient time to show any results; but the necessity, of course, of this provision for Gaelic teaching must be tested by the results it produces. When we turn to the results of the examinations during the past year one very satisfactory feature that we find is the increasing number of children over 10 years of age who are presented in the Standards suitable to their age. In 1875 only 34 per cent of those over 10 years of age were presented in the fourth and higher Standards, the other 66 per cent being presented in the lower Standards. But we find that in the nine years since that time there has been a steady rise in this respect, and last year 74·01 per cent passed in the higher Standards of those whose age was suitable for those Standards. So that, on a comparison with the English Estimate, I may mention that we can boast of a very considerably higher passing in that grade than in England, where the percentage is only 61·09. There is, therefore, a very considerable difference in favour of Scotland in this matter; but, on the other hand, it is only right to say that about 44,000 children pass the third or a higher Standard before they are 10, and it is feared that this may hold out some temptation to put many children on half-time work before they otherwise would. It is these quicker children who derive most benefit from remaining at school; and the Department hope that any success in passing those higher Standards before the children reach the age of 10 will not be too largely used to remove the children from school, except in cases of pure necessity. In this connection it is hoped that a good deal of provision for higher education will be found in Scotland, as in England, in the endowments which are being put under schemes by the Educational Endowments Commission. There are one or two other points not so entirely satisfactory as we could desire, although not controlled by the Department. It may now be said that there is a complete equipment for educating all children of school age in Scotland, and there is a school place for every child in the country who ought to be in attendance. Of the children of school age about 84 per cent ought to be in attendance; but we find, in fact, that at present there are only about 60 per cent in attendance. Now, that difference is thought to be too large, and every effort on the part of those who are locally administering the Acts should be directed to bringing the actual attendance up to what it ought to be. The defective attendance is found chiefly among the younger children. That is, no doubt, greatly to be regretted, because they are just at the age when they would profit most by education and by the formation at school of habits which would stand them in the best stead in after-life. Experience proved that where proper advantage was taken of the provision for the teaching of the younger children the results were seen afterwards throughout their whole educational course, and also throughout their lives. An item of £300 appears for the inspection of higher schools. This has been placed on the Estimates for the first time to enable the Department to carry out the provision of the Act of 1878. The matter was strongly pressed by various school boards; but difficulties were felt until last year by the Treasury, and were only partially overcome then. The Department has now entered upon the work, and about 20 burgh schools and some voluntary schools will be inspected under the direction of the Department during the coming year. The Department anticipate much benefit from this scheme, especially as the scheme has been very cordially received, I think, in all quarters; and they hope that it will lead to a better organization and a more satisfactory arrangement of the existing resources for higher education in Scotland. The scheme is one to be carried out gradually, and, therefore, this very moderate sum of £300 has been placed in the Estimate this year. To summarize the results of the operations of the Department down to this time, I may say that, on the whole, over £3,000,000 have been spent in providing schools, of which the rates have paid £2,100,000, and Parliament about £700,000. The annual expenditure in public schools amounts to £2 2*s.* 2½*d.* per child, or £952,950 in all the schools, of which Parliament provides about £400,000, the rates about £206,000, and school fees about £267,000. That works out thus—Of the sum of £2 2*s.* 2½*d.*, the rates provide 10*s.* 11¾*d.*; the school fees 13*s.* 0½*d.*; and the grant 18*s.* ½*d.* In conclusion, I desire to make a very few observations upon the Code of 1886. The changes in the Code are as follows:—The first substitutes class for individual examinations in Standards I. and II. This will allow greater freedom of organization, and lessen an irksome pressure both on teachers and children. It covers about 40 per cent of all presented. The second change consists of extending the class subjects. This will give to the scholars generally a better chance of getting more than the elements merely, and it will be better than specific subjects which affect only a few. The third alteration is the offer of a special grant for needlework, which has certainly suffered in some districts from neglect. The fourth change has for its object the improvement of evening schools by giving an opportunity to those attending them of taking the higher subjects in these schools. And the fifth group of changes consists of certain detailed changes in the subjects for examination, especially as regards history, geography, and arithmetic—changes which seem calculated to make the school curriculum have a more direct bearing and effect upon practical life. All these changes have been very carefully considered, and seem likely to meet many of the complaints which have been made to the Department. In regard to the work of the Educational Endowments Commission, that work has been proceeding rapidly and satisfactorily. Of all the schemes submitted by the Commissioners to, and approved of by, the Department, only three have been challenged, and none has been rejected by Parliament. In all, nearly 130 schemes have been approved by the Department down to the present time, and these schemes deal with an approximate annual income of more than £70,000. About 50 more schemes, dealing with an approximate annual income of about £26,000, have been submitted to the Department, and now await its approval.

Dr. CAMERON (Glasgow, College) said, that, on the whole, the statement of the right hon. and learned Lord Advocate was satisfactory; but he thought that a great deal might be done for the advancement of education in Scotland if greater attention were paid to the infant schools. The attendance at these schools was small as compared with England. The Lord Advocate had observed that a great deal had been done for education in the Highlands. A great deal, however, remained to be done. A beginning had been made, and that being so, he trusted that the educational needs of that part of the country would be met. He was glad to hear that no bad effect on the education of the Highlands had arisen from the difficulty, of which so much had been made, with regard to the payment of the school rates.

General Sir GEORGE BALFOUR (Kincardine) said, that though the Scotch and English Departments were divided into two branches, under two heads, yet the fact of there being one head over both showed that there was room for effecting greater uniformity in the Reports to Parliament than had existed that evening. To that end he would suggest that the form of the detailed Tables used by the Vice President for the English, but not for the Scotch Reports, should be made similar to that of the English. He complained of the frequent change of school books, which entailed so much expense on the parents of the children, and hoped something would be done to remedy the grievance so greatly felt by the removal of children from one school to another. Further, that the marks gained at one school should be allowed to accompany children going to another school.

Mr. JOHN WILSON (Edinburgh, Central) said, he did not think they would ever have infant education on so large a scale in Scotland as in England, because in the English manufacturing towns there were dense populations who were unfit to attend to the education of their young children, and the consequence was that the infants were sent to school, not merely to get education, but to be out of the house, and out of the way. In Scotland, the schools being widely apart, young children could not be sent to school so regularly, as in the populous towns of England; nor did he regret it much, because many of the children he had seen at school would be all the better for another year of play in the open air. The earlier loss would be compensated by the later gain. The Lord Advocate had made no reference to higher and scientific education; but in Scotland they did not require such education less than in England. He would like to see established in the large towns such well-equipped technical schools as would induce working lads and apprentices to attend them in the evening; and he hoped the Scotch Education Department would do all they could to stimulate that kind of education in Scotland.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Bill read a second time, and *committed* for *To-morrow.*

## TITHE RENT-CHARGE (EXTRAORDINARY) REDEMPTION (*re-committed*) BILL.—[Bill 264.]

(*Mr. T. H. Bolton, Mr. Thorold Rogers, Mr. Borlase, Sir John Lubbock.*)

COMMITTEE (ON RE-COMMITMENT).

Bill *considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee).

Clause 1 (Limitation of extraordinary charge).

Mr. BERESFORD HOPE (Cambridge University): I rise, Sir, to propose that you report Progress, and ask leave to sit again. I do not wish to enter into a discussion of the provisions of the Bill at this moment—some of them are very important, and yet there is a very strong feeling that the measure is being rushed through the House. The Bill has evoked considerable discontent. It is likely to lead to confusion; and for that reason, and also because of the want of consideration which is shown in the treatment of interests so vast as those it affects, it does not appear desirable to press it on at present. I am as ready as any one to confess the desirability of settling this question—indeed, I am most willing and anxious to enter into a fair and durable compromise on this question of extraordinary tithes; but a Bill like this, instead of being hurried through the House in the way it is sought to hurry it through, should be well considered and threshed out all round before being passed into law.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again." — (*Mr. Beresford Hope.*)

MR. T. H. BOLTON (St. Pancras, N.): I hope the Committee will not consent to the Motion of the right hon. Gentleman. This question has not been rushed upon the country, or upon the House. The whole subject was very fully considered by a Committee of the House in 1881, and a considerable amount of evidence was taken upon it, and it has been very exhaustively discussed throughout the counties of Kent and Sussex—the two counties mainly interested—ever since. There has been considerable agitation and a great amount of feeling exhibited on the subject. Hon. Members representing Kent in the Conservative interest concur with hon. Gentlemen on this side of the House in their desire to deal with the question. The Select Committee which was appointed was not at all unfairly constituted, so far as regards the interest the right hon. Gentleman is supposed particularly to take care of in the House. Conservative Members for Kent and Sussex sat on it, and I am glad to say there was on all sides a disposition displayed to deal with it in a sensible and practical way. The whole question was considered by the Select Committee, and the result is the Bill which I hope the House will now deal with, so that it may be sent to "another place" to be passed into practical legislation.

MR. GREGORY (Sussex, East Grinstead): As I have taken an interest in this subject for some years, I am bound to say that I differ from the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Beresford Hope) who has moved to report Progress. I very much doubt whether he is well advised in the Motion he has made, and I say this though the political connection between the right hon. Gentleman and myself is very strong, he being my Representative in the University of Cambridge, and one of my constituents in the county I represent. The subject is not a new one by any means. I myself sat on a Select Committee with regard to it several years ago; and, as the result of my experience and information upon it, I must say it is desirable to deal with it in the interests of the Church itself. There are some Amendments which should be made in the Bill, and which I hope will be made; but, subject to those Amendments, I really do think that the Church itself would be well advised if it agreed to the reasonable compromise contained within the four corners of the measure. The subject the Bill deals with has given rise to ill feeling between the clergy and their parishioners, who ought to be their best friends, and it is desirable to set that ill feeling at rest. The Church may have to make some small sacrifice, I admit; but I cannot help thinking that it would be well advised in making that sacrifice in order to put itself on a stronger footing with those whom it has under its special charge. I think the Select Committee which sat to consider this subject has dealt with it in a fair practical and spirit. There is not much difference between this Bill and that which was proposed by the hon. Member for the Tunbridge Division of Kent (Mr. Norton), particularly since it has passed through the Select Committee. I think we should proceed with the Bill, and that it should be sent to "another place," where the Church is strongly represented, and where the details will, perhaps, be more fully discussed than they can be here. I hope the right hon. Gentleman will not press his Motion and further delay the progress of the Bill.

THE JUDGE ADVOCATE GENERAL (Mr. MELLOR) (Grantham): I hope the right hon. Gentleman (Mr.

Beresford Hope) will not persist in his Motion to report Progress. I was Chairman of the Select Committee; and, as such, I beg to assure the right hon. Gentleman that we sat for several days; that the matter was fully considered; that numerous Amendments were made in the measure; and that, as a matter of fact, the Bill left the Committee as a fair and reasonable compromise for the solution of the existing difficulties. The hon. Gentleman opposite (Mr. Gregory), who was a Member of the Committee, has pointed out the care it took in investigating the subject. The Committee was composed of Members of all sections of the House; and I think that at the close of their proceedings there was very little substantial difference between those Members. I hope, therefore, the Committee will be allowed to proceed with the clauses of the Bill.

Mr. J. G. TALBOT (Oxford University): Before this matter is finally disposed of I should like to make a few observations. We must all recognize the labours of the Select Committee over which the hon. Member opposite (Mr. T. H. Bolton) presided. The hon. Gentleman near me (Mr. Gregory) has stated that the Members of that Committee endeavoured, to the best of their ability, to arrive at a solution of the question. No doubt that was so; but I must say that the request of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for the University of Cambridge (Mr. Beresford Hope) for delay is not an unreasonable one, though, probably, looking at the state of the Committee, he may not be well advised if he persists in it. There can be no doubt that this Bill affects a considerable amount of property, and that it will considerably reduce the incomes derived from many benefices in Kent and Sussex. I am not saying whether or not that reduction is equitable; but I would point out that at the fag end of a Session, prematurely brought to a close, to be asked to consider a Bill that interferes with the interests of a large number of Corporations is a very serious matter. I say "Corporations," because not only will individuals be affected, but the benefices of which the incumbents enjoy the benefits only for their lives. Under the circumstances, I do not think it is unreasonable to ask the Committee to delay the taking of such an important measure into its consideration. The evidence before us shows how undesirable it is to deal hurriedly with such a question as this. I am not saying whether or not it is desirable to take the extreme step which would be recommended by my right hon. Friend; but what I say is that a measure of this kind cannot be said to have been sufficiently debated and considered by the Committee as composed at the period at which we have arrived. It is not fair to ask the Committee to go on with the matter now, because the other House would have to consider it at the beginning of next week, when affairs will be still more critical and unsatisfactory than they are at present, and when it could hardly be expected that the House of Lords would have a proper opportunity of considering it. If the Bill goes up to the House of Lords under these circumstances, I do not think there would be any ground for complaint if they took a course which, under the circumstances, I should be sorry to see them take—namely, of placing themselves in opposition to this House. I would ask the hon. Member in charge of this Bill (Mr. T. H. Bolton) whether he thinks he is best discharging his duty towards those whom he represents here in pressing on the Bill at this particular period of the Session? The Bill is one of a contentious character, no doubt. No one can say that the matter is not highly contentious. It has been a subject of great contention. It is only because the Bill happens to be in the hands of a private Member that the assurance given by the Government as to not pressing forward contentious matter does not apply. But having said so much, I must submit to the Committee that while it is useless to divide unless there is a strong feeling in support of the Motion of my right hon. Friend the Member for the University of Cambridge, yet I maintain that this is not a fair way of dealing with the interests of which I have spoken.

Mr. STANLEY LEIGHTON (Shropshire, Oswestry): I wish to say a word or two in support of the Motion of my right hon. Friend (Mr. Beresford Hope). I have several letters here bearing upon this question, and I will venture to quote one or two of them, because they show a sense of injustice on the part of those who write at the provisions of this Bill. The measure affects the pecuniary interests of the titheowners, lay and clerical, in Kent especially, and in that county alone the pecuniary amount involved is £40,000 a-year. That is a great deal of money in a county like Kent. Well, one of these gentlemen writes to me, and says—

> "I forward you my protest on behalf of the clergy of the Deanery of Hastings, of which I am rural dean. Had time been allowed we should have been able to add a protest from the other Deanery in East Sussex."

This gentleman protests against property being taken away from him and from other clergy without their having had an opportunity of going through the Bill and seeing what its effect would be. Other letters are from two rural Deaneries in Sussex, where hops are largely grown, protesting against the Bill. I do appeal to the sense of justice of the right hon. Gentleman who represents the Government whether he ought, in a matter of a most highly contentious character, to allow the Bill to be proceeded with; because he must know very well that even if we pass the Bill through Committee now, and pass the third reading stage to-morrow, there will hardly be time to carry it through all its stages in the House of Lords—certainly not without indecent haste. It seems to me that if we go on with the Bill now we are simply wasting the time of the House with legislation that cannot come to maturity, and that, at the same time, we are making an attack upon a large body of gentlemen whose incomes will be all but confiscated. I appeal to the hon. Gentleman in charge of the Bill not to proceed with it any further.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE HOME DEPARTMENT (Mr. CHILDERS) (Edinburgh, S.): The state of the case is this. There has been for many years an internecine war between the owners of this particular form of tithe and the farmers who pay it. The dispute was first dealt with by the hon. and learned Member for Rye (Mr. Inderwick) in 1881, and this year three or four Bills have been introduced dealing with the question. Her Majesty's Government did not treat it as a Government question; but they agreed, through me, to the appointment of a Select Committee. We took care that the Committee should be appointed, and that it should be fairly constituted, all the different interests being represented upon it. [Mr. STANLEY LEIGHTON: Were the titheowners represented?] Yes; we took care that witnesses were examined on behalf of the titheowners, and that others were examined on the part of the tithepayers. This Bill is the result of the deliberations of the Committee—not the unanimous result, but practically unanimous. Considering the difficulty there has been in settling this question, and the disputes that have taken place, even in the course of the present year—some of which have come before me as Secretary of State—I think the best plan would be to attempt to settle the matter by passing this Bill. I should be extremely sorry if the Bill were defeated.

SIR JOHN LUBBOCK (London University): I am intimately acquainted with the district to which this Bill applies, and I should like to say a word in reply to the the right hon. Gentleman the Member for the University of Cambridge (Mr. Beresford Hope). Having for many years taken an interest in this question, I can assure the Committee and the right hon. Gentleman that there is a very general desire in the county of Kent to see this matter settled, now that a chance has presented itself. The Bill is a very fair one, and I hope the right hon. Gentleman will be content with the protest he has made, and will withdraw further opposition to the progress of the measure.

MR. AKERS-DOUGLAS (Kent, St. Augustine's): I was not in the House when this matter first came up; but I will avail myself of this opportunity of expressing a hope that the Bill will be proceeded with. In the county I represent there is a strong feeling in favour of something being done to settle the question. Great pains were taken to make the Select Committee of a representative character. As to the questions which came before it, the proceedings, if not of an absolutely unanimous character, were, as the right hon. Gentleman the Home Secretary has pointed out, of a practically unanimous character. The hon. Gentleman in charge of the Bill is, no doubt, perfectly open to receive Amendments which may be made from all parts of the House; but I may say that the constituencies of the counties chiefly affected by the Bill are perfectly satisfied with its proposals.

SIR JULIAN GOLDSMID (St. Pancras, S.): In confirmation of what has fallen from the last speaker, I wish to say that both Liberals and Conservatives in that part of Kent where I live are strongly in favour of this question being settled. The Select Committee discussed the question with great fairness on both sides, and this Bill is the result of a compromise between the two parties. I think the time has come when this very burning question in the county of Kent should be satisfactorily settled.

Mr. STANLEY LEIGHTON: The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Childers) declared that the titheowners were represented on the Select Committee. Well, I wish to state, most positively, that there was not a single titheowner represented. The Members of the Committee were, if not all, at any rate almost all, if not tithepayers themselves, representative of the tithepayers. The Committee consisted mostly of tithepayers from the hop-growing counties. I hope the right hon. Gentleman will withdraw what he has said as to the titheowners being represented, because I declare that we are now acting behind the backs of the titheowners, and that they have never had an opportunity of considering what it is now proposed to do. I assert that, if they had had such opportunity, the whole of them would have protested against it as strongly as the few who have seen and examined the Bill have done. The right hon. Gentleman seems to have a false idea that the Committee called witnessses. They did not call a single witness.

Mr. CHILDERS: The hon. Gentleman himself represented the titheowners most thoroughly. They could not have been better represented, and I must protest against the hon. Member's depreciation of himself.

Mr. BERESFORD HOPE: I am afraid it is useless in this matter to contend against the feeling of the Committee; therefore, I will withdraw my Motion.

Motion, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Mr. J. G. TALBOT: The first Amendment I have on the Paper is as to the date at which the extraordinary charge shall cease. The clause says no additional rent-charge by way of extraordinary charge shall be charged after the 1st October, 1886; but I propose to leave out 1886, in order to substitute 1887. The matter seems to me to be one affecting such large interests, that we ought not to impose an undue limitation in point of time. I trust the hon. Member in charge of the Bill will accept this Amendment.

*Sir Julian Goldsmid*

Amendment proposed, in page 1, line 17, leave out the words "eighty-six," and insert the words "eighty-seven,"—(*Mr. J. G. Talbot,*)—instead thereof.

Question proposed, "That the words 'eighty-six' stand part of the Clause."

Mr. T. H. BOLTON: I hope the Committee will not assent to this Amendment. The object of the clause is to prevent the extension of this tax to fresh land, and the sooner this unjust extension is stopped the better. But, apart from that, the effect of altering the date would be to disarrange all the other dates of the Bill. At present, the clauses are symmetrical as they stand, and I hope their symmetry will not be interfered with. I trust the Committee will not assent to this alteration.

Mr. J. G. TALBOT: The hon. Gentleman (Mr. T. H. Bolton) talks about an "unjust extension." I do not know what he means by that; it is begging the whole question. This tax is not more unjust than any other tax. The hon. Gentleman seems to forget that these extraordinary tithes exist, and that their origin is due to an arrangement made at the instance of the tithepayers.

Mr. GREGORY: The hon. Gentleman (Mr. J. G. Talbot) wishes to extend the time at which this Bill shall come into operation to 1887. I think the hon. Gentleman in charge of the Bill may well assent to it, for the point in question has reference to hops, and I do not think it would make much difference if the date were changed, looking at the prospects of the crop. In the interest of the Church, I think it only reasonable that the Amendment should be adopted.

The JUDGE ADVOCATE GENERAL (Mr. Mellor): The effect of the Amendment would be to postpone the action of the clause limiting the extraordinary charge for a year after 1st October, 1886. Well, I fail to see any reason for the proposed postponement. The Select Committee which Mr. Inderwick obtained, and of which he was

Chairman, recommended that the clause should come into operation immediately, and all the clause proposes is that this principle should commence on the 1st October this year. The object of the clause is to put a stop to a very grievous state of things in these two counties, and it surely is not unreasonable to ask that it should come into operation this year.

MR. KIMBER (Wandsworth): The effect of the 1st October being inserted as the time at which an extraordinary rent-charge in respect of fresh land brought under this exceptional cultivation should cease to be made will be this—that the arbitrators who will have to determine the value of the rent-charge will have a new state of circumstances brought before them by the arbitrary action of this House. The House first annihilates the rent-charge, and then gets the Land Commission to estimate the value of that annihilated charge. If the value is to be ascertained by arbitration, it ought to be ascertained upon the existing state of the property. The rent-charge ought to go on under the existing law, and its value under the existing law ascertained; but if you first annihilate the rent-charge, and then by subsequent clauses say the Commissioners must fix what its value is, it is obvious that the conclusion they will come to is that the value of the rent-charge is nothing.

MR. T. H. BOLTON: The hon. Member opposite (Mr. Kimber) cannot have read the clause, for, if he had, he would not have made that speech. This clause applies to "any hop ground, orchard, fruit plantation, or market garden, newly cultivated as such." It affects fresh land, and not the old land under exceptional cultivation.

MR. KIMBER: That is no answer to my observation. The existing law gives a right to tax the cultivators, in cases where land is brought under this exceptional cultivation. The titheowners were entitled to the tax, in prospect, at all events. That prospect you destroy, and then, in subsequent clauses, you inconsistently provide for the valuation of that prospect. You even use the word "prospect." In the 3rd clause, which deals with the manner in which the capital value is to be ascertained, you say the Commissioners shall take into consideration, amongst other things—

> "The prospect of the continuance or discontinuance of the special cultivation in respect of which the said charge is imposed."

I certainly think my argument holds good.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

MR. STANLEY LEIGHTON: The first division in the Select Committee took place on this clause, and it was a very close division—5 to 6, I think, or something like that; the hon. Gentleman opposite will correct me if I am wrong. It was opposed by an hon. Member with whom I do not often have much in common—an hon. Gentleman who represents the Liberation Society—the hon. Member for Bradford (Mr. Illingworth), and by myself, representing the Church of England. The hon. Member for Bradford moved that this clause should be left out, for he said—"What right have you to take away from the people of England the national property which they possess and hand it over"—to whom? Why, "to the Kent landowners." This is a question of handing over £30,000 a-year from the pockets of the present titheowners—poor professional men—to the pockets of the landowners, who, according to the Doomsday Book, have £3,000,000 a-year in Kent alone. That is the long and the short of the proposal. It is not a proposal to make things easy for the occupier; on the contrary, it is a landlord's Bill. It is a proposal to take from these poor professional men property which, as the hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford says, is public property—though I call it the property of the Church of England—and hand it over to the landowners. We divided on this clause; but by a narrow majority of Kent and Herefordshire landowners who filled the Committee—forming 8 out of 16 of a Committee which the right hon. Gentleman says was such an impartial Committee—the proposal to omit the clause was rejected. This Clause 1 repeals the Tithe Commutation Act of 1836, which went on the principle of estimating the value of the tithes, whether on hops or on other things, and striking an average of seven years, and then declaring—"That being the average which this tithe is likely to produce, that shall be the tithe-rent charge which the land shall pay in future." Certain Kent landowners, at the time of the commutation in 1836, induced the House of Commons, greatly against Lord John Russell's wish, to allow the tithe upon hops to be separated from other titheable property and be put in a separate category, if the landowners wished it. Some did wish it, and some did not. There is a large part of Kent where there is no division between ordinary and extraordinary tithes, and no difficulty or ill-feeling between the tithepayer and the titheowner. If we want to get rid of agitation and to settle this matter, the way to do it is to do away with the distinction between hop tithe and other tithe—in fact, to merge the hop tithe rent-charge into the ordinary tithe rent-charge. By this section we simply relieve land—not land in a new district, but any land not at the present moment under hop cultivation—from paying this hop to the rent-charge in future. Hop cultivation, as everyone who knows anything of the subject is aware, is a movable cultivation. It is moved from one area to another—from one part of the farm to another—in periods of 10 or 15 years. The life of a hop garden is about 16 years on the average all over England. A farm will always have a certain area under hop cultivation, but it will not always be the same area. If you pass this clause, and take away the right that now exists of the titheowners to receive tithe rent-charge in respect of new hop gardens substituted for old, you at one induce the hop grower to substitute for his present hop garden a new acreage where there is no tithe rent-charge. What will be the result of that? Why, you will transfer 90 per cent of the hop tithe rent-charge from the pockets of the clergy to the pockets of the landowners. Hops will go on being cultivated on a farm all the same, but by this section you will prevent their being taken into consideration in the valuation. How can the Commissioners form a standard or computation of what the hop tithe to the rent-charge ought in future to be, if they are only to take the life of the existing hop garden? The life of an existing hop garden in some cases will be only one year, and in other cases only four years, and in very few cases more than five years; and if you prevent the Commissioners from taking into consideration the fact that the hop gardens are moved from one part of a farm to another, by saying that no new acreage shall be subject to the tax, you will make it impossible for the Commissioners to take into consideration anything but the life of the existing hop garden, and the duration of that cultivation on the particular piece of land is to be the number of years' purchase at which the capital value is to be assessed. [*Cries of* "Divide!"] It is no use crying "Divide!" You have begun to consider this complex subject at this late hour of night. We told you it was a complex subject, and you should not have entered upon its discussion at this hour, in a dying Parliament. Hon. Members opposite will pardon me if I beg them not to interrupt whilst we are discussing a subject of which most of them know nothing. There is no necessity for hon. Members who take no interest in this subject to remain in the House. The result of the clause will be to put £40,000 a-year in Kent at five years' purchase, and then having capitalized that sum to allow 4 per cent on the capital amount, so that you will reduce the amount the titheowners will receive to between £5,000 and £10,000. The whole of that difference is to be put in the pockets of the landowners of Kent. Where else is it to go to? It will not be lost. It will not go to the occupiers. It will go into the pockets of the landowners; and I ask what right have these rich men to put their hand into the pocket of the Church or into the national pocket? I am perfectly astounded when I find Radicals—Radicals of the Radicals—and Irish Members proposing to take away property from one set of individuals who represent Church property, and not private property, and to put it into the hands of landowners. I insist that the present Radical Government are handing over the property of the Church to the landowers. The landowners will be the gainers. I say that if the titheowner is to be robbed and his property confiscated, for Heaven's sake let the confiscated property go into the public purse, and not into the hands of the landowners. I thought the hon. Member for Bradford spoke very well on that point when the question was before the House on the second reading. He said that, as far as he was concerned, he would enter a caveat against the robbery or confiscation that the Bill proposed, because, although he was no friend of the Church, he did not think that the landlords ought to be the heirs of Church property. These are the general reasons why I think this section should be omitted; but I wish also to add that, for the purposes of the Bill, it is surplusage. Everything can be carried out with perfect ease by subsequent sections without this confiscatory preliminary section.

Amendment moved, in page 1, to leave out Clause 1.—(*Mr. Stanley Leighton.*)

Question proposed, "That Clause 1 stand part of the Bill."

MR. NORTON (Kent, Tunbridge): The hon. Gentleman (Mr. Stanley Leighton) has entirely misappehended the matter. If he had reserved his argument for the 2nd clause, which deals with the fixing of capital value of extraordinary charge, it would have been to the point. This clause is taken from the Bill of the Chairman of the Committee of 1880; but the real principle the hon. Member deals with is in the 2nd clause. I should like to refer also to the remark which has come from the other side—that the Select Committee was composed of Kent landlords. I am sorry to say that I cannot claim to be a Kent landlord myself. I farm my own land; and the only Kent landowner we have here, I think, is the hon. Member for St. Pancras. I think the hon. Member's (Mr. Stanley Leighton's) observations are somewhat misleading. He should be made aware of the exact position of the case; and if it is not taking up too much of the time of the Committee, I should like to say how this extraordinary tithe was originally fixed. When Lord Russell introduced the Commutation Act in 1836, he was led to deal with the tithe on fruit in the same way that he was dealing with other classes of tithe; but it was on the representation of the Kent Members that he agreed to this form of extraordinary charge that we are now dealing with. The course he then took has been found to work unsatisfactorily, and there is a general feeling throughout Kent and Sussex that the time has come when this rent-charge should be removed. I believe the Bill will deal with the matter in a satisfactory manner; and as time presses I hope it will receive consideration to-night.

SIR WILLIAM HART DYKE (Kent, Dartford): This clause embodies part of the Report of the Select Committee of 1881, and as I was a Member of the Committee, and signed that Report, I cannot support the present Motion. The question was most thoroughly gone into by the Committee. I am inclined to take issue with the hon. Gentleman (Mr. Stanley Leighton) when he says that the Committee was a landlord's Committee. I am as much interested in this question as anyone, as I live in the midst of the district in which the agitation prevails. I know the difficulties of the question, and I may say that I support the clause not only in the interest of the tenant farmers but in the interest of the Church itself.

Question put—[*Cries of* "Aye, aye!"]

MR. STANLEY LEIGHTON challenged a division.

MR. SPEAKER: Will the hon. Gentleman name a Teller?

MR. STANLEY LEIGHTON: Yes, Sir; the hon. Member for Cambridge Borough (Mr. Fitzgerald).

The Committee *divided*:—Ayes 112; Noes 5: Majority 107.—(Div. List, No. 134.)

Clause *agreed to.*

Clause 2 (Fixing of capital value of extraordinary charge).

MR. T. H. BOLTON: The Amendment which stands in my name is merely a verbal Amendment suggested by the Land Commissioners. I have no doubt the alteration is desirable, for the Commissioners may not be able to inquire into the capital value of the extraordinary charge in each case before the date in the Bill—namely, 1st April, 1887.

Amendment proposed,

In page 1, line 24, leave out "inquire into, and shall, on or before the first day of April, one thousand eight hundred and eighty-seven," and insert "ascertain in each parish in England and Wales, and."—(*Mr. T. H. Bolton.*)

Question, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Clause," put, and *negatived.*

Question, "That those words be there inserted," put, and *agreed to.*

MR. STANLEY LEIGHTON: I wish to move to leave out the word "capital," and insert the word "annual," in lieu thereof, in line 1 of page 2. The object of the Bill is to find out what the value of the hop tithe is. Why, then, should you estimate the "capital value?" We want to know what the annual value is, and then let those who know the fixed annual value redeem it, as they can, under the Tithe Acts. There are special Acts for redeeming tithe. Now, this Bill only settles what the annual value is by a roundabout process—that is to say, by first settling the capital value. If my Friends around me are determined to have a Land Court to deal with this matter, let them have it; but let them endeavour to place the Land Court in a position to deal not with the capital value, but with the annual value. I warn them that after a time they will find Land Courts dealing not with rent charges, but rents. This principle may be turned against them, so let them, for their own sakes, take heed. The tithe-owners have the oldest interest in the land in Kent; the present landowners in that county are but mere mushroom squatters, compared to them. Let them be careful not to place in the hands of a Land Court the power of capitalizing rent-charges, in order to reduce them. It will be quite easy to adopt the same principle with regard to rents. Capitalize present rents at 10 or 20 years' purchase, and declare the future rent to be 4 per cent on the capitalized amount, and you will ruin the landowners in the same way as this Bill will ruin the tithe rent-charge owners. I move, therefore, that "annual" be there inserted, in place of "capital."

Amendment proposed, in page 2, line 1, to leave out the word "capital," in order to insert the word "annual,"—(*Mr. Stanley Leighton,*)—instead thereof.

Question proposed, "That the word 'capital,' stand part of the Clause."

MR. T. H. BOLTON: I cannot accept the Amendment of the hon. Member, which is altogether inconsistent with the whole scope of the Bill. I do not propose to trouble the House with any further statement upon that matter.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

On the Motion of Mr. T. H. BOLTON, the following Amendments made:—In page 2, line 2, after "farm," insert "on each;" and in line 3, leave out "said," and insert "the."

Clause, as amended, *agreed to.*

*Mr. Stanley Leighton*

Clause 3 (Manner in which capital value is to be ascertained).

MR. STANLEY LEIGHTON: I now desire, as an Amendment, to move to leave out "collection, rates," in page 2, lines 7 and 8. It is proposed, in estimating the net annual value, to deduct from the gross annual value the cost of collection and cost of rates. Why, Sir, the commuted rent-charge will have to pay the cost of collection and the cost of rates. By the Tithe Commutation Act, the tithe rent-charge in lieu of tithe is liable to pay rates. How singularly absurd and unjust it is, first of all, to deduct that from the gross value you are about to capitalize, when the amount you intend to substitute for that amount is liable both to the cost of collection and the cost of rate. If what you are going to substitute for the present tithe rent-charge is to be subject to the cost of collection and the cost of rates, you should not in the first instance deduct from the gross value the cost of collection and the cost of rates. But supposing, by a subsequent clause, you declare the substituted charge shall not be liable to rates, then you take £40,000 a-year in that alone from the rateable value of the county.

Amendment proposed, in page 2, lines 7 and 8, to leave out the words "collection, rates."—(*Mr. Stanley Leighton.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Clause."

MR. T. H. BOLTON: It is very difficult to deal with the hon. Gentleman. All the Amendments he is proposing were proposed and fully considered in the Select Committee. He is now re-opening the whole question. He is, so far as I can see, proposing Amendments for no other purpose than to embarrass the Committee. There is an Amendment to be proposed presently by the hon. Member for the Tunbridge Division of Kent (Mr. Norton), which I shall be prepared to accept, and, as the hon. Member (Mr. Stanley Leighton) will see, that will get rid of the difference between us.

MR. GREGORY said, he also opposed the Amendment.

MR. STANLEY LEIGHTON: You deduct the charge for collecting, as though the commuted rent-charge would come into the pockets of its owners without the difficulty of collection. It is said it is all provided for, because later on in the Bill it is proposed that this rent-charge shall not be liable to rate. This will then become a ratepayers' question, for £40,000 will be taken out of the rateable value of the county. If this rent-charge is to be no longer rateable, as the hon. Member proposes, I should like him to meet the ratepayers' argument as to this £40,000 a-year being taken out of the rates; but he has left wholly unanswered the question of "collection."

Question put, and *negatived.*

MR. GREGORY: I wish to move the omission of words requiring the Commissioners, in estimating the capital value of the charge, to take into consideration—

> "The right of the cultivator to discontinue such special cultivation at any time, and thereby to cause the suspension of the said charge."

The clause, when altered as I propose, will require the Commissioners to take into consideration, among other things, the prospect of the continuance or discontinuance of the special cultivation in respect of which the charge is imposed. The words I propose to strike out are either surplusage or are mischievous to the titheowners, and the matter which the clause deals with is sufficiently provided for by other clauses.

Amendment proposed, in page 2, lines 12, 13, and 14, to leave out the words—

> "The right of the cultivator to discontinue such special cultivation at any time, and thereby to cause the suspension of the said charge."—(*Mr. Gregory.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Clause."

MR. T. H. BOLTON: The hon. Gentleman has dealt with me so fairly, that I should be anxious to meet any suggestion of his if I could possibly do so consistently with the interests of the Bill. But the hon. Gentleman is not quite correct in saying that the special fact which this clause deals with is sufficiently provided for by the other clause to which he has referred, directing the valuers to take into account the prospect of the continuance or discontinuance of this special qualification. That portion of the Bill applies not to the power of the payer to suspend the charge at his will and pleasure, but to the reasonable prospects of the continuance of the crop, having regard to competition and many other local or other circumstances; but in regard to this rent-charge the payer has the arbitrary right to suspend the payment by ceasing for the time being this particular cultivation. When he resumes the cultivation, the charge again arises; and this is a very important element that materially affects the value of the property, and it is right that that element should be taken into account. It is taken into account by prudent persons when they buy this kind of property, and it should be taken into account by the valuers in estimating the value of it. I regret that I cannot accede to the suggestion of the hon. Gentleman; but I may say that the Amendment the hon. Gentleman opposite (Mr. Norton) has on the Paper, with special reference to the clause that the hon. Gentleman the Member for East Grinstead (Mr. Gregory) objects to, will be inserted, so that all the circumstances will be considered by the valuers.

SIR RICHARD WEBSTER (Isle of Wight): I think there is a good deal in the contention of the hon. Gentleman the Member for East Grinstead (Mr. Gregory). If this clause remains as it is, the prospect of the cultivation will be a subject-matter distinct from

> "The right of the cultivator to discontinue such special cultivation at any time, and thereby to cause the suspension of the said charge."

The view of the hon. Member who moves the Amendment is that, in valuing, the prospect of continuance or discontinunace should be taken into consideration, and in that there must be involved the question whether the cultivator is likely to discontinue it. If the valuer should be of opinion that, in the ordinary course, a particular mode of cultivation will be continued for, say, three or four years, it will be scarcely fair that the value should be further cut down, because of the abstract right of the cultivator to discontinue the special cultivation at any time. I think the Committee should assent to the Motion, and omit the words objected to by the hon. Member.

SIR WILLIAM HART DYKE: I do not agree with the hon. Member who moved this Amendment (Mr. Gregory), that these words are surplusage. As to what was said by the hon. Gentleman the Member for North St. Pancras (Mr. Bolton), he stated that if the cultivation were discontinued, the charge would cease, and when resumed the charge would resume. Well, Clause 1 of the Bill destroys that position altogether.

Mr. T. H. BOLTON: No; it does not destroy the right with reference to land actually in the special cultivation. It only destroys the potential charge with reference to land not in that cultivation. The grower can terminate the liability at his will, and that is a most vital and material element. I can instance a case that occurred near Sittingbourne, in which the tithepayer chose, by his own will and pleasure, though it inflicted on him a heavy loss, to grub up valuable hop gardens, and suspend the existence of the charge. Surely, in assessing the value of the land, the valuers should take that especially into account. All the evidence taken by Mr. Inderwick's Committee especially referred to that as a material element in ascertaining the value of extraordinary tithe, and to exclude that would be to induce an exaggerated and unfair value to be put on the property. The object is to put a fair value upon the tithe, having regard to its character and incidence and uncertainty—to fix the capital value, and put that value as a charge on the land, giving fixed interest thereon, as a rent-charge to the tithe receiver in lieu of the uncertain rent-charge that he at present receives. Unless that material element is particularly taken into account, I say that an unfair rate of compensation might be given that would be unfair to the tithepayer and leave the grievance that we are endeavouring to redress more intense than it is at present. I consider this vital to the Bill. If it is surplusage, it cannot do any very great harm. If, as the hon. Member says, this is to be taken into account in another clause, surely it can do no harm to make the fact that it is to be taken into account clear and apparent. When the hon. and learned Gentleman opposite (Sir Richard Webster) appeals to me to know whether these words have a special meaning, I admit that they have, and I say the special meaning ought to be clear in the section. This material incident connected with the value of this property ought to be taken into account.

Sir RICHARD WEBSTER: Whether or not these words—

> "The right of the cultivator to discontinue such special cultivation at any time, and thereby to cause the suspension of the said charge,"

are really included elsewhere, I put it to the Committee that it would be wise to adopt the special standard without calling attention to the abstract right.

Mr. NORTON: It seems to me that the words of the clause requiring the prospect of the continuance or discontinuance of the special cultivation to be taken into account cover the whole ground. I think if the hon. Gentleman the Member for North St. Pancras will be satisfied with them, all the requirements of the case will be met.

Mr. KIMBER: The spirit and scope of the Bill is a very fair one, the endeavour being to arrive at a mode of determining what is the value of the extraordinary rent-charge as between the titheowner and landowner, or other person interested. We erect a tribunal called a Commission. Surely it would be sufficient to direct that Commission to take into consideration all the circumstances that it would be fair to have considered. But what is the *animus* of the machinery of the Bill? It starts with a one-sided consideration altogether. It directs the Commissioners to take into consideration a series of circumstances all on one side, and so excludes the consideration of other circumstances unless they can be brought forward under the general words—"and any other special circumstances applicable to the farm or parcel of land under consideration." The words, the excision of which the hon. Member for the East Grinstead Division of Sussex (Mr. Gregory) has moved, I agree, cover an important circumstance—that is, that the cultivator has the right to discontinue the cultivation that subjects him to the extraordinary rent-charge. No doubt, that is right; but the Commissioner can consider that circumstance without his attention being especially drawn to it. What is the Commissioner to think the meaning of an Act of Parliament drawing his special attention to a circumstance that is already the law of the land in the Act of 1836? He will think he has to give special weight to that circumstance, but is not to give weight to the right the titheowner would have had, had it not been for the confiscatory Clause 1, as against the right to charge extraordinary tithe on any land that might be brought under hop cultivation. This is a forcible illustration of the injustice I pointed out when speaking on Clause 1. If the Commissioners are to have, by solemn Act of Parliament, their special attention drawn to what is, in fact, an argument in favour of one side, they ought at least to have their attention drawn to the argument on the other side. That is only justice. We are not sitting here to look solely after the interests of those—to use the hon. Gentleman's (Mr. T. H. Bolton's) words—"in whose behalf he has brought forward this Bill," but to look after the interests of all those who are entitled to justice at the hands of the Committee in the matter. I ask the Committee whether they think it fair that they should, on the one side, tell the Commissioners to take into consideration the fact that the tenant may cease his cultivation, and not to bear in mind that he has lands which might be taken into cultivation to the benefit of the titheowner? If the one set of circumstances is taken into consideration and not the other, I cannot conceive a greater instance of one-sided justice. We ought to leave the Commissioners free in the matter to consider both sides.

The LORD of the TREASURY (Sir Edward Reed) (Cardiff): I am surprised at the contention on the other side of the House in favour of this Amendment. I happen myself to be a fruit grower in Kent, and I can inform the Committee that the nuisance to which I have been subjected through this extraordinary tithe has been absolutely intolerable. I have actually put land out of cultivation to save myself the endless correspondence, worry, and trouble connected with this tithe. It is now said that, under this clause, the Commissioners shall not have their attention directed to my right to discontinue this special cultivation. The Bill has a right to provide for a distinct recognition of my absolute right over and above all other circumstances that the Commissioners may take into consideration—my absolute right to withdraw my land from cultivation and escape the trouble of this charge.

Mr. KIMBER: The Bill provides for it in the words—

> "The prospect of the continuance or discontinuance of the special cultivation in respect of which the said charge is imposed."

Sir EDWARD REED: If these words are left out of the Bill, a consideration of most vital importance will be lost sight of.

Sir R. ASSHETON CROSS (Lancashire, S.W., Newton): I am sorry to hear what has fallen from the hon. Gentleman. I sincerely trust he has spoken as a Member of the House who happens to own some of these grounds, and not on behalf of the Government. No one can deny that there is, on the part of both sides of the House, an anxious desire to settle this question, and that without recrimination, so that when the Bill is passed everyone shall think that justice has been done. It has been pointed out, on the other side, that these words, "continuance or discontinuance," will cover everything that is possible; and I think that in the interests of peace, and to settle the matter without bitterness, it would be well to leave the words pointed to in the Amendment out of the Bill. You have the words "continuance or discontinuance," and they are all you want.

Mr. STANLEY LEIGHTON: As soon as the land of the hon. Member for Cardiff (Sir Edward Reed) goes out of hop or fruit cultivation, there is no more tithe on it; but if you pass this Bill in its present form you will always have a tithe on it. That is what the Bill does—it confirms the extraordinary tithe on lands which may never again grow hops. As to what is said with regard to the right of the planter to transplant hops, the titheowners are willing to accept the chance of the farmers grubbing up their hop grounds. With regard to the alleged objectionable nature of this tithe, all experience proves that, notwithstanding the complaints made on the score of worry and trouble and hindrance, there has been of late years a considerable increase in the area of land under hop cultivation.

The JUDGE ADVOCATE GENERAL (Mr. Mellor) (Grantham): The clause sets out a number of things which it says are to be taken into consideration. The clause does not deal with the "continuance or discontinuance of the special cultivation," but with the "prospect of the continuance or discontinuance of the special cultivation." What is the meaning of that? Why, that the Commissioner will have to look at the crops, examine the land, and consider, from the competition in the neighbourhood and all the facts before him, the possibility or impossibility of the continuance of this special form of cultivation, and will have to consider whether it is likely to continue for a year, two years, or three years. From the look of the crops and the circumstances of the case, he will be able to say whether it is likely to be discontinued. What are the other words? They refer to a totally different thing—to the right possessed by the cultivator, of his own will, at any moment to discontinue this cultivation. These words, "the prospect of the continuance or discontinuance," do not include that right, because the prospect there set forth is that prospect which the Commissioner can see for himself and form an opinion on from the condition of the land and the circumstances of the case. The right of the cultivator is a thing the cultivator can prove. He can come to the Commissioner and tell him what his right is; and if he can show that the Commissioner ought to take it into account, it is obviously an additional element. I submit that this right of the cultivator to discontinue the cultivation is not included in the words "prospect of the continuance or discontinuance of such cultivation."

Mr. GREGORY: We must consider what would be the position of the parties before an arbitrator. I venture to say that, with these words in the clause, the party claiming the tithe would be placed at great disadvantage. The payer would say to the arbitrator—"You have not only to take into consideration the prospect of the continuance or discontinuance of the cultivation, which involves every consideration of the right of continuance, but you have to take into consideration the right of the cultivator to discontinue if he chooses; you are especially directed in this Act to take that into consideration; that is immediately put before you by statute; that must be the basis of your award; you must find on that." That would be a strong argument. I should be very sorry to have to make a claim against a client of the hon. and learned Attorney General if the hon. and learned Gentleman had such a weapon as that in his hand.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir Charles Russell) (Hackney): If this matter be reconsidered, I think the simpler plan would be to have a definite consideration of value for property at large. I would suggest, as a compromise, that the words should be left in, and that the word "including" should be inserted after the word "imposed," in line 12.

Mr. T. H. BOLTON: I am quite willing to accept that suggestion.

The CHAIRMAN: Will the hon. Gentleman (Mr. Gregory) withdraw his Amendment?

Mr. GREGORY: Yes. It is difficult to see the scope of the Amendment at present; but it seems to be the opinion of the Committee that this should be done.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Amendment proposed, in page 2, line 12, after the word "imposed," to insert the word "including." — (*Mr. Attorney General.*)

Question proposed, "That that word be there inserted."

Mr. GREGORY: I do not object to this Amendment; but, if it stands, it should be followed up by something else.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL: I understand that my hon. Friend accepts the Amendment.

Mr. T. H. BOLTON: I submit to the Amendment.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Amendment proposed,

In page 2, line 14, after the word "charge," to insert the words "the prospect of the substitution of other land on the same farm for such cultivation."—(*Mr. Norton.*)

Question, "That those words be there inserted," put, and *agreed to.*

Mr. KIMBER: I beg to move, as an Amendment, in page 2, line 16, after the word "advised," the insertion of the words "or requested." The object of the Amendment is to provide that if any of the three parties—the landowner, the tithepayer, or the titheowner—desire to be heard, they ought to be heard; and it shall not be left to the Commissioners to decide, behind their backs, upon such advice as they have received, it does not matter from whom.

Amendment proposed, in page 2, line 16, to insert, after the word "advised," the words "or requested."—(*Mr. Kimber.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

MR. T. H. BOLTON: I think there are objections to this proposal. I do not see any necessity for it.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Clause, as amended, *agreed to.*

Clause 4 (Interest on capitalized value of extraordinary charge to be until redemption a first charge on land).

MR. STANLEY LEIGHTON: I will merely move the Amendment, of which I have given Notice, because I think it is a proper way to deal with the matter. The tithe rent-charge on hops ought now to be merged in the ordinary tithe rent-charge, as was done in all those parishes where the landowners did not insist on a distinction being made at the time of the commutation. I beg to move my Amendment.

Amendment proposed,

In page 2, line 30, after the word "charges," to insert the words "the rent-charge in lieu of Extraordinary Tithe Rent-Charge as settled by the said Land Commissioners shall be apportioned by them over the land in every parish suitable to hop cultivation and merged in the Ordinary Tithe Rent-Charge."—(*Mr. Stanley Leighton.*)

SIR JULIAN GOLDSMID: This proposal was discussed over and over again in Committee, and the hon. Member is aware that it was, as with many other matters that he brought before the Committee, absolutely impossible to do what he proposed. One of the most experienced lawyers in the House, the hon. Member for the East Grinstead Division of Sussex (Mr. Gregory), pointed out the difficulties which would arise. You would have to go on a rambling commission over a large area to find out what other land would be fitted for the cultivation of hops, and you would be landed in a very great difficulty. Some farms are situated in several parishes, so the consequence would be that you would confer the tithes belonging to one clergyman in one parish on two or three other clergymen who have nothing whatever to do with them. The hon. Member (Mr. Stanley Leighton) seems to think it his duty to fire off all the speeches in this House which he delivered in the Committee. Happily, however, I can tell the House that this is the last of them.

SIR WILLIAM HART DYKE: I have always objected strongly to what is termed the extraordinary tithe. I believe that if this Bill becomes the law of the land, the term will disappear altogether.

MR. NORTON: We have already passed Clause 2, and it is quite impossible to go back now.

Question put, and *negatived.*

MR. T. H. BOLTON: My next Amendment is a mere verbal alteration. The particular land is quite covered by the other words of the clause, as will be seen by reference to the ordinary language of an Act of Parliament.

Amendment proposed, in page 2, line 36, to leave out the words "parcel of." —(*Mr. T. H. Bolton.*)

Question, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Clause," put, and *negatived.*

MR. GREGORY: I have to propose an addition to the clause in respect to the mode of recovering the rent-charge. I beg to move my Amendment.

Amendment proposed,

In page 3, line 19, after the word "conditions," to insert the words "or by entry upon a perception of the rents and profits of the land subject to such rent-charge."—(*Mr. Gregory.*)

Question, "That those words be there inserted," put, and *agreed to.*

MR. NORTON: I beg to move the insertion of my sub-section as an Amendment.

Amendment proposed,

In page 3, after line 19, to insert—"6. The said rent-charge shall not be subject to any Parliamentary, parochial, county, or other rate-charge or assessment."—(*Mr. Norton.*)

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE HOME DEPARTMENT (Mr. CHILDERS) (Edinburgh, S.): That Amendment will hardly do. It would be better to leave out the word "Parliamentary."

MR. NORTON: The word "Parliamentary" was put in by the Land Commissioners.

Amendment proposed, to the proposed Amendment, to leave out the word "Parliamentary."—(*Mr. Childers.*)

Question, "That the word 'Parliamentary' stand part of the proposed Amendment," put, and *negatived.*

Question, "That the words proposed, as amended, be added to the Clause," put, and *agreed to.*

Clause, as amended, *agreed to.*

Clause 5 (Redemption of charge).

MR. T. H. BOLTON: I propose my next Amendment, which is merely verbal.

Amendment proposed,

In page 3, line 41, to leave out the words "ex parte the persons paying it," in order to insert the words "in the matter of the landowner and the titheowner,"—(*Mr. T. H. Bolton,*)

—instead thereof.

Question, "That the words 'ex parte the persons paying it' stand part of the Clause," put, and *negatived.*

Question, "That the words proposed be there inserted," put, and *agreed to.*

On the Motion of Mr. T. H. BOLTON, the following Amendment made:—In page 3, line 42, leave out "him," and insert "them."

MR. T. H. BOLTON: I will now move my next Amendment, which is made at the suggestion of the Land Commissioners.

Amendment proposed,

In page 4, line 2, leave out from "section" to end of line 4, and insert "the Tithe Commutation Acts."—(*Mr. T. H. Bolton.*)

Question, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Clause," put, and *negatived.*

Question, "That the words proposed be there inserted," put, and *agreed to.*

Clause, as amended, *agreed to.*

Clause 6 (Redemption in case of settled land); and Clause 7 (Charge to be borne by landlord) separately *agreed to.*

Clause 8 (Expenses of Land Commissioners).

MR. T. H. BOLTON: The Amendments which I propose to this clause, at the suggestion of the Land Commissioners, would make the clause read thus—

"The Commissioners, in carrying out the provisions of this Act, may require the overseers of any parish to supply such information as to the extraordinary charge (if any) in such parish as they the said Commissioners may consider necessary."

On the Motion of Mr. T. H. BOLTON, the following Amendments made:—In page 5, line 11, leave out "expenses of the;" and in line 12, leave out from "be paid out of any money applicable to the," and insert—

"Require the overseers of any parish to supply such information as to the extraordinary charge (if any) in such parish as they the said Commissioners may consider necessary."

Clause, as amended, *agreed to.*

Clause 9 (Expenses of valuers).

MR. T. H. BOLTON: I propose that this clause should be amended in two particulars, at the suggestion of the Secretary to the Treasury. The Amendments fall into two portions. The omission of the word "land" is merely a verbal Amendment. The term "Commissioners" is used throughout the Bill in reference to the Land Commissioners. The first Amendment is the omission of the word "land."

Amendment proposed, in page 5, line 14, to leave out the word "land."—(*Mr. T. H. Bolton.*)

Question, "That the word 'land' stand part of the Clause," put, and *negatived.*

MR. T. H. BOLTON: The next Amendments are to provide for the expenses under the Act, so as to relieve the Treasury from any liability, and I move them at the request of my hon. Friend the Secretary to the Treasury.

Amendment proposed,

In page 5, line 14, after "may," insert "employ valuers and other persons to assist them in carrying out this Act, and may, with the approval of the Commissioners of Her Majesty's Treasury, provide for all expenses incurred by the Land Commissioners in carrying out the provisions of this Act, and shall, with the approval of the Commissioners of Her Majesty's Treasury, fix."—(*Mr. T. H. Bolton.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

SIR RICHARD WEBSTER: Has the hon. Member considered whether "shall" is the right word to use? Will not "may" be sufficient?

MR. T. H. BOLTON: The word has been selected by the Secretary to the Treasury, who impressed it on me that

I should try and get the clause so amended.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

On the Motion of Mr. T. H. BOLTON, the following Amendments made:—In page 5, line 18, leave out "between," and insert "by;" and in line 19, after "landowner," insert—

"And shall be recoverable in like manner as the expenses of and relating to an apportionment under 'The Tithe Commutation Acts.'"

Clause, as amended, *agreed to.*

Clause 10 (Filing of certificates of Commissioners); Clause 11 (Definitions); and Clause 12 (Short title) separately *agreed to.*

Preamble *agreed to.*

House *resumed.*

Bill *reported;* as amended, *considered;* read the third time, and *passed.*

## SHOP HOURS REGULATION (*re-committed*) BILL.—[BILL 216.]

(*Sir John Lubbock, Mr. Burt, Mr. E. Macnaghten, Sir Robert Peel, Mr. Rathbone.*)

### COMMITTEE ON RE-COMMITMENT.

Order for Committee read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair."—(*Sir John Lubbock.*)

SIR R. ASSHETON CROSS (Lancashire, S.W., Newton): I only wish, Mr. Speaker, to ask one or two questions of the Secretary of State (Mr. Childers). I do not wish to make a Motion to delay the hon. Gentleman (Sir John Lubbock) who is in charge of this measure. I wish to ask how is this Bill to be worked, because we are imposing certain restrictions upon all shops named in the Bill, and though the Secretary of State has certain powers vested in him, he has no officers by whom the powers will be exercised? I want to know whether it is intended to send out the Factory Inspectors to work the Bill, or what it is that is really meant to be done? There is no reference to the Factory and Workshop Inspectors in the Bill. There are very stringent regulations about shop hours; but there is one particular clause—the 2nd clause, I think—where it provides that if it is proved to the satisfaction of the Secretary of State that in any parts of a shop it is necessary, owing to press of work, to grant relaxations, the Secretary of State may grant such relaxations. It is true that this is taken from the Factory and Workshop Act; but there the right hon. Gentleman had some vestige of a machinery provided by the Act, and I want to know how, under the Bill, is he to be guided in making a relaxation, or in enforcing it, because he is made responsible for the whole thing? Then I am quite sure that my hon. Friend (Sir John Lubbock) will excuse me for saying that I find great fault with the Bill on another ground. The Bill, as drawn, is to be in force in every shop throughout the whole of London and elsewhere; but when the shopkeeper has brought it for a halfpenny or a penny, and has got, as he thinks, the whole of it in his hands, he is referred to a very large measure which costs much more money, and has to pick out a series of clauses from the Act of 1868 to find out whether he comes under them or not. I do think it is a very great pity that those sections of the larger Act which are involved have not been put into the Schedule of this Bill, so that anyone who bought the Bill might see at once how he stood. I do not think the Bill can go through its final stages now; and therefore I hope my hon. Friend will take this into his consideration before to-morrow, and will, on Report, specify in the Schedule those sections of the Act of 1868 which are referred to. It would be much better if that were done. It would not take five minutes to draft the Schedule, and I hope the hon. Member will not object to give some assurance that he will consider that question, at all events, before the next stage to-morrow. I desire to ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department how he means to work this Bill?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE HOME DEPARTMENT (Mr. CHILDERS) (Edinburgh, S.): Mr. Speaker, Sir, when the Bill was read a second time I pointed out this Proviso in the clause, and said that, although we thought very highly of the object aimed at by the Bill, I certainly would not assent to that Proviso, because I saw that it was absolutely unworkable, and was one which would require the appointment of an army of Inspectors, and a very efficient machinery. That, I think, will be apparent to the House, if the whole of the shops are subject to inspection. What I will propose, therefore, is this. The Proviso in the 3rd clause is absolutely unworkable, and I should propose to omit it altogether, and to insert instead certain of the clauses in the Factory and Workshop Act. I think the suggestion to put the clauses in the Schedule might be done by to-morrow, and would do no harm. Then, Sir, I propose to adopt one or two of the Amendments proposed by the hon. Member for Wigan (Mr. F. S. Powell), who defines, I think, more accurately than is here done, what the employment should be. In the Bill, the wording of the definition of the persons affected by the Act is—"Any person employed in or about or in connection with a shop." I am afraid that the words "in connection with a shop" are too wide, and might include a number whom we never intended should be included. I therefore propose to alter these words. The only other change I should propose that my hon. Friend should make is in the clause of all others to which I alluded on the second reading, the clause which would practically exclude public-houses from the operation of the Bill, and which would enable young people under 18 to be employed for an indefinite time in such establishments. In opposing that clause, I do so because I think we are justified in protecting all classes of young people in this matter. Therefore, in Clause 8, I shall propose to insert words which shall not exclude, as now, places where drink is sold on the premises. These are the only Amendments I would propose, and these, I think, will bring the Bill into workable shape. I am afraid I cannot assent to the additional clauses put on the Paper by my hon. Friend the Member for the University of London (Sir John Lubbock). They would affect the entire Bill, and it would be impossible to pass a law compelling shopkeepers to shut their shops against their will at a particular hour; therefore I could not assent to that proposal of my hon. Friend. As to the question of the right hon. Gentleman opposite (Sir R. Assheton Cross), I think that persons coming within the operation of the Act must be left to the protection usually afforded to everyone against evil treatment. I certainly cannot for a moment consent to make the Home Office responsible for the inspection, or for the carrying out of every provision in this Bill. With these explanations I hope the House will agree to the Motion to go into Committee.

Sir JOHN LUBBOCK (London University): I will consider the point raised by the right hon. Gentleman opposite (Sir R. Assheton Cross), and, in the meantime, I shall be very glad if the House will allow the Bill to pass through Committee to-night.

Mr. CAVENDISH BENTINCK (Whitehaven): I thought, when my right hon. Friend (Sir R. Assheton Cross) rose, that he was going to object to our proceeding with this Bill altogether at this stage, and as he has not done so, and as my right hon. Friend who was to have done so (Sir James Fergusson) is not present, I intend to do so now. It seems to me that to legislate on this subject, at this period of the Session when the House is *in extremis*, is a positive absurdity. I do not intend to discuss the merits of the Bill at all. I believe the merits of the Bill to be extremely small; and so far as I am acquainted with the views of tradesmen in that part of England which I have the honour to represent, they are decidedly against this Bill. It does not apply in any way to those tradesmen who are in the habit of serving the upper classes; but it does apply to those tradesmen who serve a humbler class, and places these tyrannical, these absurd, restrictions upon them. It is almost incredible that anyone calling himself a Liberal, or a Member of the Liberal Party, should support these proposals in any shape whatever. Now, I said I was not going to take up the time of the House discussing the merits of the Bill. [An hon. Member: Hear, hear!] Very well, Sir, "Hear, hear!" But it is high time you did consider its merits, because it is such a Bill as should never have been brought before the House at all. It has been referred to a Select Committee, and I do not know that hon. Members opposite have ever read one word of the evidence taken by that Committee. The principal objection to the Bill has been stated by my right hon. Friend (Sir R. Assheton Cross) and by the Home Secretary. What did they say? The Home Secretary admitted that the subject was encompassed with difficulties. My right hon. Friend (Sir R. Assheton Cross) made certain suggestions to the Home Secretary, and the Home Secretary answered these in a speech of such a confused nature, that I am quite sure no one could understand it. First of all, there was the question of Inspectors, and whether Inspectors were to be employed or not. The Home Secretary, who is a principal Leader of the Party of the "shirk and surrender" policy—[*Cries of* "Oh!"] Well, I did not give the Party that name. It was given to that Party by a distinguished Member of the Liberal Party—a late Member of this House—the Hon. Mr. Brett. It was he who gave the name of "shirk and surrender" to the policy pursued by the present Government. Well, on the suggestion being made, that the Bill should be sent to a Select Committee, the right hon. Gentleman immediately granted the Committee. The Bill was sent to the Committee, and witnesses were examined, and a Report was presented to the House which is now on the Table. And what does the right hon. Gentleman now say? He made a number of suggestions which he said he was about to carry out in Amendments to the Bill. But as we see these Amendments before us, how are we ever, now, at this late period, when the second reading of the Appropriation Bill has been before the House, and when I see hardly more hon. Members present than constitute a quorum, how are we ever now to decide on a question of this important nature, and particularly in the absence of my right hon. Friend (Sir James Fergusson), whose claims and demands on his time he could not resist? Sir, I say it is an unfair advantage which the hon. Baronet (Sir John Lubbock) has taken, in bringing on this Bill at this time, and at this hour, when it is already five minutes to 12. I say it is an abuse of the Forms of this House that we should be asked to consider a question of this importance now. I beg to move the Amendment which stands in the name of my right hon. Friend the Member for North-East Manchester — "That this House will, upon this day three months, resolve itself into the said Committee."

MR. LEWIS (Londonderry) seconded the Motion.

Amendment proposed, to leave out from the word "That," to the end of the Question, in order to add the words "this House will, upon this day three months, resolve itself into the said Committee,"—(*Mr. Cavendish Bentinck,*)—instead thereof.

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question."

SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH (Bristol, W.): I had hoped we might have heard from the hon. Gentleman the Member for the University of London (Sir John Lubbock) some observations which would show that, in his belief at any rate, the Bill would have the benevolent effect which he anticipated when he introduced it to the House. Now, Sir, I do not go as far as my right hon. and learned Friend below the Gangway (Mr. Cavendish Bentinck) in his denunciation of this Bill——

MR. CAVENDISH BENTINCK: I do not denounce the Bill; I only deounce the inopportune time of bringing it no.

SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH: I beg pardon; I misunderstood my right hon. and learned Friend. But the hon. Member for the University of London introduced the Bill with an object with which all of us would agree—namely, that of rendering the work of assistants in shops, and especially of young persons, more in accordance with the dictates of humanity. Now, this Bill was read a second time, because the House was certainly in agreement with that principle, and desired as far as was possible to see it carried into effect. It has since been referred to a Select Committee, which Select Committee has taken a good deal of evidence on the subject; and so far as I can gather from the Report of that Select Committee, and from the speech of the Home Secretary, this Bill is now reduced merely to a kind of "counsel of perfection," which is to be put in force if the public opinion of those interested agrees that it shall be put in force. The right hon. Gentleman the Home Secretary has very properly said that it is not possible, seeing that this Bill applies practically to all shops all over the country, to appoint an army of Inspectors to see that its provisions are carried out. As that is not contemplated, the provisions of the Bill are practically left to be carried out by the goodwill of two sets of persons—because there will be no common informers—the shopkeepers and those employed by them. If the shopkeeper be cruel enough to transgress the provisions of the Bill, certainly he will not inform against himself; and if the shop assistant desired to do so, he dare not inform. And why? Because if he did he would be dismissed. Therefore, Sir, the benevolent object, as I fully admit it to be, of the hon. Member for the University of London will, I fear, be defeated, for the simple reason that there will be no one to see to the provisions of the Bill being carried out. Now, I do not wish to stop the progress of this Bill, and I should not advise my right hon. and learned Friend (Mr. Cavendish Bentinck) to divide against it; but I must say that I think that considerable responsibility rests with the Government of the day in this matter. The Bill in its principle, as I have said, is a good Bill; but can the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State for the Home Department say that he has any real belief that its provisions will be carried out? If he has not, is it not the business of the Government, or of the hon. Baronet (Sir John Lubbock) in charge of the Bill, to propose some means by which to ensure that these provisions will be carried out? If no such provisions are in the Bill, and if such provisions cannot be devised, is it not getting Parliament to legislate for a matter with which it really cannot deal, and leading the people to believe in the utility of a law with a most beneficent object, but which will not be carried into effect? That does not seem to me a satisfactory position in which to leave the question, and I should hope that the Home Secretary may be able to state to the House that it is not to be left as he seemed to leave it in his speech, and that there is some better reason to believe that the Bill will be carried into effect than the hope that the shopkeepers will inform against themselves, or that the assistants, at the peril of discharge, will inform.

Sir JOHN LUBBOCK: Mr. Speaker—Sir, I do not propose inspection, or the appointment of an army of Government Inspectors. But I think we may look to the Early Closing Associations, and that we may partly rely upon the great competition among shopkeepers themselves, and that they may be expected to keep an eye upon one another. The great majority of shopkeepers regret very much that a small minority keep open, and thus compel them to keep open also, very much longer than they would themselves desire; and the opinion expressed by witness after witness before the Select Committee was that the shopkeepers who closed early would themselves see that the others conformed to the law. At present, there are many cases in which young persons are apprenticed to shopkeepers, who then keep them working for a great number of hours. Now, as the law stands, the parent has no power of interfering in these cases; but this Bill would give him that power, and there was a general opinion that the very existence of an Act of this kind would, like the Bank Holiday and some other Acts, have a considerable effect on public opinion. The result of the whole evidence was summed up by the Committee to be that, while admitting there would be a certain amount of difficulty, still the Bill would have a beneficial effect. With the single exception of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for North-East Manchester (Sir James Fergusson), who admitted the evil, but was afraid that the Bill would not have the whole effect which the Committee desired, the whole of the rest of the Committee agreed in their Report, in which they stated that the Bill would have a considerable effect. I trust, Sir, that under these circumstances the right hon. and learned Gentleman opposite (Mr. Cavendish Bentinck) will withdraw his opposition.

Mr. LEWIS (Londonderry): Sir, I oppose proceeding with this Bill on two or three grounds; and, first, I do so on the ground stated by my right hon. and learned Friend below me (Mr. Cavendish Bentinck). In all my experience of the practice of this House it is entirely without precedent that the course now pursued should have been taken by the Government on this occasion. In the first instance, they have laid down a self-denying ordinance absolutely necessary in the present circumstances of the House—namely, that they would not only not press any contentious legislation of their own, but would discourage contentious legislation on the part of non-official Members. It is an *à fortiori* case. If it be wrong for the Government to force contentious Business on the House, Business which is only partly completed, it is still less decent for any private Member to do so. It is not right, under our present difficult circumstances, that those who remain here to assist in carrying out Parliamentary duties during the few remaining days or hours of the Session, should be asked to consider contentious measures brought forward by non-official Members. We find that although the House has been crowded until a few days ago, we have now a very sparse attendance. It is already past 12 o'clock, and yet, in these circumstances, at the close of this Parliament, we are called upon to push this very curious Bill through the House. It seems to me that the ground my right hon. and learned Friend took up was very much amplified and fortified by what was said from the Front Bench opposite, for the Home Secretary gave us the most abounding reasons why this Bill, above all other Bills, ought not to be taken into consideration. I shall have to draw the attention of the House to the ridiculous position in which the Bill would be placed if the suggestions of the Home Secretary were carried out. What did it come to? It came to this—that this is one of those well-meant, humanitarian pieces of legislation, very good if successful, but needlessly irritating if unsuccessful. Well, it seems to me that this Bill is one which should be in the charge and responsible care of the Government. We should hesitate before we consent to any extension of what is becoming a perfect nuisance—namely, interference with individual action, interference in private trade and private affairs—in fact, that grandmotherly legislation which for years has been increasing the expenses of the country and the cost of the Civil Service, and which has added enormously to the number of Inspectors and officials which the Government have from time to time had to appoint. It is another species of that legislation which begins by interfering with this and that action of a man's life, and which goes on to look into his whole proceedings whether as a private resident or as a trader. Now, as an illustration, Sir, of the sort of legislation which seems to me to be evinced by the character of this Bill, allow me to call attention to the 9th clause. It is not the only clause; but it appears to me to be very important to be referred to, because it is one that shows the extraordinary character of the legislation. The 9th clause says that—"Nothing in this Act shall apply to shops where the only persons employed are at home." According to this, it would seem as if those who framed this Bill thought that a cruel father should be allowed to work his children to death. That is a proposition which is embodied in this clause. If you have a cruel father or mother who are disposed to overwork their wretched children, this Bill is a protection to them. I do not suppose that is what is meant by those who promote this Bill; but it only shows the difficulties into which people will get when they set to work and propose to carry out legislative impossibilities. [Sir JOHN LUBBOCK: Will the hon. Member explain how it affects them?] My observation was this, that under this clause a cruel father or mother could oppress their children in a way they could not oppress strangers. It seems to me that this Act would not apply to parents in the case I have mentioned. But what is the gist of the clause? It is not to apply to shops where the only persons employed are at home—that is to say, members of the same family. But is not a servant in the same relation to her employer if she lives in the house, as a member of the family? Or is that case to be an exception? Is that the style of legislation we can approve? Surely it is a very loose way of drawing clauses that will affect various relations of life. It seems to me that this is really *reductio ad absurdum* legislation, and this measure abundantly proves that legislation of this kind ought not to be in the hands of a private Member, but should be in the hands of the Government who should have the responsibility of seeing that there are proper clauses. But let me ask the attention of the House to what the position would be supposing the suggestion of the Home Secretary were carried out. It would be that the Bill would be perfectly emasculated and worth nothing. The proposition of the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State is this—that the whole of the Proviso in Clause 3 is to come out. Well, then, why was it ever put in? That is the first question. It was put in, because the proposers and supporters of this Bill, and the Committee that considered the Bill, knew that without some such Proviso, or some equivalent machinery to it, the Bill would be utterly worthless and would not be executed at all. Why should we have a clause of two and a-half lines, and a Proviso of 15, except that the Proviso is the more important part of the clause. The effect of the Proviso is that the Secretary of State shall have the responsibility put upon him of giving a dispensing ordinance to do away with the whole operations of this Act in a certain class of cases where it is necessary by reason of press of work arising at certain recurring seasons of the year. According to that definition, the press of work would require to be *de anno in annum*, so that if it were a press of work for one year only, the dispensation would not be granted. It must be a succession of years. But, for my part, I do not understand why there should be that distinction. If there is a *bonâ fide* exception in order to take a particular class of cases out of the Act, surely it would be good to make the exception when it arises in only one year as well as in three "recurring seasons of the year"—that is to say, a kind of annual epidemic of seasons. That was the first class of cases in which the Home Secretary was at liberty to interfere. Then we have the second, which is more quaint still, and if anybody can give a reasonable construction of it so as to justify the Home Secretary from a legal point of view, I shall be surprised. It is—"or by reason of the liability of the business to a sudden press of orders arising from unforeseen events." I suppose that means that if a Liberal or Conservative demonstration were got up at which a large display of fireworks were wanted which put a great stress on the firework makers, these firework makers would be allowed extra labour for a week or 14 days. That is the sort of legislation we are asked to adopt within a few days or hours before being sent about our business. Why was this Proviso put in? Why, it was because it was thought that, without it, the Bill would be so aggressive that it would be absolutely unworkable. Then, again, the promoters have to find a tribunal for giving this dispensing power. Is the Home Secretary to go and see whether a young person's health is being endangered, or to go personally and ascertain about the press of orders which the shopkeeper is not able to overtake? Is he to undertake that in person, and ascertain whether the "recurring season of the year" has arrived again, or when it is likely to happen again, so as to call for his intervention? No, of course not; but if the Home Secretary were ever asked to exercise this dispensing power, it would mean this—that Colonel This, or Captain That, or Mr. Barrister So-and-so, of some years' standing and without any practice, would have to be sent to inquire and report. Experience has shown that the Home Secretary will have no time to look about for cases under the Act, for on a late occasion when rioting was taking place in London he knew nothing about it. He will be unable to give time to inquire into the circumstances, to ascertain when he can give dispensations to allow children to be employed for a few hours more in a week, unless he has a staff of Inspectors; and how many is he to have for the business? He must have machinery with which to exercise interference with the operations of the Act. An hon. Friend reminds me that the common informer will be left to do his part. Are a race of common informers to make the shops of small tradesmen their field of operations for picking up a shilling or two out of cases arising under the Act? If there is to be this miserable interference with the details of business there should be some responsibility about it, not that worrying and tormenting of tradesmen which will arise from the action of the common informer. There is abundant reason why the Bill should not be allowed to be re-committed. I frequently hear of the unwillingness of the other House of the Legislature to do its work. All I can say is, that to send them a Bill such as this at the very end of the Session and then expect them do any good with it, is not fair play to the other House. No one has given a greater blow to the Bill than has the Home Secretary, for his suggestion has shown that the Bill is not justified, and the alteration he proposes will make the Bill unworkable in the best sense of the term. I shall support the Motion against the Bill, if a division is taken. The House is entitled to some further explanation as to what the Government mean to do; whether they think the Bill is workable with the Proviso in Clause 3 taken out, and whether Clause 9 is in such a shape as will justify the House in passing the Bill.

SIR R. ASSHETON CROSS: I will only intervene for a moment between the Secretary of State for the Home Department and the House; but I must ask another question, in consequence of the reply which has been made by the right hon. Gentleman in reference to the striking out of provisions which would entirely alter the character of the Bill. I have had practical experience of the working of the Factory and Workshop Act, and I know that to insert the provisions of that Act, without the means of working them, would render the Bill absolutely unworkable; and I am quite sure it will have to be repealed in 12 months. Without a staff, I do not see how the Secretary of State could work the provisions; but then, if the provisions are struck out, I do not see how the Bill can stand. I, therefore, strongly press upon the Government that they should take the matter into their own hands. The Bill will deal practically with the mode of living of a vast number of people, and with occupations that should not be interfered with until the Government have inquired into the matter, which it is clear from the answer of the Home Secretary has not been done. The Government should be responsible for legislation of this kind, and the proper course will be for them to say they will take the matter up, and bring it before the House upon their responsibility. The answer of the Home Secretary shows how difficult the subject is. The right hon. Gentleman said he was going to strike out one of the most vital points of the Bill, without which the Bill cannot possibly work; and I, therefore, think the Government ought to undertake the responsibility, in another Session, of giving the matter their consideration, in order to submit a Bill which they have convinced themselves would work. I wish to call attention for a moment to a clause which I know the Home Secretary objects to; but it only shows how far the hon. Baronet (Sir John Lubbock) is prepared to go. That hon. Member was going to propose a clause, to the effect that the Local Authorities may close all shops, whether carried on by members of a family or not, at a certain hour—8, or 10, or 12, or any other hour not named in the Bill.

SIR JOHN LUBBOCK: That will only be in case two-thirds wish it.

SIR R. ASSHETON CROSS: I do not care whether it is two-thirds or nine-tenths; it is an unwarrantable interference with the freedom of shopkeepers. If I were to open a shop I should expect to be allowed to work it night and day, as I might think it would afford the best chance of getting a livelihood, in my own way; and it is absolute tyranny to prevent it, or restrict the time of carrying on business. I only mention this as an illustration, to show how desirable it is that a responsible Government should undertake legislation of this kind, and I hope to hear a statement that the Government are prepared to take the matter into their own hands, and to bring forward a workable measure in another Session.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE HOME DEPARTMENT (Mr. CHILDERS) (Edinburgh, S.): I have no authority to make any statement of that kind. It is scarcely necessary to make any reply to the right hon. and learned Gentleman opposite (Mr. Cavendish Bentinck), who has indulged himself in giving names to his political opponents——

MR. CAVENDISH BENTINCK: I rise to Order. I called no names. I merely repeated a criticism on the Government passed by a Member of their Party.

MR. CHILDERS: That is merely an evasion; the right hon. and learned Gentleman did call names, and I regret that he should have gone out of his way to do so. But I do not desire to make any reference to that. As to the remarks of the hon. Member for Londonderry (Mr. Lewis), they are in the nature of a performance which may be called "flogging a dead horse." I have said I cannot accept the clause inserted by the Committee; and, therefore, the lash of his criticism falls upon those who adopted the wording from another Act. I do not blame them; I think they were good; but I am not responsible for the words. The hon. Gentleman tried to show that this was a Party question, and that the Bill was due to the action of Members of the Liberal Party; but, on looking on the back of the Bill, I observe that it is supported by the names of two Conservative Members. The hon. Member repudiated the Bill as a monstrous piece of Liberal legislation; but it is nothing of the kind; it is a question in which Members on both sides take an interest, and, as such, I accept the Bill, not as a Party proposal. I have been asked whether, with the omissions proposed, the Bill will be a workable measure, and, in my humble judgment, it will. Of course, should an army of Inspectors be appointed, the working machinery will be more complete; but Inspectors will have to be appointed, not by the dozen, not by the hundred, but by the thousand, if they are to visit every shop in the country. The real fact is, the Bill is urged and strongly supported by the trading community. Small shopkeepers are themselves strongly in favour of the Bill, and they have not asked for inspection; without such provision, they say, it will be of great advantage to a large number of young persons. The mere passing of the Bill will do much to effect the desired object—the limitation of the long hours of employment; and the little shopkeepers in each town will see that those who offend against the Act shall, in due time, be brought to justice. Those are the grounds upon which the Committee reported that the passing of the Bill, without an army of Inspectors, would do a great deal of good; and, on that ground, I thought it my duty to support the Bill. But the right hon. Gentleman opposite (Sir R. Assheton Cross) also indulged in the exercise of "flogging a dead horse," in his criticism of the Amendment in the name of the hon. Baronet (Sir John Lubbock), an Amendment to restrain people where there was no question of the employment of young persons under 18—to restrain adults from keeping their shops open certain hours. But that proposal is not in the Bill, and I have stated that I should object to it; and that is the answer to the right hon. Gentleman's criticisms. I hope now the House will go into Committee upon the clauses, when I will give reasons for the Amendments I propose to introduce.

Sir R. ASSHETON CROSS: The right hon. Gentleman has not answered one question with regard to the provision struck out which allowed an extension of time for certain purposes. Will the Bill work under such circumstances? It seems to me, unless there is some power of dispensation, the Bill is too stringent.

Mr. CHILDERS: I would rather leave the Bill as it is, not allowing more than 74 hours, rather than leave an uncertain margin in some cases.

Mr. JOHN WILSON (Edinburgh, Central): The debate thus far has shown clearly to the House that the time is not ripe for passing a measure like this. No doubt, a large amount of information has been collected by the Committee, and I believe there is room for legislation in this direction; but the Bill does not adequately deal with the matter. The Home Secretary now proposes to strike out Clause 3, and I must, therefore, oppose the Bill. Without that provision, the Bill would be most tyrannical, and practically unworkable. If the Bill applied to retail shops exclusively, that would not be so much the case; but I observe, from Clause 8, that it includes wholesale shops and warehouses. In wholesale trades, there are certain seasons when dealers find themselves full of an exceptionally heavy amount of business every year. In the seed trade, for instance, there are two months in which the traders find themselves flooded with orders; and if the House passes the Bill, checking the outflow of seed to meet requirements, farmers and others will be deprived of their supply at the very time they require it. Again, take the fruit trade, a very large trade in London. In November and December there is a very large demand for dried fruits—so great that, by force of business, wholesale dealers are compelled to keep their warehouses open to an unusually late hour for their *employés* to get ready the supplies. And the same thing happens in other trades. Now, if there is no relaxation, no latitude, no elbow-room for the wholesale trades, the business of the country will be stifled and almost destroyed. Clause 3 requires very careful consideration; and the Proviso therein should not hastily be struck out. Suppose it was not struck out, and an application to the Secretary of State was provided. The Secretary of State resides in London, but the Bill applies to the Three Kingdoms generally. Suppose an emergency arises, and a trader in Dublin, Belfast, or Glasgow, receives a large cargo of fruit, he will have to wait while he makes application to the Secretary of State for a relaxation of hours, before he can get his cargo handled and placed. He will, at a critical juncture, have to wait, perhaps, four or five days, with a considerable amount of annoyance and expense. Unless an authority is appointed in Ireland and Scotland to receive applications for relaxation of hours, the Bill will be practically unworkable, and an obstruction to the business of the country. Clause 4 is another illustration of the unworkable character of the measure. The clause requires that the hours within which young persons are to be employed shall be exhibited in the shop. What does it mean? The whole pressure of orders may come on at noon, and young persons may, perhaps, not be able to leave the warehouse until after the usual hour. The time cannot, in some instances, be put up in the morning; it will depend upon the time when the work is finished. This clause requires alteration, and, in fact, the whole Bill requires reconstruction; and I would respectfully suggest that it should be withdrawn, and, perhaps, in the next Session of Parliament, that it be re-introduced in such a form that, with the general assent of the House, it might be passed, without doing injury to the interests of the trade of the country.

MR. W. H. SMITH (Strand, Westminster): The observations which have fallen from the hon. Member for Central Edinburgh are worthy of serious consideration. The withdrawal of the Proviso giving power to the Home Secretary does very materially affect the whole character of the Bill. It certainly will be impossible to carry out the Bill without some relaxing power. If it is to be set at naught altogether, if provision is made that no young person shall work longer than 74 hours, with the knowledge the whole time, that this provision will be set at naught, by reason that necessity will, in some cases, compel them to work longer, then it appears to me that licence will be given for a breach of the Act which will result in the Act being of no effect practically. There is another provision that seems to me to require very serious consideration. It is provided, by Section 4, that the hours within which young persons are to be employed in the shop or warehouse are to be conspicuously exhibited therein. I venture to think that anyone accustomed to the ways of business in London and in large towns will agree that such a rule is impracticable. There are in very many cases no hours within which young persons are regularly employed; they are employed according to the necessities of the trade or business carried on in the shop. In many cases, shops or warehouses will close at 6 o'clock in the evening; but it may be necessary to continue business to 7, 8, or 9 o'clock, and it will be necessary that a portion of those employed should remain to that hour, though the majority may leave earlier. Those who conduct such business do so with great regard to those young persons in their employ, and do continue to find a way to release them at the earlier hour; but the rules are made to accommodate business arrangements, and, as far as possible, for the advantage of those employed; but there is often no fixed hour for closing in a great many of the large and most important businesses in the Metropolis. Even in banks it is no uncommon thing for clerks to be detained to 7, 8, 9, or 10 o'clock at night, under circumstances of great pressure. I am afraid that the Bill is a well-meant attempt — an admirable attempt — to improve the conditions existing in offices and businesses in the Metropolis, but without fully realizing all the difficulties that have to be met in effecting the object. Certainly, if the Government refuse their assistance, it cannot be carried out generally or successfully. If, as the right hon. Gentleman suggests, it is to be left to rival shopkeepers to inform against each other, a condition of things will arise anything but satisfactory. Considering the period of the Session, and the fact that full consideration cannot be given to the Bill in "another place," it will be far better to withdraw the Bill now, and re-introduce it next Session, with the hope that by the support and assistance of the Government it will be carried through.

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE HOME DEPARTMENT (Mr. BROADHURST) (Birmingham, Bordesley): As a Member of the Committee upon this Bill, I can bear testimony to the fact that the Committee had submitted to them no evidence that was really against the Bill, except in one case. They had witnesses from all parts of the country—from London, and from Provincial towns—some were hostile to the measure, as originally proposed; but they did ultimately agree to the proposals in the Bill—

Sir R. ASSHETON CROSS: With the Proviso?

Mr. BROADHURST: Yes.

Sir R. ASSHETON CROSS: But it is struck out.

Mr. BROADHURST: I will come to that presently. I wish to call attention to the remarkable views expressed from the opposite Benches. From those it may be imagined that this House is, for the first time, legislating upon the hours of labour. But what the House is asked to do has been done by Parliament over and over again. As to the argument that the Bill should not be proceeded with in the last days of an expiring Parliament, I will say that I cannot imagine more humane, more proper work for Parliament to engage in, than that of giving relief to overworked young persons of both sexes.

Sir R. ASSHETON CROSS: Will the Bill do that?

Mr. BROADHURST: I believe it will. In the Factory and Workshop Act, the House declared that young persons and females shall not work more than 54 hours per week; but many shop assistants are employed under conditions of labour far more injurious to health than those in factories and workshops whom the Legislature has protected. Most distinctly that is borne out by evidence before the Committee. I sincerely hope the hon. Baronet (Sir John Lubbock) will not withdraw his Bill at this stage; but that, if necessary, he will take a division, and test the opinion of the House. With regard to the withdrawal of the Proviso, what does it amount to? Simply to this—not that adults should be prevented from disposing of extra business connected with the distribution of fruit and vegetables, and to meet all the requirements of seed time and harvest, as to which the hon. Member for Central Edinburgh (Mr. John Wilson) was so alarmed—it simply amounts to saying that young children of either sex—

Mr. LEWIS: Eighteen years of age.

Mr. BROADHURST: Young persons under that age shall not be employed more than 74 hours in the week. Is there any Member of the House prepared to stand up and, on his responsibility, say that it is right, or just, or necessary, to the trade and commerce of the country, that mere children should be engaged in labour for an unlimited number of hours? Yet complaints are made of the withdrawal of the power of extension that will only apply to young persons under 18, which is tantamount to saying that it is right and necessary for young persons to work more than 74 hours in the week, while it has been agreed that, in factories and workshops, which are usually well-ventilated, and in a much more healthy state for work than are most retail shops and warehouses, work shall only occupy 54 hours. Where is the distinction that 70 or 80 hours shall be allowed in retail shops, and only 54 in factories and workshops? There is no logic in the position taken up by hon. Members opposite. I cannot imagine for a moment how any hon. Member who has agreed to the Factory and Workshop Act can now oppose a Bill, innocent in itself, that will cost the country nothing, and will enable people to protect themselves, giving power to shopkeepers they themselves asked for. I cannot imagine for a moment why they should hesitate to give this little power to these hard-worked people, a class of people who work longer hours for smaller wages and under greater difficulties than the members of any other working community in the Kingdom.

Mr. KIMBER (Wandsworth): The hon. Member has set up an imaginary argument for us on this side of the House for the purpose of knocking it down again. He says the proposition maintained here is that it is right and proper that young persons should be employed for a number of hours in the week exceeding 74. No such proposition has ever been put forward or contended for here. What we contend is that employers of labour and persons who wish to be employed should be able to do as they please, and make free contracts, and that in the severe industrial competition which is taking place between this and foreign countries, all these artificial restrictions on labour that we adopt are detrimental to us and advantageous to our rivals. We shall find ourselves distanced in the race, the real test of which will be who can get out the largest amount of work in the shortest time. That being the test, I maintain that to put restrictions in the way of the making of free contracts between employer and employed will be an impediment to work and to the well-being of the workpeople. The hon. Gentleman evoked a sentiment that all, I think, will concur in—a sentiment in favour of the protection of young people from over-work. On this matter I took a great deal of trouble to ascertain the opinion of my constituents—and I represent a constituency containing within its borders a population equal to those of five or six suburban towns put together. The hon. Baronet says the small shopkeepers are in favour of the Bill. I speak with great diffidence upon this matter, knowing the accuracy the hon. Baronet invariably brings to bear upon all questions that he touches, and it is with diffidence, also, that I criticize the Committee; but what I say, as the result of my inquiries, is that the small shopkeepers do not want any such Bill as this. The general opinion amongst these people is that it would be well to have all the shops closed at a certain hour; and many of them say—"We should be glad to close, but we cannot close unless all do the same." That is a different question; and what I ask is, if the shopkeepers are really in favour of limiting the hours of opening, do they want an Act of Parliament to enable them to do it? Why cannot they do it themselves without? A deputation waited upon me from a Provincial town, in which I happen to have property interests, not long ago—a deputation consisting of persons taking a leading part in the trade of the town. They represented to me that this Bill would be inimical to the interests of the shopkeepers. They showed that large numbers of these people who work in shops are family servants and reside on the premises, and would not come under Clause 9, which says—

> "Nothing in this Act shall apply to shops where the only persons employed are at home, that is to say, are members of the same family dwelling there, or to members of the employers' family dwelling in a house to which the shop is attached."

These person rise at 7, or half-past, and their business is to come down in the early morning and get the place into something like form by dusting, and so on. They then retire and put on their shop-dress; but there are no definite regulations by which it can be ascertained whether they make more or less than 74 hours work a-week. These young women remain on the premises all day and all night, except during certain hours for recreation. I ask the hon. Baronet how he has devised in this Bill any mode of ascertaining the number of hours during which these young women are to be employed? He includes, and, I agree, very properly, the meal-times; but does he include the time they are engaged in laying shop windows and counters, dressing, and preparing for the work of the day? Is all that to be included? The thing is full of practical impossibilities. I submit that to be guided by the evidence of the shop attendants themselves is out of the question. The Report of the Select Committee has not yet reached me, so that I am not able to speak as to what this evidence is. It has not been laid before us, and I understand that it is not to be laid before us in the course of this debate. But what will the evidence of these young people be, and what weight is to be attached to it? It seems to me that young people of 17 years of age are able to judge for themselves as to the labour they should or should not undertake. Bear in mind it is not the labour of the factories. The Bill does not apply to those places. In the case of factories, before the Factory Acts were passed, the young operatives could not help themselves. Very often the whole population of the town worked in a certain factory, and it was a matter of either taking the work or starving. There there was good cause for interfering. But the Under Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Broadhurst) says — even if the Factory Acts do not form a sufficient precedent—that we have interfered with labour over and over again. Well, I venture to say that 20 blunders will not make one good Bill. What the shopkeepers tell me is this. They say—"If we are to have regulations as to the hours during which we are to employ labour, that means that we shall be obliged to close our shops at certain hours whether we like it or not, and that will give an advantage to some trades over others. At least," they say, "if we are to have trade regulations set over us, let us agree to them ourselves."

They do not want regulations of this kind forced down their throats whether they like them or not. The regulations which would please the trades would be voluntary; and I maintain that the opinion of tradesmen should be consulted in a matter so vitally affecting their interests, and that a Bill should not be forced on them to throw difficulties in the way of their earning their livelihoods, or properly maintaining and developing their businesses. I think the hon. Baronet would do well to consider whether he could not make the Bill a voluntary instead of a compulsory one.

Question put.

The House *divided:*—Ayes 61; Noes 23: Majority 38.—(Div. List, No. 135.)

Main Question put, and *agreed to.*

Bill *considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Clauses 1 and 2 *agreed to.*

Clause 3 (Hours of employment in shops).

On Motion of The SECRETARY of STATE for the HOME DEPARTMENT (Mr. Childers) (Edinburgh, S), for Mr. F. S. POWELL (Wigan), the following Amendments made:—Page 1, line 13, after "in," insert "or;" line 26, leave out "the same," and insert "any one."

MR. LEWIS (Londonderry): As the clause stands, it seems to me that an employer might be punished for an act unwittingly performed. Sub-section 2 says—

> "A young person shall not be employed in a shop who has been previously on the same day employed in any factory or workshop, as defined by the Factory and Workshop Act, 1878, for the number of hours permitted by the said Act, for a longer period than will complete such number of hours."

It states, as a matter of fact, that a young person "shall not be employed in a shop who has been, &c.," and does not say that a young person shall not be so employed "with the consent or knowledge" of the employer. So that a person might be committing an offence against the Act without knowing it, and might be fined for that of which he really had not been guilty. Something should be put in the clause to imply wilfulness, knowledge, or consent on the part of the employer. Before proposing anything myself, I shall wait to hear what the Government have to say in the matter, for apparently they have taken up the Bill. I assume they have taken it up by the fact of the Government Tellers telling in the division.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir CHARLES RUSSELL) (Hackney, S.): The difficulty experienced by the hon. Gentleman is fully met by the provision which deals with the power of the occupier to exempt himself from fine on conviction of the offender.

SIR JOHN LUBBOCK (London University): This provision the hon. Gentleman (Mr. Lewis) complains of is a very necessary one. We had much evidence before the Committee to show that a great many young persons were employed in factories and workshops as long as the law permitted, and when that time had expired were sent down into shops. Such a course as that is against the spirit of the Act, and should be stopped. I think, as the hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General points out, the case the hon. Member has raised is sufficiently met in the 6th section.

MR. LEWIS: I do not think it is at all met. A tradesman should not be liable to be summoned for that which is no offence—for an imaginary offence.

MR. KIMBER (Wandsworth): It must be remembered that Clause 6 will only give the employer relief on his proving that someone else is guilty of the offence.

MR. LEWIS: I move, after the words "shall not," and before the words "be employed," to insert "with the knowledge of his employer."

Amendment proposed, in page 2, line 4, after the word "not," to insert the words "with the knowledge of his employer."—(*Mr. Lewis.*)

Amendment *agreed to.*

On Motion of Mr. Secretary CHILDERS, the following Amendment made:—Page 2, line 4, after "in," insert "or about."

Clause, as amended, *agreed to.*

Clause 4 (Notice of hours to be given).

On Motion of Mr. Secretary CHILDERS, the following Amendment made:—Page 2, line 9, after "in," insert "or."

MR. KIMBER (Wandsworth): The clause wants something at the end to make it clear what is meant. I do not know what is meant by the hours young persons are employed being "conspicuously exhibited therein."

The SECRETARY of STATE for the HOME DEPARTMENT (Mr. Childers) (Edinburgh, S.): These are the words in the other Acts.

Mr. JOHN WILSON (Edinburgh, Central): The clause says—"The hours within which young persons are employed" are to be conspicuously exhibited. What hours? Is it the hours they have been employed to-day, or the hours they were employed yesterday? If it is to be the hours they are employed to-day, it will be impossible to define them in the early part of the forenoon.

Sir JOHN LUBBOCK (London University): It will be possible to say whether it is intended to keep the shop open until 6, 8, or 9 o'clock in the evening.

Mr. JOHN WILSON: It is sometimes impossible for the shopkeeper to indicate up to what hour he will keep open. In watering places, for instance, the shops are kept open longer some nights than others, owing to fine weather bringing an influx of visitors, or greater demands being made by the families who are served. How, I ask, in such cases, can the shopkeepers comply with the requirements of this Act unless their businesses are to be interrupted and orders left unattended to?

Mr. LEWIS (Londonderry): What is the ordinary incidence of business? We are not now dealing with factories where there are recognized hours for beginning and closing, and it seems to me that the confusion in the minds of those who framed the measure was in reference to this dealing with a totally different matter to the Factory Acts. You must not, under this Bill, employ a young person more than 74 hours a-week, but this is not to be equal days of service. It may be exigencies may suddenly arise which will require one or two persons to be kept in a shop later than usual. What is to be done in such a case as that? Is the shopkeeper to keep open his shop when the exigencies arise, or not? If the hours for a week should be from 10 to 8, is the shopkeeper to adhere strictly to those hours, whatever happens, and never on any day keep open later than 8? If that is not intended, it will be absolutely meaningless to require this notice to be stuck up. If you insert "ordinary" hours or "intended" hours, the thing will be much more reasonable. I must say that if we do not get from the Government some undertaking which will render this clause less objectionable, we shall have to move to report Progress. This sort of thing cannot be carried out—we cannot dragoon people in the case of their private businesses. Take the case of a book-keeper. It is obvious that on occasions it may be found necessary to keep him an hour or two longer at work than usual—an hour or two after 8 o'clock. Is the employer to be allowed to do that, or not? It may be necessary that it should be done even though the 74 hours are thereby exceeded. Unless we get some reasonable and practical solution of this matter from the hon. Baronet or the Government, we shall have to move to report Progress. If we report Progress, probably by to-morrow the hon. Baronet, having thought out the matter in the meantime, will be able to tell us the best course to take.

Mr. ESSLEMONT (Aberdeen, E.): Pressure must be exerted so as to get the work done by a certain hour in our shops. In this Bill 20 hours are allowed more than are permitted in the Factory Acts. We cannot employ women who are adults beyond the prescribed time under the Factory Acts; but under this Bill we cannot employ them under 18, and that is as it should be. No one can say that 74 hours a-week is not an outrageous length of time for young people to work. The requirement to put up a notice showing the hours may involve some difficulty, and I do not think the section is necessary for the working of the measure. The young people themselves, I think, will be careful to keep a record of the hours they are employed. The hours fixed for work have to be kept in the case of factories, and I do not imagine that much practical difficulty will be experienced in doing the same thing with regard to shops.

Commander BETHELL (York, E.R., Holderness): I hope we shall be told what this 4th clause really does mean, for at the present moment no one seems to understand it. It seems to me absurd to stick up the hours, if it is likely to interfere with the course of business.

Mr. LEWIS (Londonderry): One is bound to get up to say a word in reply to the hon. Gentleman the Member for East Aberdeenshire (Mr. Esslemont). Some hon. Gentlemen opposite seem to delight in charging upon us on this side of the House that we want to see 74 hours exceeded. Nothing of the kind has been suggested by us on this side. What I desire to see hon. Gentlemen appreciate is that this is a different thing from dealing with factories where there are stated hours which can be kept. In the case of retail shops it is impossible to know whether a man will be in a position to close his premises at 7, 8, or 9, or even later, because emergencies may arise which may render it necessary for him to keep one or two *employés* at work beyond the ordinary time. If emergencies of that kind do arise, what is to be done? Is the employer to shut at the stated hour or not? If he is, what is the good of this provision? And if he is not, I say that the clause is perfect tyranny. I venture to suggest that the Government ought to get the hon. Gentleman out of the difficulty. They know that this clause does not represent practical business experience; and unless they are prepared to put the measure into such a shape that they feel they can be responsible for it when it goes to "another place," I am afraid it will not proceed much further.

The UNDER SECRETARY of STATE for the HOME DEPARTMENT (Mr. Broadhurst) (Birmingham, Bordesley): This was altered in Committee upstairs to suit the wants and wishes of the retail traders.

Mr. LEWIS: I do not know that—I have not seen the evidence.

Mr. BROADHURST: But I am giving the hon. Member information on the point, and am pointing out that there will be no difficulty in working the clause. The original draft provided that no young person should be employed in a shop for a longer period than 12 hours in one day, or 72 hours in a-week, but the present measure allows a total of 74 hours, in order to suit the requirements of different districts. Under this Bill, the shopkeeper who knows his late night is on Friday can work longer hours on that night and shorter hours on Saturday. The Bill gives the shopkeeper power to keep his shop open 8 hours on Monday, 12 on Tuesday, 14 on Thursday, and so on, so long as in the aggregate he does not work the young persons more than 74 hours in the week. There will be no difficulty at all about his putting up a notice as required by this clause. The attention of the Committee upstairs was, of course, repeatedly drawn to the fact, say, that in Preston the market day is on Wednesday, in Burnley on Tuesday, in some other town on some other day, so that a uniform code of hours for all parts of the country would be inconvenient to all concerned—both to the purchaser and shopkeeper. There will be no difficulty in working this Bill out without inconvenience to anyone. As to the exhibition of notice, about which some hon. Members seem inclined to make a difficulty, there will be no difficulty at all in the matter. If the shopkeeper is engaged in a business in which there is more pressure on a certain day or on certain days than on others, he can work longer hours on his busiest days and shorter ones on the others. It cannot possibly be an inconvenience to him to put up the arrangement in the form of a notice in his window, or in some conspicuous place, in accordance with the requirements of the Bill. There will not, or need not, be the least difficulty in the world in it. I should like to point out one objection to the suggestion that has been made. It is suggested that a shopkeeper, instead of exhibiting the notice as required by the Bill, should keep a record of the number of hours worked, and that record should be open to inspection. Yes; but what would the shopkeeper say to that? You would be imposing upon him the intolerable burden of keeping a record of the number of hours worked each day by different young persons, to be totalled up at the end of the week. He would require an extra cashier or clerk to do the book-keeping or time-keeping. The Bill as originally drawn was altered to suit the convenience and desires of the shopkeepers, and I am sure that changes in the direction proposed would impose great trouble and annoyance upon these persons.

Mr. RADCLIFFE COOKE (Newington, W.): I am one of those who, far from wishing the hours of labour to be extended, would be glad to see them reduced. I should like to see the hours in this Bill reduced; therefore, when the hon. Gentleman opposite turns round on us and says—"You want to see the hours of labour extended," he must exclude me from the number of those he accuses. I say that to clear the situation. Well, I now wish to point out that this clause is inconsistent with Clause 3. That clause says that a young person—

> "Shall not be employed in, about, or in connection with a shop for a longer period than seventy-four hours, including meal times, in any one week."

And it says that the hours per day may vary to suit the exigencies of certain businesses. The Under Secretary of State for the Home Department said that on Monday it might be eight hours' work, on Tuesday 12, and on Wednesday 14. Well, if the hours are varied in that way, according to the fluctuations of trade, it is clearly requisite that some record should be kept of the past employment of these young persons, so that the employer may know from time to time how much of the 74 hours is used up, The way to arrange the matter would be to insert in the section some such words as these—

> "The hours within which young persons are employed in, about, or in connection with any shop shall be conspicuously exhibited therein from day to day."

That would imply that it must be exhibited day by day, so that from time to time those interested may know how much time is left.

Mr. JOHN WILSON (Edinburgh, Central): I voted against the Committee stage, not because I objected to the measure on account of the 74 hours' principle, but because I was opposed to the exhibition of this notice. I have explained that at some seasons of the year the shopkeepers cannot tell at what hour their shops will close. I wish to know where this notice is to be exhibited? Is it not to be exhibited until the hour for closing? If so, what good can that do? If it is to be exhibited on the following day, will it be fair to a shopkeeper to have to advertize the fact to his customers—"I kept my people working 14 hours yesterday," and so on? Would it be fair to have him quoted in the newspapers, and pointed at as a tyrant who used his servants like slaves? I say the clause is unfair in its incidence, and it ought to be withdrawn.

Sir JOHN LUBBOCK (London University): The criticism of the hon. Member is of a very minute character. As to adding at the end of the clause the words "from day to day," such an addition would be altogether unnecessary. The clause means as much already as it would after the alteration. The clause was not in the original Bill, but was inserted by the Committee.

Sir ROBERT FOWLER (London): I voted for the hon. Baronet on the principle that 74 hours was quite long enough to ask these young persons to work. I must say I think the hon. Gentleman opposite (Mr. Broadhurst), whose Department the Bill affects, explained the difficulties of it very well. As to this clause, I agree with the hon. Gentleman the Member for Central Edinburgh (Mr. J. Wilson) that it will be found nuworkable. The hon. Gentleman (Mr. Broadhurst) says it would be a great inconvenience to keep a record of the number of hours worked; but I must say I cannot see the inconvenience of it myself. I think that 10 minutes at the end of the day would suffice to enable the employer to make up the list. No doubt, the inconvenience of having to put up a notice would be very great.

Sir JOSEPH M'KENNA (Monaghan, S.): Would the hon. Baronet opposite mind putting in the words "from day to day?" If they were put in, it seems to me that the difficulty would be met in nearly every case.

The SECRETARY of STATE for the HOME DEPARTMENT (Mr. Childers) (Edinburgh, S.): I would suggest to the hon. Baronet that he would do well to accept these words, "from day to day."

Commander BETHELL (York, E.R., Holderness): Would that mean the entire hours for a week, or the hours during each day?

Sir JOSEPH M'KENNA: Each day.

Commander BETHELL: That they are going to be employed?

Sir JOSEPH M'KENNA: Yes.

Mr. LEWIS (Londonderry): That improves the clause, but does not dispose of the difficulty. What is the meaning of the words "are employed?" Do they refer to the future, or point to the past? It seems to me that the terms of the section are so ambiguous that an employer would be satisfying them if he put up a notice showing how many hours the young persons had been employed the day before. But there is another difficulty. The clause supposes that all the young persons—that is to say, under 18 years of age, whatever their department may be, or the character of the work they will have to do—will be sent out of the place at the same hour. We know that that is not done, according to our experience. Some have to go later, and some earlier. The hours in which young persons are employed will be conspicuously exhibited if this clause be satisfied—would it be satisfied by putting up a notice as to how many hours young persons under 18 had been employed in the course of the day?

Mr. KIMBER (Wandsworth): The words should be so framed as to cover such a case as when a customer gives shortly before closing time a special order, perhaps, for a wedding or some such occasion that does not admit of delay. Could not a tradesman take the order, if the execution of it necessitated keeping open somewhat longer, though in the aggregate the 74 hours in the week were not exceeded?

Mr. CARVELL WILLIAMS (Nottingham, S.): If it is provided that a register shall be kept of the hours in which each young person has been employed, that will meet the case.

Mr. KIMBER: To make the Bill consistent with its professed objects, there should be a Proviso compelling the keeping of such a register.

Words "from day to day" *added.*

Motion made, "That the Clause, as amended, stand part of the Bill."

Mr. LEWIS (Londonderry): I will now move that Progress be reported. The clause is worthless as it is, and there is no penalty if it is not observed. The Bill deals with matters of the greatest practical importance, and it is now a Government measure. The effect of the clause, as amended, is that there is no penalty for an offence if the hours are exceeded.

Mr. ESSLEMONT (Aberdeen, E.): I rise to Order. Is the hon. Member speaking to the adjournment?

Mr. LEWIS: I have not yet made the Motion. The Government have undertaken the responsibility, and I desired to put a question as to the working of the clause. I will assume that a notice is fixed up on which the hours are mentioned. But if those hours are not kept it is not an offence under the clause.

Mr. ESSLEMONT: I rise to Order. What clause is the hon. Member speaking of? I understand the clause is settled.

The CHAIRMAN: The Question is, "That the Clause, as amended, stand part of the Bill."

Mr. LEWIS: If the hon. Gentleman had paid more attention to the business upon which the Committee are engaged he would not raise these frivolous objections, and I must protest against these interruptions. I was pointing out that if the hours are exceeded, the effect of the clause, if passed in its present form, is that there is no suggestion that it is an offence under the Act. Unless the Attorney General can give a satisfactory answer, I shall move that Progress be reported.

Sir ROBERT FOWLER (London): I hope that time will not be wasted with such a Motion.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir Charles Russell) (Hackney, S.): The hon. Member is perfectly right in saying the clause does not constitute an offence, because it does not state these were the hours of employment. All that is intended is that the sum of 74 hours in the week shall not be exceeded.

Mr. CARVELL WILLIAMS (Nottingham, S.): Would it not be wise to amend the clause in the sense I have suggested?

The LORD of the TREASURY (Sir Edward Reed) (Cardiff): The object is to insure that attention shall be drawn to any departure from an understanding arrived at, so that the sense of the community may be brought to bear against those disposed to overwork their *employés.*

Sir JOHN LUBBOCK (London University): The object of the Bill is to prevent young people being worked more than 74 hours, and the Committee were of opinion that unless a record is kept it would be difficult to prove whether they were so employed or not. The Committee came to the conclusion that this was the form in which the record could be kept with the least inconvenience to those concerned.

Question put.

The Committee *divided:*—Ayes 51; Noes 20: Majority 31.—(Div. List, No. 136.)

Clause 5 (Fine for employing persons contrary to the Act).

On Motion of Mr. Secretary Childers, the following Amendments made:—Page 2, line 12, after "any," insert "young;" lines 5 and 6, leave out "or in connection with."

Clause, as amended, *agreed to.*

Clauses 6 and 7 *agreed to.*

Clause 8 (Interpretation, 41 & 42 Vict. c. 16).

Amendment proposed, in page 2, lines 40 and 41, to leave out "does not include," and insert "includes."—(*Mr. Secretary Childers.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Clause."

Mr. LEWIS (Londonderry): I do not quite appreciate the alteration. As I understand the Amendment, it distinctly reverses the meaning of the clause.

The SECRETARY of STATE for the HOME DEPARTMENT (Mr. Childers) (Edinburgh, S.): I explained my intention earlier, and understood it was accepted, that young persons employed in public-houses and refreshment-rooms shall not be excepted from the Bill.

Mr. LEWIS: I should like to know from the hon. Baronet who had charge of the Bill originally on what grounds he consented to the complete reversal of his first proposal?

Sir JOHN LUBBOCK (London University): Certainly. I did not include them at first, thinking it was rather beyond the power of a private Member to do so.

Mr. LEWIS: Why should not they fall under the general description? Why should public-houses be specially included?

Mr. CHILDERS: It is simply to make the intention quite clear.

Mr. J. O'CONNOR (Tipperary, S.): Does it not strike the right hon. Gentleman that there are many public-houses and refreshment-rooms where the work is not continuous through the day, where the business comes only at particular periods of the day, and where, if the hands are detained an hour or two, it does not much matter?

Mr. CHILDERS: Under the Factory Acts only 54 hours are allowed, and, in my view, to allow young persons to be employed for 20 hours more than that in public-houses is quite long enough.

Sir JOHN LUBBOCK (London University): The evidence before the Committee strongly corroborated that view.

Amendment *agreed to.*

On Motion of Mr. Secretary Childers, the following Amendment made:—In page 2, line 41, leave out "or," and insert "and."

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Clause, as amended, stand part of the Bill."

Mr. LEWIS (Londonderry): I should like to ask the Government if they have deliberately considered the limit of age? I should have thought that the limit of 18 is rather excessive.

The SECRETARY of STATE for the HOME DEPARTMENT (Mr. Childers) (Edinburgh, S.): Yes; this has been well considered, and the age, I think, has been wisely fixed at 18.

Mr. J. O'CONNOR: In my opinion, 18 is an excessive limit. Soldiers are enlisted at 18 or 19—it used to be 18—and they are considered young men, and they are capable of doing a man's work. It is a great mistake to treat young men of 18 as children. A young fellow of 18 is as capable of performing a good day's work as a man of 23 or 24. The age might be drawn at a lower limit than 18, Young fellows are paid men's wages at that age.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir Charles Russell) (Hackney, S.): The limit of 18 for young persons was adopted from the Factory Acts for Young Persons, and I nnderstand the point was considered by the Committee at some length, with the result that the almost unanimous decision was in favour of keeping to that limit.

Motion *agreed to.*

Clause, as amended, *agreed to.*

Clause 9 (Exemption of members of the same family).

Mr. LEWIS (Londonderry): I will draw attention to the fact that many persons not actually members of the family are resident with, and to all intents and purposes treated as, members of the family. The clause appears a little defective on that point.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir Charles Russell) (Hackney, S.) The explanation seems to be that natural affection would be a better protection in those cases.

MR. LEWIS: Not much reliance can be placed on natural affection as a substitute, and I am afraid there has been singular instances to show that. But the Government have accepted the responsibility for the Bill.

COMMANDER BETHELL (York, E. R., Holderness): There are many young persons not actually but practically members of the family. Will they come under the clause?

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE HOME DEPARTMENT (Mr. BROADHURST) (Birmingham, Bordesley): There will be no real difficulty. It would be impossible to deal with every case of the kind, and it was felt by the Committee that there might be great hardship in making no exceptions.

MR. J. O'CONNOR: There are some shopkeepers who obtain the aid of assistance by means of the Poor Law system, the assistants dining at the same board. Would they be considered members of the family? It would be hard if employers were obliged to treat boarders different to members of their own family. I am anxious to know whether the hon. Gentleman has investigated that part of the case? There are many instances in which children are adopted into families —many in which the adoption actually takes place by law. I may be answered by the hon. Baronet that in most of these cases the foster parents are allowed something for the maintenance of the children by the Boards of Guardians; still they are members of the family.

SIR ROBERT FOWLER (London): Would it not be well to have a clear definition of the family, so that we may know what it consists of? I would ask the Attorney General whether you could have families consisting of nephews and neices and more distant relatives?

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir CHARLES RUSSELL) (Hackney, S.): I should say that persons connected by ties of marriage are in blood relationship.

SIR ROBERT FOWLER: Fourth cousins?

Clause *agreed to.*

Bill *reported;* as amended, to be considered *To-morrow.*

*Sir Charles Russell*

## LAW OF EVIDENCE AMENDMENT BILL [*Lords*].—[BILL 286.]

(*Sir Henry James.*)

### SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Second Reading be *deferred* till *To-morrow.*"

COLONEL NOLAN (Galway, N.): I would appeal to the hon. Member in charge of this Bill to put off the Committe stage for a week. It is blocked by no fewer than seven Members, and the result of keeping the Order on the Paper from day to day is to keep a large number of Members down here waiting on the chance of its being reached by half-past 12. Either let him move that the Order be discharged, or put the Committee stage off for a week.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir CHARLES RUSSELL) (Hackney, S.): The Government are anxious to pass this Bill. There is a general consensus of opinion in favour of it. ["No, no!"] Well, of course, I do not include those Gentlemen who have put down Notice of opposition; but, apart from these, there is a consensus of opinion in favour of the measure. Amongst the public generally there is a strong feeling in favour of the amendment of the law in direction of this Bill.

MR. SPEAKER: The hon. Member in charge of the Bill has himself put it off till this day. It is by his direction that is is being deferred.

MR. BIGGAR (Cavan, W.): I desire to point out that this Bill is of a peculiar nature. It came down from the Lords on the 2nd of April, but no attempt was made to get on with it here until Friday night last. The Prime Minister, in his statement the other day, intimated that it was not intended that contested legislation which had not gone considerable length in this House should be pushed on. Well, what did the Government do? They have resolutely adhered to this Bill. So far as we know they are the only parties who have anything to do with it. They introduced it last Friday, and put down the second reading for to-day. There are some of my hon. Friends who have a strong objection to the Bill. I do not know what the objection is, but that it is strong is plain from the fact that my hon. and learned Friend the Member for South Londonderry (Mr. T. M. Healy) requested me to telegraph to him if any attempt was made to push the Bill on in his absence, and that he would come over specially to oppose it. That looks something very different from what the the hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General told us—that there was something like a general consensus of opinion in favour of the measure. It is a Bill of a contentious character. Many hon. Gentleman object to its principle. There may be many in favour of it; still, it is obvious that it is not a Bill which comes within the category of Bills that the Prime Minister says are not really of a contentious character. I would appeal to the Government in this matter not to give assistance to some Gentleman or other behind the scenes whom I do not know. Who it is that gives instructions to the Clerks at the Table to keep Bills alive from day to day and give us the trouble of coming here to watch them, I do not know. I think we are justified in moving that the Order be discharged.

Mr. SPEAKER: I should not think it my duty to put that from the Chair, inasmuch as the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for Bury (Sir Henry James) has notified that he desires it put down for to-day.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir Charles Russell) (Hackney, S.): My right hon. and learned Friend communicated with me on the subject, and asked me to take charge of it between this and to-morrow. I will represent to him what has been said, and it will be for him to consider whether, by restricting the operation of the Bill to England and Scotland, the objections taken by hon. Gentlemen below the Gangway opposite may not be removed.

Mr. SEXTON (Sligo, S.): There can be very little use in putting this Bill off. The appearance of the Order Paper shows the feeling of the Irish Members on the matter, and the statement of my hon. Friend (Mr. Biggar) as to the feeling of my hon. and learned Friend the Member for South Londonderry (Mr. T. M. Healy) affords a strong corroboration, if one were needed.

Motion *agreed to.*

Second Reading *deferred* till *To-morrow.*

## INTOXICATING LIQUORS (SALE TO CHILDREN) BILL.—[Bill 157.]

(*Mr. Conybeare, Mr. Theodore Fry, Mr. Cossham, Mr. Valentine, Mr. Allison, Mr. O. V. Morgan, Mr. Channing.*)

CONSIDERATION. THIRD READING.

Bill, as amended, *considered.*

Mr. EVERETT (Suffolk, Woodbridge): With the indulgence of the House, I would move that the Bill be now read the third time.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read the third time."—(*Mr. Everett.*)

Mr. CONYBEARE (Cornwall, Camborne): I should like to explain my position in regard to this Bill, though, before doing so, I must apologize for my unavoidable absence yesterday when the measure came on. With reference to that, I will only say that, had I been here yesterday, I should have taken a division on Amendments that appear to have been agreed to. The Amendments were, in the first place, substituting "supply" for "sell," which, it is said, was to make the measure conform to the Scotch law. Well, we all know that the Scotch law has been interpreted so as to limit the scope of the operation of the Act that exists there. But the principal Amendment agreed to was as to "consumption." All I can say with regard to the alteration which was effected is that all the good which was in the Bill has been taken out of it, and that the measure, as it now stands, in the opinion of its promotors, is hardly worth the paper it is printed on. So far as I am concerned, though I do not propose to offer opposition to the Motion of the hon. Gentleman the Member for Suffolk, I wish it to be distinctly understood that I wash my hands of the measure completely. I cannot be a party to this legislation that is little more than a sham, because everyone knows perfectly well that there is not one child in 10,000 who ever goes to get liquor for his or her consumption, under the age of 13 at any rate. I am acting in this matter not from a desire to be obstructive, but in the interests of those who asked me to bring forward the measure. It is the strong feeling of those who promoted this measure that rather than sanction its passing—that rather than give their approval to it in the ridiculously limited scope to which it has been reduced by the introduction of these words—they should allow it to slide this Session, and wait for next Session, when we hope to have public opinion inside as well as outside Parliament in our favour. We may expect, I think, to see a change of feeling on this matter, and may look forward to having the Bill passed as we originally intended it. The other Amendment I should like to comment upon is as to Section 3. I understand that, contrary to the understanding that was arrived at with Gentlemen on the other side of the House as to Ireland, the measure has been extended so as to affect Ireland. At an earlier stage of the Bill I expressed my desire to meet the wishes of the Irish Members, thinking that the subject was one which would be better dealt with from a Home Rule point of view. However, to that Amendment I do not intend to offer resistance by opposing the third reading of the Bill. In case it should be said that there has been no strong feeling in favour of this measure in its original form outside this House, I may say that only this evening I received a numerously-signed Petition in support of it, and that hardly a post passes without bringing me letters from every part of the United Kingdom, containing most urgent appeals to me that I should in no case depart from the principle of the Bill as originally laid down. In view of the numerous Petitions I have received, signed not only by individuals, but by public bodies and public meetings in the most important centres of the country—after these strong representations, I should consider it a dereliction of duty were I to be any party to the passing of this Bill in such an emasculated form as was sanctioned by the House yesterday afternoon. I hold in my hand a letter—I will not read it—the effect of which is as I have stated. I am willing that the measure should go up to "another place;" and all I can say is, that if noble Lords there can see their way to improve it and make it more worth passing than it is, it will be one of the few instances in which, in my knowledge, Gentlemen in "another place" have done anything in the way of improving a Bill.

MR. CHANNING (Northampton, E.): Without agreeing in all that has been said by the hon. Member, I wish, with the indulgence of the House, to draw attention to the real motive of this Bill, which I think has been falsified by the Amendments accepted. The motive of the Bill, which has been indorsed by a large number of Petitions, signed by 70,000 persons in the country, is to defend children from being exposed to immorality and temptation. It deals a blow at one of the great curses of this country — hereditary intemperance. I should have much preferred if the House had attempted to deal with the Bill in that spirit. I cannot, agree, however, with my hon. Friend (Mr. Conybeare) that we have nothing in the Bill. We must be content with the result. Perhaps in "another place" some noble Lords who are interested in the question may deal with it in that spirit. I regret that I was not in the House yesterday to protest against the passing of these Amendments, which have defeated the main object of the Bill.

MR. JOHN O'CONNOR (Tipperary, S.): I agree with the hon. Gentleman who proposed this Bill that, if it is to be passed at all, it should be in a shape in which it will be effective for the purposes intended; and I believe that the measure as originally drafted would have been effective to meet the object in view. But I desire emphatically to repudiate any desire to emasculate the Bill. It was only because we thought, as the Bill stood, it was inapplicable to Ireland, and not required by the state of the case there, that we pressed on the Amendment to which reference has been made. If Ireland had been exempted, we should not have pressed on any alteration in the clause; and I desire, for my own part, to repudiate all wish or inclination to damage, or, as the hon. Member puts it, "emasculate" the measure. No doubt, as the hon. Member says, it has been emasculated by other Amendments, and for that reason I quite endorse his proposal to withdraw the Bill. In the event of its being withdrawn, if it should again come before us at some future time, I should be glad to give it every support in my power—that is to say, in the original form in which it made its appearance here and in which it is proposed to apply it to England only, where these dangers seem to exist and where there seems to be some necessity for it. If, however, it is to apply to Ireland, I should like to see it recast.

MR. BIGGAR (Cavan, W.): I hope the hon. Gentleman will not withdraw his Bill. I was not here yesterday, or I should have objected to its being emasculated, and I should have objected to having Ireland excluded from its provisions. I think the hon. Gentleman must see that there will not be time to move that the Bill be recommitted to have these Amendments reconsidered; and I would suggest to him the desirability of sending the measure up to "another place," where it is very possible their Lordships will put it into its original shape. We shall then have an opportunity of reconsidering the matter in a practical manner some day next week. It is, no doubt, desirable to bring the Bill to a third reading, even though it may not come up to the hon. Gentleman's idea of what the Bill ought to be. It would be a pity to lose the result of all the labour that has taken place on the Bill. I would suggest that it should be sent to "another place," and then, if they improve it there as hon. Members here desire to see it improved, we shall be able to come to an agreement with the Lords' Amendments, and the Bill will then serve the purpose for which it was intended.

Motion *agreed to.*

Bill read the third time, and *passed.*

## REVISING BARRISTERS (IRELAND) [REMUNERATION].

*Considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

*Resolved,* That it is expedient to authorise the payment, out of moneys to be provided by Parliament, of Remuneration to additional Revising Barristers and persons who may be appointed to perform the duties of Clerks of the Peace, under the provisions of any Act of the present Session to amend the Law relating to the appointment of Revising Barristers in Ireland.

Resolution to be reported *To-morrow.*

## REVISING BARRISTERS [REMUNERATION AND EXPENSES].

*Considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

*Resolved,* That it is expedient to authorise the payment, out of moneys to be provided by Parliament, of the remuneration of additional Revising Barristers, and of their travelling and other expenses, which may become payable under the provisions of any Act of the present Session for amending the Law relating to the appointment of Revising Barristers in England.

Resolution to be reported *To-morrow.*

## NAVY AND ARMY EXPENDITURE, 1884-5.

*Ordered,* That the Appropriation Accounts for the Navy and Army Departments, which were presented upon the 6th and 18th days of February last respectively, be referred to the Committee.

ACCOUNTS *considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

1. *Resolved,* That it appears by the Navy Appropriation Account for the year ended the 31st day of March 1885, and the statement appended thereto, as follows, viz.:—

(a.) That the gross expenditure for certain Navy Services exceeded the estimate of such expenditure by a total sum of £140,176 11*s.* 9*d.*, as shown in Column No. 1 of the Schedule hereto appended; while the gross expenditure for other Navy Services fell short of the estimate of such expenditure by a total sum of £125,095 11*s.* 4*d.*, as shown in Column No. 2 of the said appended Schedule, so that the gross actual expenditure for the whole of the Navy Services exceeded the gross estimated expenditure by the net sum of £15,081 0*s.* 5*d.*;

(b.) That the receipts in aid of certain Navy Services fell short of the estimate of such receipts by a total sum of £55,213 10*s.* 3*d.*, as shown in Column No. 3 of the said appended Schedule; while the receipts in aid of other Navy Services exceeded the estimate of such receipts by a total sum of £12,455 9*s.* 3*d.*, as shown in Column No. 4 of the said appended Schedule; so that the total actual receipts in aid of the Grants for Navy Services fell short of the total estimated receipts by the net sum of £42,758 1*s.*;

(c.) That the resulting differences between the Exchequer Grants for Navy Services and the net expenditure are as follows, viz.:—

| | £ | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Total Surpluses ... | 103,809 | 1 | 2 |
| Total Deficits...... | 161,648 | 2 | 7 |

2. *Resolved,* That the Commissioners of Her Majesty's Treasury have temporarily authorised the application, in reduction of the net charge on Exchequer Grants for certain Navy Services, of the whole of the sums received in excess of the estimated Appropriations in Aid, in respect of the same Services; and have also temporarily authorised the application of the said total surpluses on certain Grants for Navy Services towards meeting the said total deficits on other Grants for Navy Services.

3. *Resolved,* That the application of such sums be sanctioned.

## SCHEDULE.

| Number of Vote. | Navy Services, 1884-5, Votes. | Gross Expenditure. | | Appropriations in Aid. | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Excesses of Actual over Estimated Gross Expenditure. 1. | Surpluses of Estimated over Actual Gross Expenditure. 2. | Deficiencies of Actual as comprd. with Estimated Receipts. 3. | Surpluses of Actual as comprd. with Estimated Receipts. 4. |
| | | £ s. d. | £ s. d. | £ s. d. | £ s. d. |
| 1 .. | Wages, &c. to Seamen and Marines .. | .. | 4,207 2 2 | 9,330 8 7 | |
| 2 .. | Victuals and Clothing for ditto .. .. | .. | 20,442 8 3 | 22,787 14 9 | 42 9 6 |
| 3 .. | Admiralty Office .. | .. | 769 16 3 | .. | |
| 4 .. | Coast Guard Service and Naval Reserves, &c... | .. | 5,178 17 5 | .. | 63 7 2 |
| 5 .. | Scientific Branch .. | .. | 4,680 17 11 | .. | 2,020 0 7 |
| 6 .. | Dockyards and Naval Yards at Home and Abroad .. .. | 31,133 5 0 | .. | .. | 80 11 8 |
| 7 .. | Victualling Yards, &c... | .. | 715 17 1 | .. | 96 7 10 |
| 8 .. | Medical Establishments, &c. .. .. | .. | 790 3 9 | .. | 6 7 10 |
| 9 .. | Marine Divisions .. | .. | 1,777 15 1 | 10 2 1 | |
| 10 Sec. 1 .. | Naval Stores .. .. | 11,029 10 8 | .. | 21,542 9 5 | |
| 10 Sec. 2 .. | Machinery, Ships built by Contract, &c. .. | .. | 47,785 11 11 | .. | 5 8 9 |
| 11 .. | New Works, Buildings, Yard Machinery, &c. | .. | 10,759 10 4 | .. | 2,623 17 11 |
| 12 .. | Medicines and Medical Stores .. .. | 5,487 6 8 | .. | .. | 3,397 13 11 |
| 13 .. | Martial Law, &c. .. | .. | 2,352 17 0 | .. | 0 4 6 |
| 14 .. | Miscellaneous Services.. | .. | 14,633 9 9 | 1,490 4 7 | |
| 15 .. | Half Pay, &c. .. | .. | 8,774 15 9 | .. | 8 15 0 |
| 16 Sec. 1 .. | Military Pensions and Allowances.. .. | .. | 2,226 8 8 | 3 12 2 | |
| 16 Sec. 2 .. | Civil Pensions and Allowances .. .. | 435 5 1 | .. | 48 18 8 | |
| 17 .. | Army Department—Conveyance of Troops .. | 90,688 17 5 | .. | .. | 4,110 4 7 |
| | Amount written off as irrecoverable .. | 1,402 6 11 | | | |
| | | 140,176 11 9 | 125,095 11 4 | 55,213 10 3 | 12,455 9 3 |
| | | Net Deficit, £15,081 0 5 | | Net Deficit, £42,758 1 0 | |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Total Deficit | Appropriated out of Vote of Credit for Relief of General Gordon .. | £19,719 11 5 | £57,839 1 5 |
| | Excess Vote, Sessional Paper No. 82, of 1886.. .. .. | 38,119 10 0 | |

4. *Resolved*, That it appears by the Army Appropriation Account for the year ended the 31st day of March 1885, and the statement appended thereto, as follows, viz. :—

(a.) That the gross expenditure for certain Army Services exceeded the estimate of such expenditure by a total sum of £338,543 17*s.* 2*d.*, as shown in Column No. 1 of the Schedule hereto appended; while the gross expenditure for other Army Services fell short of the Estimate of such expenditure by a total sum of £941,807 13*s.* 9*d.*, as shown in Column No. 2 of the said appended Schedule; so that the gross expenditure for the whole of the Army Services fell short of the gross estimated expenditure by the net sum of £603,263 16*s.* 7*d.*;

(b.) That the receipts in aid of certain Army Services fell short of the estimate of such receipts by a total sum of £76,751 15*s.* 6*d.*, as shown in Column No. 3 of the said appended Schedule; while the receipts in aid of other Army Services exceeded the estimate of such receipts by a total sum of £33,686 12*s.* 6*d.*, as shown in Column No. 4 of the said appended Schedule; so that the total actual receipts in aid of the Grants for Army Services fell short of the total estimated receipts by the net sum of £43,065 3*s.*;

(c.) That the resulting differences between the Exchequer Grants for Army Services and the net expenditure are as follows, viz. :—

| | £ | *s.* | *d.* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Total Surpluses ... | 920,289 | 12 | 7 |
| Total Deficits ...... | 360,090 | 19 | 0 |

5. *Resolved*, That the Commissioners of Her Majesty's Treasury have temporarily authorised the application, in reduction of the net charge on Exchequer Grants for certain Army Services, of the sums received in excess of the estimated appropriations in aid, in respect of the same Services, and have also temporarily authorised the application of so much of the said total surpluses on certain Grants for Army Services as is necessary to cover the said total deficits on other Grants for Army Services.

6. *Resolved*, That the application of such sums be sanctioned.

## SCHEDULE.

| No. of Vote. | Army Services, 1884 - 5, Votes. | Gross Expenditure. | | | | | | Appropriations in Aid. | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Excesses of Actual over Estimated Gross Expenditure. 1. | | | Surpluses of Estimated over Actual Gross Expenditure. 2. | | | Deficiencies of Actual as compared with Estimated Receipts. 3. | | | Surpluses of Actual as compared with Estimated Receipts. 4. | | |
| | | £ | *s.* | *d.* | £ | *s.* | *d.* | £ | *s.* | *d.* | £ | *s.* | *d.* |
| 1 | Pay of the General Staff, Regimental Pay, &c. .. | .. | | | 347,491 | 15 | 4 | 14,272 | 16 | 8 | | | |
| 2 | Divine Service .. .. | 2,985 | 1 | 3 | .. | | | 62 | 6 | 6 | | | |
| 3 | Administration of Military Law.. .. .. | .. | | | 945 | 18 | 2 | .. | | | 195 | 9 | 6 |
| 4 | Medical Establishment and Services .. .. | .. | | | 1,376 | 18 | 2 | .. | | | 390 | 0 | 10 |
| 5 | Militia Pay and Allowances .. .. | .. | | | 1,030 | 16 | 2 | .. | | | 2,094 | 3 | 9 |
| 6 | Yeomanry Cavalry Pay and Allowances .. | 2,500 | 5 | 9 | .. | | | .. | | | 7,034 | 10 | 9 |
| 7 | Volunteer Corps Pay and Allowances .. .. | 1,451 | 3 | 5 | .. | | | .. | | | 225 | 14 | 11 |
| 8 | Army Reserve Force Pay and Allowances, &c. .. | .. | | | 387 | 10 | 9 | .. | | | 108 | 10 | 11 |
| 9 | Commissariat, Transport, and Ordnance Store Establishments .. .. | 21,863 | 4 | 3 | .. | | | 142 | 7 | 11 | | | |
| 10 | Provisions, Forage, Fuel, Transport, and other Services .. .. | .. | | | 345,217 | 5 | 11 | 13,032 | 1 | 5 | | | |
| 11 | Clothing Establishments, Services, and Supplies.. | 22,241 | 11 | 11 | .. | | | .. | | | 20,135 | 11 | 7 |
| 12 | Supply, Manufacture, and Repair of Warlike and other Stores .. .. | 278,595 | 4 | 3 | .. | | | 40,804 | 10 | 11 | | | |
| 13 | Superintending Establishments of and Expenditure for Works, Buildings, and Repairs at Home and Abroad .. | .. | | | 126,577 | 14 | 2 | 3,141 | 19 | 11 | .. | | |
| | Carried forward .. | 329,636 | 10 | 10 | 823,027 | 18 | 8 | 71,456 | 3 | 4 | 80,184 | 2 | 3 |

SCHEDULE—*continued.*

| No. of Vote. | Army Services, 1884-5, Votes. | Gross Expenditure. | | Appropriations in Aid. | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Excesses of Actual over Estimated Gross Expenditure. 1. | Surpluses of Estimated over Actual Gross Expenditure. 2. | Deficiencies of Actual as compared with Estimated Receipts. 3. | Surpluses of Actual as compared with Estimated Receipts. 4. |
| | | £ s. d. | £ s. d. | £ s. d. | £ s. d. |
| | Brought forward .. | 329,636 10 10 | 823,027 18 8 | 71,456 3 4 | 30,184 2 3 |
| 14 | Establishments for Military Education .. .. | .. | 1,736 3 11 | 5,263 12 2 | |
| 15 | Miscellaneous Effective Services .. .. | .. | 6,308 13 2 | .. | 1,750 4 11 |
| 16 | Salaries and Miscellaneous Charges of the War Office | 1,216 8 8 | .. | .. | 47 11 3 |
| 17 | Rewards for Distinguished Services, &c. .. .. | 2,791 16 11 | .. | .. | 112 8 3 |
| 18 | Half Pay .. .. | .. | 4,177 6 11 | .. | 1 5 0 |
| 19 | Retired Pay, &c. .. | .. | 68,980 17 5 | .. | 1,038 19 4 |
| 20 | Widows' Pensions, &c. .. | 1,578 7 7 | .. | 10 0 0 | |
| 21 | Pensions for Wounds .. | 244 15 7 | .. | 22 0 0 | |
| 22 | Chelsea and Kilmainham Hospitals .. .. | .. | 224 15 3 | .. | 84 7 7 |
| 23 | Out-Pensions .. .. | .. | 30,638 12 5 | .. | 392 9 9 |
| 24 | Superannuation Allowances .. .. | .. | 4,901 10 8 | .. | 75 4 2 |
| 25 | Militia, Yeomanry Cavalry, and Volunteer Forces, Retired Pay .. .. | .. | 1,811 14 9 | | |
| | Balance irrecoverable .. .. | 3,075 17 7 | | | |
| | | 338,543 17 2 | 941,807 13 9 | 76,751 15 6 | 33,686 12 6 |
| | | Net Surplus, £603,263 16 7 | | Net Deficit, £43,065 3 0 | |

Sum to be surrendered to the Exchequer .. £560,198 13 7

Resolutions to be reported *To-morrow.*

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## *MOTIONS.*

———o———

### GREENWICH HOSPITAL.

*Resolved,* That the Statement of the Estimated Income and Expenditure of Greenwich Hospital for the year 1886-7, presented to Parliament pursuant to Act 48 and 49 Vic. c. 42, be approved.—(*Mr. Hibbert.*)

### MERCHANDISE (FRAUDULENT MARKING) BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Mundella, Bill to amend and consolidate the Law relating to the Fraudulent Marking of Merchandise, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. Mundella and Mr. Acland.

Bill *presented,* and read the first time. [Bill 291.]

House adjourned at half after Two o'clock.

# HOUSE OF LORDS,

*Friday*, 18*th June*, 1886.

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MINUTES.]—PUBLIC BILLS—*First Reading*—Returning Officers' Charges (Scotland) * (173); Tithe Rent-Charge (Extraordinary) Redemption * (174); Customs * (175); Intoxicating Liquors (Sale to Children) * (176).

*Second Reading* — Losses by Riot (Compensation) (156); Terms of Removal (Scotland) * (157); Poor Law Loans and Relief (Scotland) * (158); Salmon and Freshwater Fisheries * (159); Medical Acts Amendment (155); Coal Mines * (160); Turnpike Roads (South Wales) * (161).

*Committee*—Tramways Order in Council (Ireland) * (132).

*Committee—Report*—International and Colonial Copyright (144).

*Committee—Report—Third Reading*—Post Office Sites * (130), and *passed*.

*Report*—Electric Lighting Act (1882) Amendment (No. 3) (148).

*Withdrawn*—Arbitration * (138); Butter Substitutes Regulation * (128).

PROVISIONAL ORDER BILLS—*Second Reading*—Police and Improvement (Scotland) (Leith) * (150); Gas (No. 1)* (154).

## ELECTRIC LIGHTING ACT (1882) AMENDMENT (No. 3) BILL.

(*The Lord Houghton.*)

(NO. 148.) REPORT.

Amendments *reported* (according to order).

*Moved*, Before Clause 1, to insert the following Clause:—

"Notwithstanding anything in the Electric Lighting Act 1882 no Provisional Order authorizing the supply of electricity by any undertakers within the district of any Local Authority shall be granted by the Board of Trade except with the consent of such Local Authority, unless the Board of Trade in any case in which the consent of such Local Authority is refused are of opinion that, having regard to all the circumstances of the case, such consent ought to be dispensed with, and in such case they shall make a special report stating the grounds upon which they have dispensed with such consent."—(*The Lord Houghton.*)

VISCOUNT BURY said, that several Bills dealing with electric lighting had been referred to a Select Committee some time ago. The Committee heard a great deal of evidence not only from Local Authorities in various towns throughout the country, but from many other persons interested in electric lighting. The opinion at which the majority of the Committee arrived was that although it was fair that at the end of a certain number of years Local Authorities should be allowed to purchase electric lighting plant, yet that it would not be fair to give them an undue preference. In consequence of that decision this clause, which formed part of an Electric Lighting Bill before the Committee, was, after discussion, deliberately rejected by a majority of the Committee. The noble Lord now said that he had since received communications from the Members of that Committee to the effect that they viewed with indifference the restoration of this clause in the Bill. This clause conferred on Local Authorities in various districts a power which had not even been granted to them by the obsolete Act of 1882. By that Act Local Authorities were given a power of prohibition of licences; but they had no power of prohibition in the Electric Lighting Act of 1882 for Provisional Orders. This clause, however, conferred on Local Authorities the power of voting Provisional Orders. After hearing all the evidence the Committee deliberately rejected the clause on the ground that it was giving Local Authorities undue power created now for the first time, and which did not exist in the Act of 1882. But now the noble Lord came down, in the last hours of a dying Parliament, and tried to insert this clause rejected by the Committee. He submitted that such a proceeding was not fair. If anything was to be gained by such tactics he could imagine the noble Lord making a fight for the clause; but there was really nothing to be gained by this attempt to reinstate the clause. The fact was that the noble Lord wished to have something on record in favour of the Local Authorities, which had not yet been recorded by their Lordships. He protested against the attempt, and opposed the insertion of the clause.

THE EARL OF CAMPERDOWN said, he wished to correct the noble Viscount in two particulars. The first was that it was not quite correct to say that the Committee rejected the clause. The Committee divided evenly upon it; five voted in favour of the clause, and five against it, and by the Rules of their Lordships' House the decision was that the "Noes" had it.

VISCOUNT BURY: It was struck out on a division.

THE EARL OF CAMPERDOWN said, he wished to inform the House that in the Committee the numbers were even on the division, and that one Member of the Committee was absent. He advised their Lordships to accept the clause, because he could assure them that the Committee conducted its labours with the greatest possible care, and considered both sides of the question in the most impartial manner. The clause did not actually alter the existing law in any sense which gave the Local Authorities any power; it simply recognized the existence of the Local Authorities, and said that their consent was to be given in the case of Provisional Orders, and that if they refused that consent in an unreasonable manner the Board of Trade should have the opportunity of overruling it. He supported the clause because it did not give any new power to the Local Authorities, and because it was a very reasonable one to insert in the Bill.

On Question? Their Lordships *divided:*—Contents 24; Not-Contents 37: Majority 13.

LORD HOUGHTON said, he would not now proceed to the third reading.

## INTERNATIONAL AND COLONIAL COPYRIGHT BILL.

(*The Lord Chancellor.*)

(NO. 144.) COMMITTEE.

House in Committee (according to order).

*Moved*, In Clause 6, page 4, at end of clause add ("Provided however that within six months of the date of the publication of such order, the author or publisher of such work shall have the same duly registered at Stationers' Hall, in accordance with the provisions of the Copyright Acts.")—(*The Lord Fitzgerald.*)

THE LORD CHANCELLOR (Lord HERSCHELL) said, he was afraid that such an Amendment would render it impossible to carry out the international arrangement with regard to copyright. If the Amendment were withdrawn, he would, before the third reading, communicate with those at the Foreign Office who had had the matter under their consideration and ascertain whether the Amendment could be accepted.

Amendment (by leave of the Committee) *withdrawn.*

Bill *reported* without Amendment; and to be read 3ª on *Monday* next.

## LOSSES BY RIOT COMPENSATION BILL.—(No. 156.)

(*The Lord Sudeley.*)

SECOND READING.

Order of the Day for the Second Reading read.

LORD SUDELEY (for the Home Department), in moving that the Bill be read a second time, said, the object of the Bill was to make general a similar Act which had been passed for the Metropolis. It compensated those insured as well as those uninsured. The area of compensation was made the police district, whether for county or borough; but there were two exceptions. Where a county was divided into districts the area would be the district; and where the county and borough were consolidated for police work payment would be made according to certain proportions. There was a right of appeal reserved when people did not consider the compensation offered sufficient. The Bill applied not only to property on shore, but also to cases of plundering ships or boats, stranded or near the shore, by persons riotously assembled ashore or afloat.

*Moved*, "That the Bill be now read 2ª."—(*The Lord Sudeley.*)

EARL STANHOPE said, it was unfair that persons who had carriages wrecked should not be included in the Bill. The matter had been brought home to him personally, because he had had his carriage attacked. He had applied for compensation, which was refused, as carriages were not to be paid for out of the police rate, though all had to contribute to these rates. All persons, whether rich or poor, ought to be treated equally and equitably by a Bill of this kind.

Motion *agreed to;* Bill read 2ª accordingly, and *committed* to a Committee of the Whole House on *Monday* next.

## MEDICAL ACTS AMENDMENT BILL.—(No. 155.)

(*The Lord President, Earl Spencer.*)

SECOND READING.

Order of the Day for the Second Reading read.

THE LORD PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL (Earl SPENCER), in moving that the Bill be now read a second time, said, it referred to a matter which was not new to their Lordships. Since 1870 there had been over 20 unsuccessful attempts at legislation on this subject. When he had the honour, in 1881, of filling the Office which he now held he recommended the appointment of a Royal Commission on the subject. That Commission was composed of very able men, and made a very exhaustive Report. The opinion of the vast majority was in favour of direct representation, and that enabled the Government to propose a Bill which for the first time provided for the representation of medical practitioners on the Council. That Bill was introduced in the House of Commons, and in 1884 it went through the same process. Last year no Bill was presented; but this year his right hon. Friend the Vice President of the Committee of Council (Sir Lyon Playfair), who had very great advantages in dealing with the subject, introduced a measure, and succeeded in carrying it through its various stages. That was the first time a Bill on the subject passed through the House of Commons, and great credit was due to his right hon. Friend for the skill and ability with which he had conducted the measure. That was the Bill which he had now the honour to present to their Lordships. The subject was one upon which legislation was very much needed, as there had been for a long time very great uncertainty with regard to the whole question of medical education and examination. At present there were somewhat over 16,000 medical practitioners in the United Kingdom, who had received their licences from a great variety of bodies. He believed 19 in all gave certificates which enabled the holders to be registered on the roll of medical practitioners. In order to get on the register it was not necessary to pass through the schools of medicine and surgery; to pass through one or other would do. Consequently, no one knew whether those whose names were on the register had got a certificate of medicine or a certificate of surgery. The bodies which gave the certificates were the Universities of the United Kingdom—they had the power of giving certificates both in medicine and surgery—and such Corporations as the College of Physicians in England and Ireland and the College of Surgeons. The College of Physicians in London claimed, he believed, the privilege of giving certificates both in medicine and surgery; but the other Corporations had not that power. This Bill steered clear of some difficulties which had wrecked the other Bill. It dealt with points of great importance, but upon which there was practically agreement in the Three Kingdoms. The main principle of the Bill was that before anybody could be registered as a medical practitioner he should get qualification in the three subjects of medicine, surgery, and midwifery. The certificates might be issued by the Universities, and also by the Corporations capable of giving complete qualifications. There was also a provision that Corporations might unite, and when united might give a complete qualification, and the Medical Council might assist them by sending examiners to carrying out the necessary qualifying examinations. Means were provided under the Bill for securing the full sufficiency of the examinations, and, when required, for raising the standard. Another important matter dealt with in the Bill was the constitution of the General Council. It was proposed that there should be five members of that Council directly elected from the general body of medical practitioners in the United Kingdom—three to be elected for England, one for Scotland, and one for Ireland. That was a very important matter, and it was one for which the medical practitioners throughout the country had long contended. It seemed very just that so powerful a Body, who performed such important duties, should have some representation on the Central Council which was to regulate and superintend the Profession throughout the United Kingdom. The Bill also proposed that Edinburgh and Glasgow should each have a separate representative on the General Council, and that Aberdeen and St. Andrew's should elect one jointly. Power was given to the Privy Council to advise Her Majesty, when it thought fit, to allow foreigners to practise in this country on certain conditions. The Bill was not a long one, nor did it involve any very new principle, and he hoped it might receive as much approval in their Lordships' House as it had received "elsewhere." If it passed, he could not but hope that they would have done a great deal to settle a vexed question which had disturbed the medical world for a long time, and to put our medical practice on a better footing, to the benefit of the Profession and of the people of this country, who owed the Profession so much. He begged to move the second reading of the Bill.

*Moved*, "That the Bill be now read 2ª."—(*The Earl Spencer.*)

The Duke of RICHMOND and GORDON said, he did not rise to offer any opposition to the Motion. On the contrary, he begged to congratulate his noble Friend on what he had done. He believed the provisions of the Bill had been carefully considered in the other House, and he quite agreed that it had been very skilfully managed by the Vice President. He would not now argue any of the points or clauses of the Bill, though he wished to give his noble Friend opposite Notice that he would move Amendments in Committee which would have the effect of permitting the University of Aberdeen and the University of St. Andrew's each to elect a member to the General Medical Council, instead of collectively as was proposed in the Bill.

The Duke of ARGYLL said, he should support the proposition of his noble Friend. It was the only case in the Bill in which two Universities were tied together to make one appointment. As the Bill now stood the Irish Universities would each appoint one Member, making five in all, whereas in Scotland they would only have three Members.

Earl SPENCER said, he was afraid there would be considerable difficulty in re-arranging the measure so as to give effect to the Amendment. That, however, was a question for Committee. At the same time, the principle of combination of Universities for such a purpose was not a new one.

Motion *agreed to;* Bill read 2ª accordingly, and *committed* to a Committee of the Whole House on *Monday* next.

## ISLANDS OF THE SOUTH PACIFIC—THE NEW HEBRIDES—ACTION OF FRANCE.—QUESTION.

The Duke of RICHMOND and GORDON: In the absence of my noble Friend (the Marquess of Salisbury) I wish to ask the noble Earl opposite, Whether he is able to give the House any information in respect of the unexpected proceedings of the French Government in the New Hebrides; and whether any communication has been made to the French Government on the subject?

The Earl of KIMBERLEY: In the absence of my noble Friend the Foreign Secretary, I beg to inform the noble Duke that a communication was made, on the receipt of the last intelligence in regard to what is alleged to have taken place, to the French Government, and I think I cannot do better than read to the House a telegram which has been received by Lord Rosebery from Lord Lyons to-day. It is to this effect—

> "I have seen M. de Freycinet this morning. He informed me that no intelligence had been received by the French Government of the hoisting of the French flag in the New Hebrides, but that nevertheless instructions were sent yesterday by telegraph to the Governor of New Caledonia that if the hoisting of the flag had taken place it should at once be discontinued. He had not received any intelligence of the other circumstances mentioned in the newspaper reports, and he promised to send me details about the murders which had occasioned the expedition."

The Earl of BELMORE said, he was glad to hear the statement of the noble Earl. He was present the other night at a meeting, at which the Agent General for Victoria said that this question was exciting the keenest interest in the Australian Colonies, and he went so far as to say that this was a more important question of foreign policy than the affairs of Bulgaria.

House adjourned at a quarter before
Six o'clock, till To-morrow,
Twelve o'clock.

## HOUSE OF COMMONS,

*Friday*, 18*th June*, 1886.

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MINUTES.] — Select Committee — *Report* Forestry * [No. 202]; Rivers Pollution (River Lea) * [No. 207].

Public Bills — *Second Reading* — Patents Amendment * [289]; Law of Evidence Amendment [286] [House counted out].

*Committee* — *Report* —Consolidated Fund (Appropriation); Public Works (Loans) * [288].

*Committee* — *Report* — *Considered as amended*—*Third Reading* — Revising Barristers' Appointment [245]; Incumbents of Benefices Loans Extension * [276]; Merchant Shipping (Fishing Boats) Acts Amendment [274], and *passed.*

*Committee — Report — Third Reading* —Oxford University (Justices) * [280]; Revising Barristers (Ireland) [283]; Idiots * [287]; Probation of First Offenders * [39], and *passed.*

*Considered as amended—Third Reading*—Westminster Abbey Restoration * [284]; Shop Hours Regulation [216], and *passed.*

*Third Reading*—Public Works Loans (Tramways Ireland) [259]; Metropolitan Board of Works (Money) * [285], and *passed.*

*Re-committed—Committee—Report — Considered as Amended—Third Reading*—Sea Fishing Boats (Scotland) [270], and *passed.*

*Withdrawn*—Merchandise (Fraudulent Marking) [291]; Bankruptcy (Ireland) * [47]; Allotments and Small Holdings * [53].

Provisional Order Bills—*Second Reading*—Local Government (Ireland) (Public Health) Act (No. 2) * [261].

*Report* — Local Government (No. 6) * [238]; Local Government (Gas) * [222]; Drainage and Improvement of Lands (Ireland) (No. 2) * [246]; Tramways (No. 1) * [195]; Pier and Harbour * [201]; Municipal Corporations (Scheme Confirmation) * [247].

## *QUESTIONS.*

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### LAW AND JUSTICE (ENGLAND AND WALES)—THE REV. H. MILLS, CHAIRMAN OF THE KINETON PETTY SESSIONS, WARWICKSHIRE.

Mr. COBB (Warwick, S.E., Rugby) asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether his attention has been called to a series of decisions reported in *The Club and Institute Journal* of June 12th to have been recently given by the Rev. Henry Mills, the Chairman of the Board of Magistrates for the Kineton Petty Sessional Division of Warwickshire; whether it is true, as therein reported, that Mr. Mills had refused, on the 26th of May, to exercise his power under the Licensing Act of 1842 to grant an interim authority to the widow of a licensed victualler at Northend to carry on the business of her late husband until the transfer of the licence could be legally effected; and, whether he will communicate with Mr. Mills as to the conduct of the business of the Sessions, and the language which he is reported to have used on the Bench?

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER (Sir William Harcourt) (Derby), in reply, said, the Secretary of State had no jurisdiction in the case of a magistrate acting as a Licensing Authority. That was altogether different from a case in which sentences were passed. It was, therefore, not a matter in which the Secretary of State could interfere.

### WAR DEPARTMENT—CALSHOT CASTLE, SOUTHAMPTON WATER.

Sir JOHN LUBBOCK (London University) asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether it is intended, in connection with the proposed fortifications, to destroy Calshot Castle, at the entrance of Southampton Water; and, if so, whether it would be possible to modify the plans, so that it might be spared?

The SECRETARY of STATE (Mr. Campbell-Bannerman) (Stirling, &c.): There is no intention whatever of destroying Calshot Castle. Possibly the defence of Southampton Water may involve the erection of a new building; but, if so, care will be taken to make them harmonize with the ancient edifice.

### POST OFFICE (SCOTLAND)—MAIL TO THE OUTER HEBRIDES.

Mr. FRASER-MACKINTOSH (Inverness-shire) asked the Secretary to the Treasury, Whether the Mail steamer from Oban to the Outer Hebrides calls regularly at Lochmaddy; and, if not, what is the cause of the delay in fulfilling the promise on this subject made three months ago by the Secretary for Scotland?

The SECRETARY to the TREASURY (Mr. Henry H. Fowler) (Wolverhampton, E.): The contract for the mail service by steamer between Oban and the Outer Hebrides does not at present extend beyond Lochboisdale; and, therefore, the steamer does not call regularly at Lochmaddy. Tenders for an extension of the steamer service will, however, at once be invited, with a view, if possible, to such a call being made. The Post Office knows nothing of a promise made by the Secretary for Scotland in the matter; but I am making inquiry on the subject.

### POOR LAW (SCOTLAND)—MEMORIAL OF THE PAROCHIAL BOARDS OF SKYE.

Mr. FRASER-MACKINTOSH (Inverness-shire) asked the Secretary to the Treasury, Whether an answer can now be given to the Memorial on behalf of the Parochial Boards of Skye, praying for interim relief by way of advance to these Boards?

THE SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY (Mr. HENRY H. FOWLER) (Wolverhampton, E.): An answer was sent to the Parochial Boards of Skye to-day, expressing the regret of the Treasury at their inability to accede to the Memorial.

### PARKS REGULATION ACT, 1872—RICHMOND PARK.

MR. RADCLIFFE COOKE (Newington, W.) asked the honourable Member for North West Staffordshire, Whether he is aware that, in consequence of the Guildford coach being lettered, it is not allowed to pass through Richmond Park, whereas cabs and hackney carriages are so permitted; and, whether he will use his influence to procure a remission of the prohibition referred to?

MR. LEVESON GOWER (A LORD of the TREASURY) (Stafford, N.W.): The Guildford coach is not permitted to go through Richmond Park, not on account of its being lettered, but because, by the published Rules for the Park, under the Parks Regulation Act, 1872, stage coaches as well as omnibuses and hearses are prohibited from entering. No such prohibition, however, extends to cabs and hackney carriages. I shall be happy to bring the matter under the notice of the First Commissioner, with a view to considering whether any relaxation would be practicable.

### TRADE AND COMMERCE—COMMERCIAL RELATIONS BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND THE WEST INDIES.

MR. BADEN-POWELL (Liverpool, Kirkdale) asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether Her Majesty's Government have received that "further communication" (in reference to greater facilities for trade between the United States and the British West Indies) "from Washington, in reply to Lord Granville's Despatch to Sir L. West of February 12 1885," which Her Majesty's Government "were expecting" on March 11th; and, if so, whether he can inform the House as to the tenour of this communication, or give any further information as to the prospect of any progress being made in these negotiations for securing greater facilities of commercial intercourse between the British West Indies and the United States?

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. BRYCE) (Aberdeen, S.): The answer of the United States Government, which has been received, is to the effect that the treatment of the question of the improvement of commercial relations between the United States and neighbouring States must be dealt with as a whole, and that partial and local attempts in that direction must therefore be held in abeyance, until their fitness as parts of a comprehensive adjustment can be considered, and that the United States Government were, therefore, unable to offer the explicit views which Her Majesty's Government requested, or to indicate the particular measures which might prove applicable to British Colonies. If the hon. Member desires to see the Correspondence on the subject, there will be no objection to laying it upon the Table; but it does not add much to the information already possessed by the House.

### SOUTH AFRICA—ZULULAND—THE PAPERS.

MR. BADEN-POWELL (Liverpool, Kirkdale) asked the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, Whether he can state when the further Papers relating to Zululand (which were promised to be issued shortly after the Whitsuntide holidays) are to be presented, and whether they will be printed and circulated during the present Session; and, whether he can give any further information as to the proposed settlement of Zulu affairs?

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. OSBORNE MORGAN) (Denbighshire, E.): My hon. Friend is not quite accurate when he states that I promised that these Papers should be issued shortly after the Whitsuntide holidays. All I did was to express a hope that they might then be produced. The negotiations between Sir Arthur Havelock, the Boers, and the Zulu Chiefs relating to Zululand are still pending, and are likely to be somewhat protracted. Under those circumstances, it would be premature, and might be detrimental to the public service, to give to my hon. Friend the information he asks for. For the same reason I cannot hold out to him any hope that the further Papers in question can be printed and circulated before the impending Dissolution.

### ARTIZANS' DWELLINGS ACT—THE BROOKE MARKET SITE, HOLBORN.

COLONEL DUNCAN (Finsbury, Holborn) asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether a Report has been received at the Home Office of the inquiry held last year by Mr. Cubitt Nichols, under the Artizans' Dwellings Act, with reference to the Brooke Market Site in Holborn; and, whether the Report will be published?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT) (Derby) (for Mr. CHILDERS) said, the Report had been received, and the hon. and gallant Gentleman could see it at the Home Office. It was not usual to publish these Reports.

### THE MAGISTRACY (IRELAND)—MR. PORTER, J.P.

MR. WILLIAM REDMOND (Fermanagh, N.) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, What action the Lord Chancellor of Ireland has decided on taking with reference to the conduct of Mr. Porter, J.P.?

THE CHIEF SECRETARY (Mr. JOHN MORLEY) (Newcastle-on-Tyne): I believe the Lord Chancellor has decided to suspend Mr. Porter from acting as a magistrate for a period of 12 months.

### EDUCATION (SCOTLAND)—THE DINGWALL SCHOOL BOARD.

MR. MACDONALD CAMERON (Wick, &c.) asked the Lord Advocate, Whether his attention has been called to a report in *The Inverness Courier* of the 15th instant, in which it is stated that the Chairman of the Dingwall School Board had, on his own responsibility, changed the day of meeting of the Board from the 7th to the 11th instant, although the former date had been unanimously agreed to at the previous meeting of the Board on the 15th May; whether the Chairman had a legal right to do so; and, whether the Clerk to the Board had a right to refuse to attend the meeting that had been unanimously agreed to be held on the 7th instant?

THE LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. B. BALFOUR) (Clackmannan, &c.), in reply, said, that the rules for summoning meetings of school boards were governed by the standing orders of the board, and these were not subject to the review of the Department, and any dispute arising in regard to them could only be settled by a Court of Law. The same rule applied to the conduct of the Clerk of the Board.

### THE UNITED STATES AND CANADA—THE FISHERY DISPUTES.

MR. GOURLEY (Sunderland) asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, What arrangements Her Majesty's Government have made with the Governments of the United States and the Dominion of Canada for the settlement of the recent fishery disputes?

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. BRYCE) (Aberdeen, S.): Negotiations on the subject are now in progress, and are being conducted in a friendly spirit; but they have not yet reached such a stage as would enable Her Majesty's Government to make any definite statement on the matter.

### ADMIRALTY — THE RESERVE AND CHANNEL SQUADRONS—THE MANŒUVRES.

MR. GOURLEY (Sunderland) asked the Secretary to the Admiralty, The nature and object of the manœuvres in which the Reserve and Channel Squadrons are to be engaged during the coming autumnal cruising, and where the manœuvres are to be conducted; and, how many men of the Coast Guard and Naval Reserves are to be embodied; together with the number and description of torpedo craft that are to accompany the squadrons?

THE SECRETARY TO THE ADMIRALTY (Mr. HIBBERT) (Oldham): The Reserve Squadron which has assembled at Portland will proceed to Berehaven to carry out torpedo mining exercises, afterwards sailing for the Coast of Spain and returning to England about the end of July. The Channel Squadron will, during the present month, be engaged in the neighbourhood of Portland on exercises of the usual character, especially in connection with a flotilla of torpedo boats. At the beginning of next month the Squadron will proceed to Queenstown and Berehaven to carry out torpedo mining operations, and afterwards on a cruise terminating at Milford Haven about the middle of August. It is contemplated to employ the Squadron for a few days in connection with the Army in operations illustrative of the attack and defence of harbours. The number of Coastguardsmen embodied for the cruise is 1,647, and there are eight officers of the Naval Reserve. The Admiralty have not yet decided on the composition of the torpedo flotilla to accompany the Squadron.

COMMANDER BETHELL (York, E. R., Holderness) asked, whether the Admiralty would consider the desirability of relying entirely upon the resources of the Fleet for the mining operations, without preconcerted assistance from the Dockyards?

MR. HIBBERT, in reply, said, they would be very glad to give every consideration to that, and he had no doubt that that was the intention.

## STATE-DIRECTED EMIGRATION—EMIGRATION BUREAUX.

MR. GOURLEY (Sunderland) asked the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, Whether Her Majesty's Government have arrived at any practical decision with regard to the establishment of emigration bureaux for the purpose of promoting, as promised early in the Session, a systematic system of State-directed emigration?

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. OSBORNE MORGAN) (Denbighshire, E.): My hon. Friend is wrong in supposing that Her Majesty's Government have ever promised to promote a systematic scheme of State-directed emigration. What they did promise was, to establish one central office in London for the purpose of affording trustworthy information to persons desirous of emigrating to the Colonies. That promise they are, as I stated a week ago in answer to my noble Friend the Member for the Stratford-on-Avon Division of Warwickshire (Lord William Compton), now engaged in carrying out. Premises have been secured for an office in a central position, of which possession will be given from the 24th instant. The rooms are being fitted up, and it is hoped that in a very short time the active work of the office will be begun

## NAVY — H.M.S. "COLLINGWOOD" — BURSTING OF THE 43-TON GUN.

SIR HENRY TYLER (Great Yarmouth) asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether the 43-ton gun which failed on board H.M.S. *Collingwood*, was originally intended to bear a service charge of 400 lbs. of gunpowder; whether its service charge was afterwards reduced to 295 lbs.; whether it failed under a charge of 222 lbs.; and, whether he will refer the following questions to the Committee appointed to inquire into its failure, and report the result to the House:—What was, under the conditions of failure, the calculated bursting strain in tons per square inch of this gun; what was, similarly, the strain with the charge employed; what would have been the strain with a charge of 400 lbs.; what was the principle of increasing twist applied in the rifling of this gun; is that principle generally employed in guns now constructed for Her Majesty's Service; was that principle employed in the guns that burst on the *Thunderer*, and on the *Active*, as well as on the *Collingwood*; is it not possible that the shot may have jammed in the rifling in all these cases, and thus have caused the failures; and, would it not be better to abandon the principle of increasing twist?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN) (Stirling, &c.): The gun referred to was not originally intended to bear a charge of 400 lbs. of gunpowder. Its service charge was determined on the introduction of cocoa powder to be 295 lbs., and it failed under a charge of 231¾ lbs.; having previously, as already stated in the House, been fired nine times with charges varying from 275 lbs. to 340 lbs. The remaining points in the hon. Member's Question are among those referred to the Special Committee which will report on the gun.

SIR HENRY TYLER asked whether the Report would be published?

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: That I cannot say till I have seen it.

MR. CARBUTT (Monmouth, &c.) asked, whether it was true that Colonel Maitland, in reading a paper on the design of this gun, stated that it was designed for a charge of 400 lbs.?

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: I am not aware of that.

## WAR DEPARTMENT—QUARTERMASTERS IN THE COMMISSARIAT AND ORDNANCE DEPARTMENTS.

**DR. CLARK** (Caithness) asked the Secretary of State for War, Is it a fact that the Officers called Quartermasters in the Commissariat and Ordnance Departments perform precisely similar duties to the other Officers in these Departments, but that they are ineligible for promotion to higher rank; and, are Quartermasters appointed to different duties after forty years of age; and, if not, is there any other class of Officers in Her Majesty's Service, who, while serving and performing similar duties to their brother Officers, are debarred from promotion for the last fifteen years of their service?

**THE SECRETARY OF STATE** (Mr. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN) (Stirling, &c.): The hon. Member's Question is of an argumentative character, and will hardly admit of a reply in the ordinary compass allotted to an answer. I may, however, say that there is a difference in the responsibility thrown upon these quartermasters and on other departmental officers. The cases of these quartermasters and of other departmental officers do not admit of comparison. The former are usually appointed when no longer young, and the rank and pay given them are in great measure regarded as rewards for past service. Their age and other circumstances would, in many cases, unfit them for further advancement to posts for which younger officers are required.

## THE MAURITIUS—SIR JOHN POPE HENNESSY.

**MR. CARVELL WILLIAMS** (Nottingham, S.): asked the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, Whether there has been received at the Colonial Office a petition or memorial from Mauritius complaining of the administration of Sir J. Pope Hennessy, the Governor, together with an address relating thereto, presented to the Governor, and signed by 6,500 persons; and, whether those documents, with any others relating to the same subject, will be laid before Parliament?

**THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE** (Mr. OSBORNE MORGAN) (Denbighshire, E.): The Colonial Office has received a Petition or Memorial, such as that referred to by my hon. Friend; and if he will move for these documents, and any others relating to the same subject, I will consider whether they can be laid before Parliament.

## CIVIL SERVICE—LOWER DIVISION CLERKS AND WRITERS.

**MR ARTHUR O'CONNOR** (Donegal, E.) asked the Secretary to the Treasury, with reference to his statement that the case of the Civil Service Writers was under the consideration of the Treasury, Whether any decision has yet been arrived at with regard to it; and when it is likely to be settled?

**THE SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY** (Mr. HENRY H. FOWLER) (Wolverhampton, E.): The question of the Civil Service Writers has been referred to a Departmental Committee, who have under their consideration all the schemes which have been suggested with respect to this rather complicated question. I can assure the hon. Member that no time is being lost by that Committee in bringing the matter to a settlement.

**MR. BARTLEY** (Islington, N.) asked the Secretary to the Treasury, Whether the Minutes in respect to the Lower Division Clerks and the Civil Service Writers will be issued before the Dissolution?

**MR. HENRY H. FOWLER**: As regards the Civil Service writers, I would refer the hon. Member to the answer which I have just given to the hon. Member for East Donegal. The consideration of the case of the Lower Division clerks is more advanced, and I hope to lay proposals on the subject before the Chancellor of the Exchequer for his approval very shortly. When the scheme has received his sanction it will be embodied in a Minute; but there is no possibility of that being done before the Dissolution.

## EGYPT (THE MILITARY EXPEDITION)—THE TROOPS AT ASSOUAN.

**MR. NORTON** (Kent, Tunbridge): asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether it is true that 150 deaths or thereabouts have recently taken place amongst the troops at Assouan, and several hundreds invalided; and, whether it is absolutely necessary that the troops should remain there during the present hot season?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN) (Stirling, &c.): There has, I regret to say, been considerable mortality and sickness among the troops at Assouan and in the neighbourhood. I cannot, however, be certain that the figure quoted is correct. Sir Frederick Stephenson has been requested to remove to healthier positions as much of the force as can possibly be spared from Assouan; but the actual proportion which must be left there is a question entirely for the decision of that officer. Steps have already been taken to send all the young and sickly soldiers to Cyprus, where I hope their strength will be soon restored.

## CRIME AND OUTRAGE (IRELAND)—THE RIOTS AT SLIGO.

MR. TOTTENHAM (Winchester) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether it is the case that the perpetrators of the outrage on the Roman Catholic Bishop's residence at Sligo have been arrested, and confessed their guilt; if it is true that all these three men are Roman Catholics, and that no Protestant had any hand in the outrage; whether the same men afterwards took part in the riots and incited the mob to acts of violence; and, if he will communicate to the House the confession made by all or any of the persons arrested?

THE CHIEF SECRETARY (Mr. JOHN MORLEY) (Newcastle-on-Tyne): Two men, both of whom are Catholics, and one of whom is alleged to have been the ringleader in the riots at Sligo, have been arrested, and both state that they are guilty of having caused the injury to the wall of the Catholic Cathedral and the Bishop's Palace; and I understand, from a telegram which I have received to-day, that a third person has turned approver. Beyond that I have no information. As prosecutions are pending, I must refrain from expressing any opinion upon the case.

MR. SEXTON (Sligo) said, he wished to ask the right hon. Gentleman, Whether he is aware, with reference to this affair, that the Catholic clergy of Sligo have been exerting themselves, both in the streets on Saturday night and in their places of worship on Sunday, for the prevention of the continuance of the disorder; whether he is aware that a Catholic priest has met a large crowd of people outside the town of Sligo, and induced them to go back, and that cordial relations exist between the Catholic clergy of Sligo and their Protestant brethren?

MR. JOHN MORLEY, in reply, said, the Police Reports confirmed what his hon. Friend had stated as to the attitude of the Catholic clergy, and the cordial relations which existed between them and their Protestant brethren.

## ADMIRALTY—THE COASTGUARDSMEN—THE GENERAL ELECTION.

ADMIRAL FIELD (Sussex, Eastbourne) asked the Secretary to the Admiralty, Whether arrangements can be made for the coastguard men now embarked for their summer cruise to return to their respective districts, for the purpose of recording their votes in time for the forthcoming Election, by shortening the duration of the cruise, or otherwise?

THE SECRETARY TO THE ADMIRALTY (Mr. HIBBERT) (Oldham): I regret that it will not be practicable to curtail the cruise of the Reserve Squadron in order that the Coastguardsmen shall be back for the General Election.

## WAR DEPARTMENT—THE DOCKYARDS—DISCHARGE OF WORKMEN AT WOOLWICH.

MR. JOHN WILSON (Durham, Houghton-le-Spring) asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether his attention has been called to allegations which from time to time have been specifically brought under the notice of the Department, with regard to the discharge of certain workmen from their employment in the Laboratory at Woolwich, presumably in consequence of their participation in the electioneering proceedings of last year, or of their connection with a Labour Protection League established among the workmen at the Royal Arsenal; whether among the workmen so dismissed are several who have been conspicuously active as Liberal workers, who have been as long as 11, 16, and 18 years in the Government employ, while, contrary to usage, others are retained who have been taken on very recently; and, whether he will undertake that an impartial and searching investigation shall be made into the truth of the complaints, and that Government *employés* may be enabled to exercise their political franchises and to take part in the forthcoming Election free from the apprehension of their being prejudiced thereby?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN) (Stirling, &c.): Representations of the kind referred to have been from time to time made to the Surveyor General of the Ordnance and myself, and the subject is at the present moment engaging our serious attention. The authorities responsible for the discharge of the workmen warmly rupudiated the charge of having been biased by any considerations of the kind alleged, and stated that the men in question had not been discharged because they belonged to any Labour League, nor because of their political opinions; and the Superintendent of the Royal Laboratory has asked for an opportunity of putting me in possession of all the facts of the case. I propose to inquire into the subject at the first available opportunity; but, in the meantime, I must say that, notwithstanding what I hear is a prevalent local opinion to the contrary, I cannot believe that any workman has been prejudiced by his political opinions, or is less free to act independently in the interests of one political Party than of another. Should any instance occurring during the forthcoming contest be brought under my notice of anything said or done on the part of persons in authority at Woolwich or elsewhere, prejudicing workmen in the exercise of their political rights, I shall have to give the most serious consideration to cases of any such offence against the general spirit of the Public Service.

### ISLANDS OF THE SOUTH PACIFIC—THE NEW HEBRIDES—ACTION OF FRANCE.

SIR HENRY HOLLAND (Hampstead): May I ask the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether any further communications have passed between this country and the French Government, respecting the hoisting of the French flag at the New Hebrides?

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. BRYCE) (Aberdeen, S.): A telegram has been received to-day from Lord Lyons, stating that he saw M. De Freycinet this morning, who informed him that no intelligence had been received by the Government of the Republic of the hoisting of the French flag in the New Hebrides; but that the French Government had, nevertheless, yesterday telegraphed to the Governor of New Caledonia instructions that if the hoisting of the flag had taken place it should at once be discontinued. No intelligence confirming the other reports in the newspapers had been received by the French Government. M. De Freycinet promised to send details regarding the murders in the New Hebrides which had occasioned the expedition.

### ISLANDS OF THE SOUTH PACIFIC—NEW CALEDONIA—HER MAJESTY'S ACTING CONSUL.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL (Kirkcaldy, &c.): On the same subject I would ask, If the hon. Gentleman can now state who is the Acting Consul at New Caledonia who made the report; and, whether he will also say whether he still considers the matter one of great gravity, notwithstanding the positive and explicit assurances of the French Government?

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. BRYCE) (Aberdeen, S.): Mr. Leopold Layard is Acting British Consul in New Caledonia, in the absence on leave of his father, Mr. Edgar Layard, Her Majesty's Consul. Mr. Leopold Layard has already had experience in acting for his father, and is unpaid Vice Consul. He is not prohibited from trading, although there is reason to believe that he does not do so.

## *MOTION.*

—o—

### PARLIAMENT—THE DISSOLUTION—ADJOURNMENT OF THE HOUSE.

MR. MACFARLANE (Argyll) asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, If he is able to tell the House on what day he expects the Dissolution to take place, and when the Writs will be issued?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT) (Derby): I cannot go any further than the statement of the Prime Minister—that the Dissolution will take place at the end of next week; but the actual day cannot yet be stated. That depends, I believe, on transactions elsewhere than in the House of Commons. I beg leave to move, Sir, that, Committee of Supply being closed, the House at its rising do adjourn until Monday.

Motion made, and Question, "That this House, at its rising, do adjourn till Monday next,"—(*Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer,*)—put, and *agreed to.*

## *ORDERS OF THE DAY.*

## CONSOLIDATED FUND (APPROPRIATION) BILL.

(*Mr. Courtney, Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Henry H. Fowler.*)

### COMMITTEE.

Order for Committee read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair."

## NAVY—NAVAL ADMINISTRATION.

### OBSERVATIONS.

SIR JOHN COMMERELL (Southampton) said, that, although he did not wish to commence a naval debate, there were one or two questions of importance as regarded naval administration to which he wished to call attention. The first was that of contract work given out by the Lords of the Admiralty, which was not at the present time, and had not been for a number of years, in a very satisfactory condition. There was a very widespread feeling of dissatisfaction among contractors and private yards generally that contracts were not given out by the Board in the fairest and most just way, and that there was no continuity in the policy according to which they were given out. An instance of this was to be seen in the case of the *Nile* and the *Trafalgar*. No doubt, there might be some special reasons; but he thought that in general they ought to know the principle upon which contracts were given out, and also that they were not called upon to tender unless they were considered capable of fulfilling the contracts. The lowest tender should be accepted, which was not the case at present. Another point was our torpedo flotilla, which had been supplied by two or three firms, no doubt very excellent ones, and who had done their work well; but he believed that if these contracts were put up to more public competition they might get quicker and cheaper work. He thought, also, that there was a great deal of money wasted at the present time in the Dockyards, and that a list of prices should be published when contracts were given out, in the same way as that in which they were published in the case of contracts for stores, which would give a good deal of satisfaction to contractors generally. He was himself very strongly of opinion that a certain class of ships resembling merchantmen in type, such, for instance, as transports and store ships, should be built in private dockyards, in order that we might be able to meet all emergencies in time of war. Another question which had been a burning one for many years was that of overtime in our Dockyards. This was a most extravagant and unsatisfactory kind of work, as a man could not possibly do his work thoroughly after working for eight or ten hours a-day. He had discussed this matter with a good many men in our Dockyards, and he considered that the system of overtime was bad for the men, not only physically, but also morally, since they were tempted to spend the extra money in the public-house on their way home late at night.

THE SECRETARY TO THE ADMIRALTY (Mr. HIBBERT) (Oldham) said, he agreed with the hon. and gallant Gentleman that there was nothing in which greater care was necessary than the way in which contracts were given out; but he could not agree in the view the hon. and gallant Gentleman had expressed that the lowest tender should always be accepted. There were cases when it was not desirable to do so, and the Committee which had examined into the question of shipbuilding had reported against taking the lowest tender in all cases. The present policy of the Admiralty, however, was always to take the lowest tender where it was possible, except under certain circumstances where it was not considered desirable to do so. When they considered, for instance, the great importance of such vessels as the *Nile* and the *Trafalgar*, they would recognize how desirable it was that their machinery should be made by the best firms in the country. That machinery would cost something near to £200,000; and the House would see there was reason why they should act with the greatest caution in giving out work of that kind. In regard to the torpedo vessels, they were given out to three of the principal firms in the country, and at present, the Admiralty could not say which of the firms had turned out its work in the most complete manner. They intended, however, in the course of a few weeks to have a trial made of the vessels, and then they should be able to see which firm had done its duty best to the country. With respect to the question of overtime in the Dockyards, he entirely agreed with the hon. and gallant Member, and so strongly did he feel on the point that he had taken considerable trouble to reduce the sum allowed for overtime to the least possible amount, a very few thousand pounds having been taken in the Estimates of this year for that purpose, as compared with previous years; for instance, last year the sum taken was £40,000. He fully agreed that overtime was undesirable and wasteful, and should never be adopted where it was possible to avoid it.

## THE IRISH LAND COMMISSION—PURCHASERS OF GLEBE LANDS.

### OBSERVATIONS.

Mr. WILLIAM O'BRIEN (Tyrone, S.) said, he would remind the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland that he had on a former occasion drawn the attention of the House to the case of the glebe purchasers in Ireland. It was conceded then practically, he believed, that those purchasers were obliged to purchase their holdings, whether they liked it or not, and that they had never been able to get any relief from their burdens during all those years. The right hon. Gentleman had admitted that their case was a very deplorable one, and that the Government were desirous of rescuing them from their unfortunate position. He (Mr. W. O'Brien) believed the Government were willing that a clause should have been introduced into the Land Purchase Bill if it had got into Committee; but, of course, they all knew what had become of the Land Purchase Bill. At all events, whether there was to be a Land Purchase Bill or not, he took it for granted that the Government would not find it very difficult in the Autumn Session to make some adequate provision for the relief of those poor men. All he asked in the meantime was that the Government would see that the Land Commissioners should not press too harshly or unduly for the old arrears that were due, those being the arrears that prevented them from getting any benefit under the Land Purchase Bill of 1885. The hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Henry H. Fowler) on the last occasion admitted that the arrears due from those tenants were something very small. The arrears were a mere bagatelle to the Treasury, but a matter of great injustice to those poor tenants. He understood they were at present being a good deal harassed and threatened with legal proceedings for those arrears. Those arrears were due to an Irish fund, and nearly £1,000,000 of that fund had been already expended in wiping out arrears of a similar character, so that nobody would be damnified by the delay in their payment.

The CHIEF SECRETARY for IRELAND (Mr. John Morley) (Newcastle-on-Tyne) said, his hon. Friend (Mr. W. O'Brien) had given a very accurate account of what was in the mind of the Government, as expressed by himself and the Secretary to the Treasury not many weeks ago. They felt that the condition of the tenant purchasers of the glebe lands was a particularly sad one, and his hon. Friend had not at all overstated the meritorious attempts which those purchasers had made to keep up their instalments. He (Mr. John Morley) had to-day a Report from the Land Commissioners, stating that the whole amount of the arrears of all the purchase money standing out on mortgage on the 31st of March last was £41,000. But the remarkable part of the case was that of that £41,000 of arrears only £13,000 or £14,000 was due from tenant purchasers properly so-called. All the men who had bought their own holdings under the Act had paid up their purchase money, except a small sum of £13,000 or £14,000, and the balance between that sum and the £41,000 was due by those who were not purchasers of their own holdings but outside buyers. The question as to whether the Land Commissioners had exercised due discretion in enforcing payment of those arrears, he could not answer very authentically; but he could assure his hon. Friend, from his own knowledge, that there was no desire whatever on the part of the Commissioners to press with any harshness on those unfortunate purchasers during the interval, whether long or short, before legislation took place on the subject. The prospect of legislation was not a little obscure; but the lines upon which legislation should go, whether it should proceed from the Government or private Members, were pretty well admitted in all quarters of the House. It was the desire of the Government when they had an opportunity to legislate on this subject, and they would seek to extend to tenants under leases for 21 years the benefits of previous legislation confined to tenants from year to year. There would also, he understood, be little objection on the part of the Treasury to allow the arrears to be added to the capital sum due and to treat simple mortgages as instalment mortgages.

## ADMIRALTY—TORPEDO BOATS.

### OBSERVATIONS.

ADMIRAL FIELD (Sussex, Eastbourne) said, that, as that would be the last opportunity of calling attention to the subject, he desired to ask the Civil Lord of the Admiralty as to the progress that was being made with the torpedo boats that had been promised. At the time of the Russian scare in 1884, the then Secretary to the Admiralty, the hon. Member for Hastings (Sir Thomas Brassey), gave the House a solemn pledge that the building of torpedo boats should be pushed forward with the utmost possible speed. We were then in the miserable position of having only eight torpedo boats, and of these only two were capable of keeping the sea. France had 60, and was increasing the number to 80. Of the 55 that had been ordered, the House of Commons was promised 40; but of these only six had been delivered; and, so far as he understood, even if the present programme of the Admiralty was carried out, we should only have 25 at the end of the year. The contractors, it appeared, preferred to carry out foreign orders, on which they got more profit, and were not carrying out the orders of the Admiralty as promptly as they ought. Considering the state in which our Navy was for want of these boats, he thought the Admiralty ought to put strong pressure upon the contractors, in order to keep them up to their engagements, and that, if necessary, the penalties should be enforced.

THE CIVIL LORD OF THE ADMIRALTY (Mr. DUFF) (Banffshire) said, he would admit that there had been considerable delay in the delivery of the torpedo boats by private contractors. When the present Government came into Office, this delay was at once noticed; and, since that date, the contractors had been constantly pressing upon the different firms to deliver the boats. This pressure was still being brought to bear upon them. He did not think they would be in a satisfactory position until the Admiralty arranged to build some of its own torpedo boats, instead of depending upon private firms, and the expediency of taking that step was under the consideration of the Board.

## PRISONS (IRELAND)—OMAGH PRISON.

### OBSERVATIONS.

MR. M. J. KENNY (Tyrone, Mid) said, he would take that opportunity of raising a question as to the transfer of prisoners from Omagh to Derry Prison. In Omagh, the gaol occupied a position convenient for the county and the Province, and the Committee on the subject, a short time ago, reported not altogether unfavourably to Omagh Prison. The defects complained of had been remedied, though, certainly, it was after a long delay that the necessary improvements were made, and only after a Governor of the prison died from a disease contracted in the building. Instead of Omagh, it was now proposed to make Derry the central prison; but the gaol at the latter place was totally unfit for the purpose. It was old and antiquated in its arrangements, was one of the worst prisons in Ireland, and had not the advantage of being in a central position, standing as it did in the North-West of the Province. The cost of maintaining prisoners at Derry was also much heavier than at Omagh, while the amount of productive labour turned out at the latter place was much greater. Beyond that, the prison at Omagh might be made far more useful than it had been, for it had been only partially used. Instead of prisoners from Fermanagh being sent there, they had been sent elsewhere, though a considerable saving might be effected by sending prisoners there from Fermanagh, Donegal, Derry, and Armagh. It was the usual mismanagement of the Irish Prisons Board that prevented this being done, and now they proposed to change the prison to a far less central position, and that at an increased cost. On what grounds had they proceeded in their action? So far as he knew, all the arguments were against the change.

The CHIEF SECRETARY for IRELAND (Mr. John Morley) (Newcastle-on-Tyne) said, he could not profess to answer the Question put to him, as regarded this prison, with a thorough knowledge of all the circumstances. But the subject was raised in the form of a Question a short time since, and he then looked through the Papers in relation to the matter. The impression made upon his mind by the information he gathered was that the Prisons Board had been well advised in their action, and had acted prudently. Their policy was guided by the recommendations of the Prisons Commission, which, as the hon. Member would recollect, sat in Ireland not long since, and made careful inquiry into the whole subject. The change in the *status* of Omagh Prison was entirely in conformity with the spirit of those recommendations.

Question, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair," put, and *agreed to.*

Bill *considered* in Committee, and *reported,* without Amendment; to be read the third time upon *Monday* next.

## REVISING BARRISTERS' APPOINTMENT BILL.—[Bill 245.]

(*Mr. Attorney General, Mr. Secretary Childers.*)

COMMITTEE.

Bill *considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Clause 1 *agreed to.*

Clause 2 (Power to appoint additional revising barristers).

On Motion of Mr. Attorney General, the following Amendment made:—In page 2, to strike out Sub-section 5.

Clause, as amended, *agreed to.*

Remaining Clauses *agreed to.*

Bill *reported;* as amended, *considered;* read the third time, and *passed.*

## REVISING BARRISTERS (IRELAND) BILL.—[Bill 283.]

(*Mr. John Morley, Mr. Henry H. Fowler.*)

COMMITTEE.

Order for Committee read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair."—(*Mr. John Morley.*)

Mr. LEWIS (Londonderry) said he should like to know whether Her Majesty's Government thought there was any necessity for additional Revising Barristers in Ireland, seeing that in a great many counties there would be no contests and the Revising Barristers' work would be of a merely formal character. The appointment of one additional Revising Barrister in Ireland, under the circumstances, would be a scandal, yet, by the Bill, it was proposed to appoint 12.

The CHIEF SECRETARY for IRELAND (Mr. John Morley) (Newcastle-on-Tyne) said, that the Government were bound to provide for special emergencies, for there was no certainty of there being no contests in the Registration Courts, although a great number might not be anticipated. It was therefore necessary to make some provision. Last year 39 additional Revising Barristers were appointed in Ireland; but, on the present occasion, probably 12 at most would meet the emergency. That would be the outside number; but it might not be necessary to appoint so many. He was informed that unless some additional Barristers were appointed, it was doubtful whether the work could be done in time.

Mr. BIGGAR (Cavan, W.) said, he was decidedly of opinion that, although nothing like so many additional Revising Barristers would be required as last year, there would still be necessity for some.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Bill *considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Clause 1 (Short title) *agreed to.*

Clause 2 (Power to appoint additional revising barristers).

Mr. LEWIS Londonderry): I do not intend to make a speech upon this subject again, and I do not intend to divide the Committee upon it; but, notwithstanding what has been said by the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland, I repeat, most emphatically, that no one need go further in regard to the last Election than the counties of Mayo, Kerry, and Cork, or indeed the whole of the South of Ireland, to know that there was practically an entire absence of opposition, and that *à fortiori* registration was unnecessary. The right hon. Gentleman intimates that the appointment of some 12 additional Revising Barristers is contemplated. I do not know whether I shall have a seat in the next Parliament, or not; but if I have, I shall certainly call attention to the manner in which the provisions of this Bill shall have been carried out, and the amount of work executed, which I need scarcely say I shall, in the meantime, narrowly watch. I believe the appointment of additional Revising Barristers to be a great scandal. I have no hesitation in saying again, that the appointment of only one additional Revising Barrister will be a great scandal. Prior to the extension of the franchise, there were many counties in Ireland which were capable of being contested by the two great political Parties; but in a large majority of cases, since the extension of the franchise, there is nothing like effective or active opposition. Election contests are altogether dead, and, therefore, *à fortiori*, there is no necessity for registration. I believe that there are no grounds whatever for the introduction of this Bill, and the Chief Secretary for Ireland has certainly given none. I shall watch the matter most narrowly. No doubt, many barristers will apply for these appointments; and when it is known that there are to be 12 extra appointments, I have very little doubt that there will be at least 244 applications for them, notwithstanding the fact that the pay is by no means excessive. Speaking with considerable knowledge upon the matter, I think it is more than probable that many of the Revising Barristers appointed this year, will have nothing but mere formal work to do.

Mr. JOHN MORLEY: I did not say that 12 new appointments would absolutely be made, but that, in my opinion, 12 was the outside number. If there are 244 applications, all I can say is that about 240 of those who make them will probably find that they have been misled.

Clause *agreed to.*

Clause 3 (Interpretation) *agreed to.*

Bill *reported,* without Amendment; read the third time, and *passed.*

## PUBLIC WORKS LOANS (TRAMWAYS IRELAND) BILL.—[Bill 259.]

(*Mr. Henry H. Fowler, Mr. John Morley.*)

### THIRD READING.

Order for Third Reading read.

Mr. BIGGAR (Cavan, W.) said, he wished to enter a protest against the lending of public money on inadequate security, as proposed by the Bill, and he would also assert that the Bill gave an unfair preference to contractors for particular tramways.

The SECRETARY to the TREASURY (Mr. Henry H. Fowler) (Wolverhampton, E.) said, he thought that the case must be a good one which received the approval of the strict, cautious, and capable officials who examined closely into all such matters before they came under the notice of the Secretary to the Treasury.

Bill read the third time, and *passed.*

## SEA FISHING BOATS (SCOTLAND) BILL. [*Lords*].—[Bill 270.]

(*Mr. Solicitor General for Scotland.*)

### THIRD READING.

Order for Third Reading read.

On Motion of Mr. Solicitor General for Scotland, Bill *re-committed* in respect of an Amendment and two New Clauses.

Bill *considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

On Motion of Mr. Solicitor General for Scotland, Clause relating to transfer of boats *struck out* of the Bill.

On Motion of Mr. Solicitor General for Scotland, the following new Clauses added: — Clause relating to transfer of boats; and Clause respecting exemption from Stamp Duty.

Bill *reported;* as amended, *considered;* read the third time, and *passed.*

### MERCHANDISE (FRAUDULENT MARKING) BILL.—[BILL 291.]

(*Mr. Mundella, Mr. Acland.*)

SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."—(*Mr. C. T. D. Acland.*)

MR. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT (Sheffield, Ecclesall) said, that he had made application for a copy of the Bill, and had been informed that it was not yet printed. He would not, however, object to the second reading of the Bill, which he believed was approved by the Cutlers' Company, if such opposition would prevent the measure passing during the present Session. He was very anxious that a measure to prevent false marking should pass this Session. The subject-matter was of great importance—especially to the working classes of Sheffield and other large towns—and was embodied in a Bill which he himself introduced early in the present Session. His hon. Friends the Member for Newcastle (Mr. Joseph Cowen), for Darwen (Viscount Cranborne), for Liverpool (Mr. Baden-Powell), and for Hallam (Mr. Stuart-Wortley), had backed the Bill.

THE SECRETARY TO THE BOARD OF TRADE (Mr. C. T. D. ACLAND) (Cornwall, Launceston) said, he had been under the impression that the Bill had been printed and circulated; but that not being the case, he would not now press for the second reading.

Motion, by leave, *withdrawn*.

Motion made, and Question, "That the said Order be discharged,"—(*Mr. C. T. D. Acland,*)—put, and *agreed to*.

Order *discharged;* Bill *withdrawn*.

### MERCHANT SHIPPING (FISHING BOATS) ACT AMENDMENT BILL.

(*Mr. Mundella, Mr. Acland.*)

[BILL 274.] COMMITTEE.

Bill *considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Clauses 1 to 5, inclusive, *agreed to*.

Clause 6 (Accounts to be rendered by owners to crews paid by share).

On Motion of Mr. C. T. D. ACLAND, the following Amendment made:—In page 2, line 22, after "exceeding," insert "five."

Clause, as amended, *agreed to*.

Clause 7 (Certificates of service to be issued to second hands until the 1st of May, 1877).

On Motion of Mr. C. T. D. ACLAND, the following Amendment made:—In page 2, line 23, leave out "May," and insert "September."

Clause, as amended, *agreed to*.

Clause 8 (Provisions of 46 & 47 Vict. c. 41, s. 42, as to certificates of competency to apply to second hands as well as skippers).

On Motion of Mr. C. T. D. ACLAND, the following Amendment made:—In page 2, line 34, leave out "May," and insert "September."

Clause, as amended, *agreed to*.

Clauses 9 and 10 separately *agreed to*.

Clause 11 (Regulatious respecting conveyance of fish from trawlers for safety of life).

On Motion of Mr. C. T. D. ACLAND, the following Amendment made:—In page 4, line 3, at end of Sub-section (2), insert—

> "Provided always, That every regulation made by the Board of Trade under this sub-section shall be laid before both Houses of Parliament, and no such regulation shall come into operation until the expiration of one month thereafter."

On Motion of Mr. HENEAGE, the following Amendment made:—In page 4, line 3, at end of Sub-section (2), add—

> "Provided, That such regulations shall not have any effect or operation unless and until the same has been laid before both Houses of Parliament; and if any such regulations shall be disapproved of by either House of Parliament within one month after the same shall have been so laid before Parliament, such rules, or such parts thereof as shall be disapproved of, shall not be enforced."

Clause, as amended, *agreed to*.

Remaining Clauses *agreed to*.

Bill *reported;* as amended, *considered;* read the third time, and *passed*.

### SHOP HOURS REGULATION BILL.

(*Sir John Lubbock, Mr. Burt, Mr. E. Macnaghten, Sir Robert Peel, Mr. Rathbone.*)

[BILL 216.] CONSIDERATION.

Bill, as amended, *considered*.

Clause 9 (Exemption of members of the same family).

MR. WESTLAKE (Essex, Romford), in moving the rejection of the clause, said, it did not appear what constituted being one of the family, and he thought that the clause would only lead to litigation. There was no necessity for the clause at all. If it was thought desirable to declare the excessive employment of young persons to be improper and criminal, he did not see why an exception should be made in the case of young persons who were members of an employer's family. The word "family" might include servants; and, besides, there was, in his opinion, no reason why they should give power in the Bill to work their own children longer than the Bill allowed them to work their ordinary *employés.*

Amendment proposed, to leave out Clause 9.—(*Mr. Westlake.*)

Question proposed, "That Clause 9 stand part of the Bill."

MR. LEWIS (Londonderry) said, he objected to the way in which the House had been treated in connection with this Bill. Two hours of yesterday's Sitting were occupied in endeavouring to give shape to the Bill, and the result was still very unsatisfactory. He protested against that sort of legislation at the end of the Session, in the absence of the Home Secretary and of the promoters of the Bill, and in such a very thin House.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL (Kirkcaldy, &c.) said, he thought that the Bill would be a somewhat dangerous one to pass without the clause.

Notice taken, that 40 Members were not present; House counted, and 40 Members being found present,

Question put.

The House *divided* :—Ayes 103; Noes 15: Majority 88.—(Div. List, No. 137.)

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read the third time."—(*Sir John Lubbock.*)

MR. CAVENDISH BENTINCK (Whitehaven), in moving, as an Amendment, that the Bill be read the third time that day three months, said, he must protest against contentious Business being taken after the statement of the Prime Minister that it should not. He objected to the Bill because he was of opinion that such a mischievous piece of legislation, belonging to the harum-scarum order, should not be allowed to pass into law. The whole drafting of the Bill was lax. No provision was made for enforcing its provisions, and it infringed the principle of free trade. The Bill should be withdrawn this year, and brought forward on a more suitable occasion next Session, in order that it might be thoroughly considered and discussed.

Amendment proposed, to leave out the word "now," and at the end of the Question to add the words "upon this day three months."—(*Mr. Cavendish Bentinck.*)

Question proposed, "That the word 'now' stand part of the Question."

SIR JOHN LUBBOCK (London University), in pressing the necessity that existed for reading the Bill the third time, said, it had been most carefully considered by a Select Committee and by the Committee of the House, whilst its principle, on the second reading, was accepted without a division. With one exception, in which the Bill was strengthened, and the omission of the power of relaxation intrusted to the Home Secretary, the Amendments passed last night were mainly verbal. The Select Committee were, with one exception, in favour of the Bill; and even the right hon. Gentleman the Member for North-East Manchester (Sir James Fergusson), who still objected to the Bill, himself admitted the gravity of the evil. The omission of Clause 9, against which he voted just now, would rather have strengthened the Bill; but it only related to members of one family, and parents were not likely to overwork their own children. He hoped the House would assent to the third reading.

MR. LEWIS said, that if the Bill had been considered thoroughly by the Select Committee, it was strange to find that it had been considerably altered in its passage through the Committee of the House. As a matter of fact, the Bill was an entirely different measure from that which came before the Select Committee. It now included public-houses, whereas, formerly, the Committee proposed to exclude them, and the dispensatory power to be placed in the hands of the Home Secretary was taken away. It was the worst drawn Bill he had seen, and a more unworkable measure had probably never been presented to Parliament.

Question put.

The House *divided:*—Ayes 84; Noes 17: Majority 67.—(Div. List, No. 138.)

Main Question put.

Bill read the third time, and *passed.*

## LAW OF EVIDENCE AMENDMENT BILL [*Lords*].

(*Sir Henry James.*)

[BILL 286.] SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

SIR HENRY JAMES (Bury), in moving that the Bill be now read a second time, said, that its object was to enable persons charged with criminal offences, if they wished it, to be witnesses in their own behalf. The measure came before them clothed with great authority, for not only had that House, on several occasions, affirmed its principle, but it had twice or thrice received the assent of the House of Lords, and one of the last speeches which the late Earl Cairns had made was in support of an analogous measure. The principle had also been recently tested in measures relating to explosives and to offences against young girls. The Explosives Act contained a clause enabling a person charged with an offence under it to give evidence; and in a subsequent trial one of the prisoners availed himself of the privilege. If he had not done so it was almost certain he would have been convicted; but by the evidence he gave on examination-in-chief and on cross-examination he obtained his acquittal. Last Parliament a similar provision was introduced into the Criminal Law Amendment Act, because it was felt that charges might be made under that Act against innocent persons who alone could give explanations that would establish their innocence. This Bill would make the law general. The main ground upon which he recommended it to the favourable consideration of the House was that, although it might enable a proved guilty person to escape, yet that was a small matter compared with the additional safeguard it would provide in connection with the acquittal of the innocent, which would be facilitated by the change. He understood that Irish Members objected to the Bill being extended to Ireland. He should have wished to see the Criminal Law administered uniformly, believing that the change would be equally advantageous in both countries, and he trusted the opposition of the Irish Members would not be persisted in. He now moved the second reading of the Bill.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."—(*Sir Henry James.*)

MR. SEXTON (Sligo, S.) said, he thought that a Bill of this importance and magnitude, effecting, as it did, a fundamental change in the Law of Evidence, should not be proceeded with under the circumstances in which the House was at that time placed, Parliament being about to expire, and when so few Members were present. He believed that the Bill, if it became law, would be exceedingly dangerous in its operation, especially if it were extended to Ireland. ["Oh, oh!"] At all events, the operation of the Bill in that country would not be quite the same as it might be in England. In Ireland persons might be charged with offences of a political complexion, and, although they might be innocent, they would rather run the risk of conviction than answer questions which might be put to them with ulterior objects if they became witnesses. In such cases the silence of accused persons would be regarded as evidence of guilt, and thus the measure would unjustly facilitate the conviction of innocent persons. He feared if the principle were established in England the disposition to extend it to Ireland would be irresistible. From the number of blocks on the Paper, however, the prospect of proceeding with the Bill in Committee seemed very slight.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT) (Derby) said, that if his right hon. and learned Friend (Sir Henry James) desired to facilitate the passing of the Bill, he ought not to have begun by introducing the question of Home Rule. He (Sir William Harcourt) did not himself think it desirable that there should be a different rule of law for England and Ireland; and, as he was in favour of the Bill, he would support the second reading. It was one which deserved the full consideration of the House. Upon it might depend the liberties, the lives, and the property of Her Majesty's subjects. He had come to the conclusion that, on the whole, it would be better that men accused should have the opportunity of giving evidence to exculpate themselves from serious charges, and to explain circumstances which would explain their innocence. At the same time, they should, by no means whatever, be compelled to do so. There were many cases in which people who had been convicted would have been acquitted if they could have given evidence. At the same time, he could understand where it would be very inconvenient for a prisoner to be cross-examined; but he thought it would be the duty of the Judge to restrain such power of cross-examination. In his opinion, the Bill would introduce a judicious change in the Criminal Law, and, therefore, he would support it; but he would oppose the measure if it made a distinction between the law of England and Ireland.

Sir RICHARD WEBSTER (Isle of Wight) said, he also hoped that the Bill would be read a second time. In prosecutions for sending unseaworthy ships to sea, prisoners had been allowed to give evidence with very great advantage to themselves. There had been seven or eight important trials, in which it would have gone very hard with the accused if they had not been allowed to give evidence. It was said that silence would be prejudicial to the prisoner; but, in a very important case, the Judge adopted the view that no presumption was to be drawn from the silence of the prisoner, and, certainly, no latitude of cross-examination would be allowed. Anything like an unfair cross-examination into the past life of the accused would be contrary to the spirit of the Bill; and any Judge trying the case would be bound to prevent such a cross-examination. It would be an important step to make the principle of the Bill applicable to England. If Irish Representatives wished to make a distinction between England and Ireland in that respect, they could bring up an Amendment in Committee. He trusted, however, that that would not be done; because he had no doubt that Judges were disposed to administer the law as fairly in Ireland as in England. The late Sir John Holker, and almost all the distinguished men who had considered the question for years past, were in favour of the principle of the Bill, and he trusted that the House would recognize it and would allow this amendment of the law to be a redeeming feature of the legislation of the present Session, and that it would be applied not only to England, but to Ireland.

Mr. BRADLAUGH (Northampton) said, he felt a double difficulty in opposing the second reading of the Bill. First, although he thought that a measure of such great importance should not be taken hastily, in a very thin House, at the end of the Session, he would admit that he had supported, during the last few days, several Bills against which similar objections had been urged; and, next, he conceded, that every light ought to be thrown upon each case by all possible evidence. He did not object to the proposal to make the wife or husband of an accused person a competent witness, nor did he object to allowing an accused person to tender himself, or herself, as a witness; but he understood the present Bill, with a very slight exception, proposed to make the law as to evidence in criminal prosecutions the same as it was in France. At every stage of the proceedings, the prisoner might be examined by the magistrate; the only difference being that, by this Bill, the prisoner might refuse, but, in France, he could not. Unfortunately, unless magistrates in each case explained the Statute, an accused person would not know that he might withhold his consent. In troubled times, for a man charged with a political offence, the Bill opened up a new procedure. At so late a period of the Session, he did not think that a matter involving such a serious change in the practice of our Courts could be properly considered. He did not know whether he was justified in drawing a distinction between cases of political crime and cases of ordinary crime; but it was a distinction which the public mind had ever drawn in this country. In cases of alleged seditious speeches, as in the Chartist times, or of alleged unlawful assembling, as in St. Peter's Fields in 1819, the provisions of the Bill might be used with terrific effect against poor and ignorant men. He would appeal to the right hon. and learned Gentleman who introduced the Bill (Sir Henry James) whether it was necessary, in the interests of public justice, to press this matter at the end of the Session. If it were proposed that the taking of evidence should only be on a trial which would take place before a Judge of the Superior Court, he should not have so much objection to the Bill; for he believed that there was no Judge of the High Court who, in a political prosecution, would allow himself to strain any form of procedure against the prisoner. He (Mr. Bradlaugh) had often said, both in this and in other countries, that no English prisoner need fear to trust his life to the impartiality of any Judge of our High Court, even though a political opponent. But he (Mr. Bradlaugh) could not pretend to have the same confidence in the unpaid magistracy, or even in the stipendiary magistrates. For the unpaid magistracy, he should not like to trust them, in poaching cases, or in those of trespass in pursuit of game, with the uncontrolled right to examine the prisoner before them. It was said that, under the Bill, a prisoner was not bound to answer; but how was a poor and ignorant man to know that? If it were provided that some kind of caution should be given by the magistrate, as was now provided by statute, where the magistrate, before committing a prisoner for trial, asked if he desired to make any statement, a great deal of his objection would be done away with. Still, he thought that the matter was not pressing, and he hoped the House would not read the Bill a second time. He trusted that he would not be thought to be opposing the Bill in any captious spirit, but that it would be seen he was only trying to see that no injustice should be done to persons in a most difficult position.

Mr. HUNTER (Aberdeen, N.) said, he was very much delighted, for he thought it was a most refreshing thing, although the House would probably be much surprised, to hear a thoroughly Tory anti-Reform speech from the hon. Member for Northampton. This reform had been advocated by Reformers for many generations; and to hear the hon. Member go against it, was enough to make the ghost of Jeremy Bentham rise from his grave to haunt him. The Bill was simply the logical consequence of a long series of Acts for the amendment of the law to which Sir Samuel Romilly gave the initiative, and that reform was advocated alike by Liberal and Conservative lawyers. While, however, he (Mr. Hunter) supported the principle of the Bill, he was quite willing that Ireland should be excluded from its scope; inasmuch as it was strongly opposed by the Irish people, under the impression that it would operate unfairly and harshly against prisoners. He, however, would point out that that had not been the result in Scotland, where persons accused of offences were examined before the Sheriff, with a result equally valuable in detecting the guilty, and in clearing the innocent.

Mr. WILLIAM O'BRIEN (Tyrone, N.) said, that he hoped the right hon. and learned Gentleman opposite (Sir Henry James) had, by the opposition which his Bill had evoked, seen the unwisdom of forcing it upon the House after the understanding entered into by the Prime Minister that no measures of a contentious character should be considered this Session. The Irish Members regarded the Bill as eminently contentious. Having regard to the class of men who hitherto had been in a position to manipulate Party and political trials in Ireland, he was firmly persuaded that this Bill would be the means of working the most frightful injustice in Ireland. Having also regard to the time of the Session, and the undertaking of the Prime Minister that no contentious Business should be forced upon the House, he would appeal to the right hon. and learned Gentleman not to proceed with the Bill. Even if he carried the second reading of the Bill, it would be nothing more than a barren victory; for many of his (Mr. O'Brien's) hon. Friends, who were then absent, would return in their full strength on Monday for another purpose, and the prospects of the Bill for that Session would be hopeless. He begged to move the adjournment of the debate.

Mr. BLAINE (Armagh, S.) seconded the Motion.

Motion made, and Question put, "That the Debate be now adjourned."—(*Mr. W. O'Brien.*)

The House *divided*:—Ayes 37; Noes 40: Majority 3.—(Div. List, No. 139.)

Original Question again proposed.

Mr. MOLLOY (King's Co., Birr) said, he hoped that now the opinion of the House had been so strongly expressed, the right hon. and learned Gentleman who had introduced the Bill would withdraw it. He (Mr. Molloy) objected to the measure, in its present form, not only for Ireland, but for England.

Notice taken, that 40 Members were not present; House counted, and 40 Members not being present,

House adjourned at Eight o'clock till Monday next.

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## HOUSE OF LORDS,

*Saturday*, 19*th June*, 1886.

MINUTES.]—Public Bills—*First Reading*—Revising Barristers' Appointment * (179); Revising Barristers (Ireland) * (180); Metropolitan Board of Works (Money * (181); Public Works Loans (Tramways Ireland) * (182); Westminster Abbey Restoration * (183); Merchant Shipping (Fishing Boats) Acts Amendment * (184); Probation of First Offenders * (185); Shop Hours Regulation * (186).

### INCUMBENTS OF BENEFICES LOANS EXTENSION BILL [H.L.] (NO. 177.)

### SEA FISHING BOATS (SCOTLAND) BILL [H.L.] (NO. 178.)

Returned from the Commons *agreed to*, with amendments: The said amendments to be *printed*, and to be considered on *Monday* next.

Their Lordships met;—and having gone through the Business on the Paper without debate,

House adjourned at a quarter past Twelve o'clock, to Monday next, a quarter before Eleven o'clock.

[INDEX.

LONDON: CORNELIUS BUCK AND SON, 22, PATERNOSTER ROW, E.C.

# INDEX

TO

# HANSARD'S PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES,

## VOLUME CCCVI.

### FIFTH VOLUME OF SESSION 1886.

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### Explanation of the Abbreviations.

Bills, Read 1°, 2°, 3°, or 1ª, 2ª, 3ª, Read the First, Second, or Third Time.—In Speeches, 1R., 2R., 3R., Speech delivered on the First, Second, or Third Reading.—*Amendt.*, Amendment.—*Res.*, Resolution.—*Comm.*, Committee.—*Re-Comm.*, Re-Committal.—*Rep.*, Report.—*Consid.*, Consideration.—*Adj.*, Adjournment or Adjourned.—*cl.*, Clause.—*add. cl.*, Additional Clause.—*neg.*, Negatived.—*M. Q.*, Main Question.—*O. Q.*, Original Question.—*O. M.*, Original Motion.—*P. Q.*, Previous Question.—R. P., Report Progress.—*A.*, Ayes.—*N.*, Noes.—*M.*, Majority.—*1st. Div.*, *2nd. Div.*, First or Second Division.—*l.*, Lords.—*c.*, Commons.

When in this Index a * is added to the Reading of a Bill, it indicates that no Debate took place upon that stage of the measure.

When in the Text or in the Index a Speech is marked thus *, it indicates that the Speech is reprinted from a Pamphlet or some authorized Report.

When in the Index a † is prefixed to a Name or an Office (the Member having accepted or vacated office during the Session) and to Subjects of Debate thereunder, it indicates that the Speeches on those Subjects were delivered in the speaker's private or official character, as the case may be.

Some subjects of debate have been classified under the following "General Headings:"—ARMY — NAVY — INDIA — IRELAND — SCOTLAND — PARLIAMENT — POOR LAW — POST OFFICE — METROPOLIS — CHURCH OF ENGLAND — EDUCATION — CRIMINAL LAW — LAW AND JUSTICE — TAXATION, under WAYS AND MEANS.

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ABINGER, Lord
Crofters (Scotland) (No. 2), Comm. *cl.* 1, Amendt. 157, 158, 159, 161 ; *cl.* 2, Amendt. 164, 165, 166 ; *cl.* 6, Amendt. 170 ; *cl.* 9, Amendt. 171 ; *cl.* 11, Amendt. 172, 174 ; *cl.* 12, 175

ABRAHAM, Mr. W., *Glamorgan, Rhondda*
Inspector of Mines (South Wales), 1299

ABRAHAM, Mr. W., *Limerick, W.*
Army (Auxiliary Forces) — Cavan Militia — Captain Leslie, 200

ACLAND, Mr. C. T. Dyke (Secretary to the Board of Trade), *Cornwall, Launceston*
Board of Trade—Collection and Publication of Labour Statistics, 1703
Church Buildings Acts — Grants Balance, 1704
Colonial Statistical Tables, 827
Ecclesiastical Commissioners—Evictions near Bream's Buildings, Chancery Lane, 503
Fisheries (England and Wales)—The Morecambe Bay Cockle Fishery, 32
Freshwater Fisheries, Comm., Report, Recomm. 611

ACLAND, Mr. C. T. Dyke—*cont.*
Ireland—Questions
Commissioners of Irish Lights — Allowances to Lightkeepers, 198, 1137
Lighthouse Keepers—Notice of Examinations, 1669
Railways — Great Southern and Western Railway—Signalmen, 1630
Lighthouse Illuminants Committee — Experiments at the South Foreland—Reports from Foreign Governments, 1138
Lighthouse Illuminants — Public Competition —Sir James Douglass's Patents, 1297
Wigham's Double Quadriform Gas Light, 1710
Loss of Life at Sea—Regulations of the United States, 1294
Merchandise (Fraudulent Marking), 2R. 1865
Merchandise Marks Act, 1862, 505
Merchant Shipping Act, 1854 — The S.S. "Creole," 1127
Merchant Shipping (Fishing Boats) Acts Amendment, 2R. Motion for Adjournment, 1570, 1655; Comm. *cl.* 6, Amendt. 1865; *cl.* 7, Amendt. 1866; *cl.* 8, Amendt. *ib.*; *cl.* 11, Amendt. *ib*
Parliament — Adjournment of the House, Ministerial Statement, 1320
Patent Law—Ensilage Appliances, 831
Railways—North British Railway — Accident near Sunnyside, 1714
Salmon and Freshwater Fisheries, Comm. Motion for Adjournment, 1566; *cl.* 6, *ib.* 1567; 3R. 1653
Trade and Commerce of the Empire, 1127

ADMIRALTY — First Lord (*see* RIPON, Marquess of)

ADMIRALTY—Civil Lord (*see* DUFF, Mr. R. W.)

ADMIRALTY—Secretary to (*see* HIBBERT, Right Hon. J. T.)

ADVOCATE, The LORD (*see* BALFOUR, Right Hon. J. B.)

*Africa* (*South*)
*Basutoland—The Chief Montsioa*, Question, Mr. Baden-Powell; Answer, The Under Secretary of State for the Colonies (Mr. Osborne Morgan) *June* 3, 829
*Zululand—The Papers*, Question, Mr. Baden-Powell; Answer, The Under Secretary of State for the Colonies (Mr. Osborne Morgan) *June* 18, 1844
*The Kimberley Diamond Mines*, Questions, Sir Robert Fowler, Mr. M'Arthur; Answers, The Under Secretary of State for the Colonies (Mr. Osborne Morgan) *June* 17, 1707

*Africa* (*West Coast*)
*British Protectorate in the Gulf of Guinea*, Question, Mr. Hutton; Answer, The Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Mr. Bryce) *June* 4, 1011

[*cont.*

*Africa* (*West Coast*)—cont.
*The Gold Coast*, Question, Mr. Hutton; Answer, The Under Secretary of State for the Colonies (Mr. Osborne Morgan) *June* 4, 1012
*The Congo*, Question, Mr. Hutton; Answer, The Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Mr. Bryce) *May* 27, 188

*Agricultural Department of the Privy Council—The Cattle Markets of the United Kingdom*
Question, Viscount Ebrington; Answer, The Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster (Sir Ughtred Kay-Shuttleworth) *June* 3, 842

*Allotments and Cottage Gardens*
Observations, The Earl of Onslow; Reply, The Lord President of the Council (Earl Spencer) *June* 4, 999

**Allotments and Small Holdings Bill**
(*Mr. Jesse Collings, Mr. Burt, Mr. Broadhurst, Captain Verney, Mr. Arch, Dr. Foster, Mr. Flower, Mr. Cobb, Mr. Newnes*)
*c.* Bill withdrawn * *June* 18 [Bill 53]

AINSLIE, Mr. W. G., *Lancashire, N. Lonsdale*
Contagious Diseases (Animals) Acts—Abortion among Cattle, 495

ALCESTER, Lord
Navy—H.M.S. "Colossus"—The 43-ton Gun, 445

ALLEN, Mr. H. G., *Pembroke & Haverfordwest*
Education Department — Inspection of Elementary Schools, 27
Navy Estimates—Dockyards and Naval Yards at Home and Abroad, 1375

**Arbitration Bill** [H.L.] (*The Lord Bramwell*)
*l.* Committee * *May* 28 (No. 17)
Report * *June* 4 (No. 138)
Bill withdrawn * *June* 18

ARCH, Mr. J., *Norfolk, N.W.*
Government of Ireland Bill — Policy of the Government, Ministerial Statement, 349

ARGYLL, Duke of
Arms (Ireland), 2R. 684
Conveyancing (Scotland) Acts Amendment, 1R. 1678, 1679
Crofters (Scotland) (No. 2), Comm. *cl.* 1, 158; Amendt. 160, 162; *cl.* 2, Amendt. 163, 164, 165; *cl.* 5, 167; *cl.* 6, 169; *cl.* 11, Amendt. 172, 173; *cl.* 12, Amendt. 175; *cl.* 13, *ib.*; *cl.* 16, Amendt. 177, 179; *cl.* 21, 181; *cl.* 32, Amendt. 182; Schedule, 185, 1113
Hillhead and Kelvinside (Annexation to Glasgow), 2R. 628
Ireland—Ministerial Policy, 1260; Motion for Adjournment, 1268, 1269
Medical Acts Amendment, 2R. 1839

**Armitage, Mr. B.,** *Salford, W.*
Spain—Commercial Convention, 1134

**Arms (Ireland) Bill** (*Mr. John Morley, Mr. Secretary Childers, Mr. Attorney General*)
c. Order for Committee read; Moved, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair" *May* 27, 213
Amendt. to leave out from "That," add "in the opinion of this House, no measure dealing with the disarmament of Orange districts will be satisfactory or impartially administered which requires to be put in force by a proclamation of the Irish Privy Council, composed almost entirely of members of or sympathisers with the Orange organization" (*Mr. T. M. Healy*) *v.*; Question proposed, "That the words, &c.;" after debate, Question put; A. 180, N. 104; M. 76 (D. L. 108)
Main Question, "That Mr. Speaker, &c." put, and agreed to; Committee; Report, 236 [Bill 205]
Moved, "That the Bill, as amended, be considered To-morrow," 294
Amendt. to leave out "To-morrow," insert "upon Monday next" (*Mr. T. M. Healy*); Question proposed, "That 'To-morrow,' &c.;" after short debate, Question put, and agreed to
Moved, "That the Bill be reprinted" (*Mr. T. M. Healy*); Motion agreed to; Bill to be printed [Bill 240]
Considered *May* 28, 417; Moved, "That the Bill be now read 3°;" Question put; A. 156, N. 65; M. 91 (D. L. 111); Bill read 3°
l. Read 1ª * (*E. Spencer*) *May* 31 (No. 129)
Read 2ª, after debate; Committee negatived; read 3ª *June* 1, 632
Royal Assent *June* 4 [49 *Vict.* c. 24]

**Army** (*Questions*)
*Army Discipline Act—Redress of Wrong—Appeals*, Question, Mr. R. Power; Answer, The Secretary of State for War (Mr. Campbell-Bannerman) *May* 31, 495
*Artillery Barracks at Scarborough*, Question, Sir George Sitwell; Answer, The Secretary of State for War (Mr. Campbell-Bannerman) *May* 28, 314
*Contracts — Regimental Supplies*, Question, Mr. Hooper; Answer, The Secretary of State for War (Mr. Campbell-Bannerman) *May* 31, 493
*Discharged Soldiers—Case of Michael Noone, 1st Battalion, Royal Irish Rifles*, Question, Mr. Hayden; Answer, The Secretary of State for War (Mr. Campbell-Bannerman) *June* 3, 827
*Egyptian Medal* (*Military Expedition*), Question, Sir James Corry; Answer, The Secretary of State for War (Mr. Campbell-Bannerman) *June* 7, 1125
*H.M. Birthday — Trooping of the Colours*, Question, Sir John R. Mowbray; Answer, The Secretary of State for War (Mr. Campbell-Bannerman) *May* 27, 210
*Regimental Canteens*, Observations, Mr. Sclater-Booth; Reply, The Secretary of State for War (Mr. Campbell-Bannerman) *June* 11, 1506

**Army**—*cont.*
*War Office—Charges against "The Ordnance Department,"* Question, Sir Edward Watkin; Answer, The Secretary of State for War (Mr. Campbell-Bannerman) *June* 3, 831

*Auxiliary Forces*
*The Irish Militia, Colonels of the*, Question, Sir Thomas Esmonde; Answer, The Secretary of State for War (Mr. Campbell-Bannerman) *May* 27, 192;—*6th Brigade, North Irish Division, R.A.*, Question, Mr. Bernard Kelly; Answer, The Financial Secretary, War Department (Mr. Herbert Gladstone) *June* 4, 1010;—*Snider Rifles*, Question, Observations, The Earl of Granard, The Earl of Limerick; Reply, The Under Secretary of State for War (Lord Sandhurst) *June* 4, 1003
*The Cavan Militia—Captain Leslie*, Question, Mr. William Abraham (Limerick, W.); Answer, The Secretary of State for War (Mr. Campbell-Bannerman) *May* 27, 200

*Volunteers*
*Bayonets for the Volunteers*, Question, Major General Goldsworthy; Answer, The Secretary of State for War (Mr. Campbell-Bannerman) *June* 17, 1705
*Liverpool Volunteers*, Question, Mr. F. S. Powell; Answer, The Secretary of State for War (Mr. Campbell-Bannerman) *June* 17, 1702
*Volunteer Capitation Grant*, Question, Mr. Donald Crawford; Answer, The Secretary of State for War (Mr. Campbell-Bannerman) *June* 11, 1487
*Volunteer Inspections in Hyde Park*, Observations, The Earl of Wemyss; Reply, The Under Secretary of State for War (Lord Sandhurst) *June* 7, 1119

*War Department*
*Calshot Castle, Southampton Water*, Question, Sir John Lubbock; Answer, The Secretary of State for War (Mr. Campbell-Bannerman) *June* 18, 1842
*Quartermasters in the Commissariat and Ordnance Departments*, Question, Dr. Clark; Answer, The Secretary of State for War (Mr. Campbell-Bannerman) *June* 18, 1849
*Regimental Bands at Public Festivals*, Question, Mr. Labouchere; Answer, The Secretary of State for War (Mr. Campbell-Bannerman) *June* 1, 669
*At Political Meetings*, Questions, Mr. Labouchere; Answers, The Secretary of State for War (Mr. Campbell-Bannerman) *June* 3, 843; *June* 11, 1486
*The Dockyards—Discharge of Workmen at Woolwich*, Question, Mr. John Wilson (Durham, Houghton-le-Spring); Answer, The Secretary of State for War (Mr. Campbell-Bannerman) *June* 18, 1852
*The 43-ton Guns*, Question, Sir Henry Tyler; Answer, The Secretary of State for War (Mr. Campbell-Bannerman) *May* 31, 496
*The Steamers on the Nile*, Question, Mr. W. H. Smith; Answer, The Secretary of State for War (Mr. Campbell-Bannerman) *May* 31, 491

ARMY—*cont.*
*Army* (*India*)
*Case of Brigade-Surgeon Ross*, Question, Mr. King; Answer, The Under Secretary of State for India (Mr. Stafford Howard) *May* 27, 200

*Artizans' Dwellings Act — The Brooke Market Site, Holborn*
Question, Colonel Duncan; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer (Sir William Harcourt) *June* 18, 1845

ASHBOURNE, Lord
Arms (Ireland), 2R. 640, 643
Infants, Comm. *cl.* 5, Amendt. 3, 4
Ireland — Crime and Outrage — Murder of Patrick Tangney, near Killarney, 1116
Ministerial Policy, 1273, 1278, 1281, 1282, 1286
Labourers (Ireland) Acts Amendment, Report, 298
Tramways Order in Council (Ireland), 2R. 997

ASHER, Mr. A. (Solicitor General for Scotland), *Elgin, &c.*
Conveyancing Acts (Scotland) Amendment, 3R. 1564
Crofters (Scotland) (No. 2)—Appointment of Commissioners—Mr. Macfarlane, 1720
Parliament — Adjournment of the House—Appointment of Commissioners under the Crofters (Scotland) Act, 1502, 1504, 1505
Poor Law Loans and Relief (Scotland), Comm. *cl.* 1, 1565
Returning Officers' Charges, Comm. *cl.* 4, 1556; *cl.* 5, Amendt. *ib.*; *cl.* 7, Amendt. *ib.* 1557; *cl.* 9, Amendt. *ib.*; *cl.* 10, Amendt. *ib.*; Schedule 1, Amendt. 1558, 1560, 1561, 1562; Schedule 2, 1563

ASHMEAD-BARTLETT, Mr. E., *Sheffield, Ecclesall*
Coal Mines, Comm. *cl.* 2, 1624
Merchandise (Fraudulent Marking), 2R. 1865
Merchandise Marks Act, 1862, 505

**Assizes Relief Bill**
(*Mr. Addison, Mr. Francis Powell, Mr. Tomlinson, Mr. Forwood*)
*c.* Ordered; read 1°* *June* 4 [Bill 257]
Bill withdrawn* *June* 10

ATHERLEY-JONES, Mr. L., *Durham, N.W.*
Government of Ireland, 2R. 374

ATTORNEY GENERAL (*see* RUSSELL, Sir C.)

BADEN-POWELL, Mr. G., *Liverpool, Kirkdale*
Africa (South)—The Chief Montsioa, 829
Zululand—The Papers, 1844
Defences of the Empire—A Naval Review, 1017
Island of Tristan d'Acunha, 26
Spain—Commercial Convention—The Wine Duties, 209
Trade and Commerce—Commercial Relations between the United States and the West Indies, 1843

BAIRD, Mr. J., *Lanark, N.W.*
Law and Justice (Scotland)—Discharge of Prisoners at Barlinnie, 843

BALFOUR, Lord
Contagious Diseases (Animals), Comm. *cl.* 9, Amendt. 1003
Hillhead and Kelvinside (Annexation to Glasgow), 2R. 619
Sea Fishing Boats (Scotland), Comm. 1248

BALFOUR, Right Hon. J. B. (Lord Advocate), *Clackmannan, &c.*
Burgh Police and Health (Scotland), 33
Crofters (Scotland) (No. 2)—Appointment of Commissioners, 1143, 1144;—Lay Commissioners, 1713
Crofters (Scotland) (No. 2), Lords Amendts. Consid. 958, 960, 961, 965
Parliament — Adjournment of the House, Ministerial Statement, 1321
Poor Law Loans and Relief (Scotland), Comm. *cl.* 5, Amendt. 1565
Returning Officers' Charges (Scotland), Comm. Schedule 1, Amendt. 1559, 1562; Schedule 2, Amendt. 1564; Consid. 1636; Schedule 1, Amendt. 1637, 1638, 1639, 1647, 1650
Scotland—Questions
Bye-Laws for Public Roads—Regulations as to Bicycles and Tricycles, 1705
Education — Departmental Statement, 1749;—Dingwall School Board, 1846
Fisheries — Herring Fishery — The Full Crown Brand, 1631
Fishery Board—Vacancy, 1631
Landlord and Tenant—Eviction at Ardnamurchan, 190
Parliamentary Elections—Sheriff Substitutes as Presiding Officers, 1715
Scotland—Law and Justice—Questions
Discharge of Prisoners at Barlinnie, 844
Duties of Procurators Fiscal—Bankrupt Estates, 1293
Law of Summons of Removal—"Violent Profits," 1293
Scotland—Law and Police
Destruction of the Bathing Screen at Innellan, 1304
Sheep Stealing in Perthshire, 1718
Sea Fishing Boats (Scotland), Comm. *cl.* 6, Amendt. 1650; *cl.* 8, Amendt. *ib.*; *cl.* 9, Amendt. *ib.*; Schedule, Amendt. 1651
Terms of Removal (Scotland), Comm. *cl.* 1, 967, 968; *cl.* 4, 970, 971, 972; Consid. *cl.* 4, 1106

BALFOUR, General Sir G., *Kincardineshire*
Public Education (Scotland)—Departmental Statement, 1755

**Bankruptcy (Agricultural Labourers' Wages) Bill** (*The Earl of Harrowby*)
*l.* Read 3ª* *May* 25 (No. 70)
*c.* Lords Amendts. considered, amended, and agreed to *June* 1, 781

**Bankruptcy (Ireland) Bill** (*Mr. Peter M'Donald, Mr. Henry Gill, Mr. Clancy, Mr. John O'Connor, Mr. O'Hanlon*)
*c.* Bill withdrawn * *June* 18 [Bill 47]

Barclay, Mr. J. W., *Forfarshire*
Fisheries (Scotland)—The Herring Fishery—The Full Crown Brand, 1631
Fishery Board (Scotland)—The Vacancy, 1631
Returning Officers' Charges (Scotland), Consid. *add. cl.* 1648

Barry, Mr. J., *Wexford, S.*
Arms (Ireland), Comm. *cl.* 2, 265

Bartley, Mr. G. C. T., *Islington, N.*
Civil Service—Lower Division Clerks and Writers, 1850

Barttelot, Colonel Sir W. B., *Sussex, North-West*
Arms (Ireland), Comm. *cl.* 2, 268
Army Estimates—Army Services, 1529, 1550
Government of Ireland, 2R. 1235
Hull, Barnsley, and West Riding Junction Railway and Dock, 2R. 1475, 1476
Parliament—Business of the House—Precedence of Committees of Supply and Ways and Means, and Money Bills, 1494
Parliamentary Elections (Returning Officers) Act (1875) Amendment, Consid. Schedule, 1581
Supply—Gratuity to Lady Gosset, 1512

Beach, Right Hon. Sir M. E. Hicks-, *Bristol, W.*
Belfast Main Drainage, Consid. *add. cl.* 482
Customs and Inland Revenue Bill—Duties on Spanish Wines, 1489
Government of Ireland—Questions
  Meeting at the Foreign Office, 211, 212
  Policy of the Government, Ministerial Statement, 317; Motion for Adjournment, 318
  Termination of the Debate, 845
Government of Ireland, 2R. 777, 1197, 1199, 1200, 1201, 1202, 1205, 1210, 1213, 1234
Islands of the South Pacific—Reported Massacre at the New Hebrides, 1715
Losses by Riot (Compensation), Comm. *cl.* 2, 419
Parliament—Questions
  Adjournment of the House, Ministerial Statement, Motion for Adjournment, 1307, 1317
  Business of the House—Precedence of Committees of Supply and Ways and Means, and Money Bills, 1492
  Dissolution, Ministerial Statement, 1306, 1488
Shop Hours Regulation, Comm. 1790

Beach, Mr. W. W. B., *Hants, Andover*
Patent Law—Ensilage Appliances, 831

Beauchamp, Earl
Copyhold Enfranchisement, Res. 991

Beckett, Mr. E. W., *York, N.R., Whitby*
Government of Ireland, 2R. 362

Beckett, Mr. W., *Notts, Bassetlaw*
Palace of Westminster—Palace Yard—A Glass Shelter, 29

*Belfast Main Drainage Bill (by Order)*
*c.* Moved, "That the Bill, as amended, be considered upon Monday next" (*Sir James Corry*) *May* 27, 186; after short debate, Motion agreed to
Moved, "That the Bill be now taken into Consideration" (*Sir James Corry*) *May* 31, 450; after debate, Moved, "That the Debate be now adjourned" (*Mr. Dillon*); after further short debate, Question put, and agreed to
Moved, "That the Debate be adjourned till Monday, the twenty-eighth day of June next" (*Mr. Sexton*), 486
Amendt. to leave out "twenty-eighth," insert "twenty-first" (*Sir James Corry*) *v.*; Question proposed, "That 'twenty-eighth,' &c.;" after short debate, Question put, and negatived; Question, "That 'twenty-first,' &c.," put, and agreed to
Main Question, as amended, put, and agreed to

Belmore, Earl of
Islands of the South Pacific—The New Hebrides—Action of France, 1840
Post Office (Ireland)—Mail Service between Londonderry and Dublin, 448
Tramways Order in Council (Ireland), 2R. Amendt. 997, 1251

Bennett, Mr. J., *Lincolnshire, Gainsborough*
Education Department—Upton cum-Kexby National School, 1122

Bentinck, Right Hon. G. A. C., *Whitehaven*
Intoxicating Liquors (Sale to Children), Comm. 1656
Parliamentary Elections (Returning Officers) Act (1875) Amendment, Re-comm. *add. cl.* 1668
Returning Officers' Charges (Scotland), Consid. 1643
Shop Hours Regulation, Comm. 1788, 1790, 1798; 3R. Amendt. 1867
Westminster Abbey Restoration, 2R. 1675

Beresford, Lord C. W., *Marylebone, E.*
Navy—Widows of Seamen and Marines, 33
Navy Estimates—Dockyards and Naval Yards at Home and Abroad, Amendt. 1379, 1385

Bethell, Commander G. R., *York, E.R., Holderness*
Admiralty—Questions
  Reserve and Channel Squadrons—The Manœuvres, 1846
  Shipbuilding, &c.—Contract Prices, 1700
  Tactical Evolutions in Speed, 671

[*cont.*

Bethell, Commander G. R.—*cont.*
Navy Estimates—Dockyards and Naval Yards at Home and Abroad, 1383
Shop Hours Regulation, Consid. *cl.* 4, 1810, 1814 ; *cl.* 9, 1819

Biggar, Mr. J. G., *Cavan, W.*
Arms (Ireland), Comm. *cl.* 2, 247
Intoxicating Liquors (Sale to Children), 3R. 1825
Ireland—Industrial Schools—Sir John Lentaigne, 1700, 1701
Law and Justice—Irish Appeals to the House of Lords, 841
Law of Evidence Amendment, 2R. 1820
Parliament—Business of the House—Precedence of Committees of Supply and Ways and Means, and Money Bills, 1498
Public Petitions—Petitions against Home Rule, 493
Public Works Loans (Tramways Ireland), 2R. 1567, 1568 ; 3R. 1864
Returning Officers' Charges (Scotland), Consid. Schedule 1, 1639
Revising Barristers (Ireland), Comm. 862

Birkbeck, Sir E., *Norfolk, E.*
Merchant Shipping (Fishing Boats) Acts Amendment, 2R. 1654
North Sea Fisheries Convention—The Protecting Cruisers, 1295
Salmon and Freshwater Fisheries, 3R. 1652

Blane, Mr. A., *Armagh, S.*
Ireland—Magistracy—Co. Down Magistrates, 1008
Election of a Petty Sessions Clerk, Co. Cavan, 664
Law of Evidence Amendment, 2R. 1874

Blundell, Colonel H. B. H., *Lancashire, S. W., Ince*
Army Estimates—Army Services, 1532, 1551
Ireland—Population for 1886, 190

Board of Trade — Secretary to (*see* Acland, Mr. C. T. D.)

*Board of Trade—Collection and Publication of Labour Statistics*
Question, Mr. Bradlaugh ; Answer, The Secretary to the Board of Trade (Mr. C. T. D. Acland) *June* 17, 1702

Bolton, Mr. T. H., *St. Pancras, N.*
Army Estimates—Army Services, 1552
Parliament—Business of the House—Precedence of Committees of Supply and Ways and Means, and Money Bills, 1491
Parliamentary Elections (Returning Officers) Act (1875) Amendment, Consid. *add. cl.* 1453
Registration of Voters (Ireland), 2R. 799
Supply—Civil Services and Revenue Departments, 1526
Tithe Rent-Charge (Extraordinary) Redemption, Comm. Motion for Adjournment, 1433 ;

[*cont.*

Bolton, Mr. T. H.—*cont.*
*cl.* 1, 1576, 1578, 1757, 1764, 1765 ; *cl.* 2, Amendt. 1770, 1771 ; *cl.* 3, 1772, 1773, 1775, 1780, 1781 ; *cl.* 4, Amendt. 1782 ; *cl.* 5, Amendt. 1783 ; *cl.* 8, Amendt. *ib.*, 1784 ; *cl.* 9, Amendt. *ib.*, 1785

Borlase, Mr. W. C. (Secretary to the Local Government Board), *Cornwall, St. Austell*
Turnpike Roads (South Wales), 2R. 1433

Boyd-Kinnear, Mr. J., *Fife, E.*
Arms (Ireland), Comm. *cl.* 2, 284

Bradlaugh, Mr. C., *Northampton*
Arms (Ireland), Comm. *cl.* 2, 254
Belfast Main Drainage, Consid. *add. cl.* 477
Board of Trade—Collection and Publication of Labour Statistics, 1702
Government of Ireland, 2R. 779, 895
Government of Ireland Bill—Termination of the Debate, 846
Law and Justice—Truck Act—Rhymney Company, 1706
Law of Evidence Amendment, 2R. 1872
Parliament — Business of the House — Precedence of Committees of Supply and Ways and Means, and Money Bills, 1497
Parliamentary Elections (Returning Officers) Act (1875) Amendment, Consid. Schedule, 1586
Registration of Voters (Ireland), 2R. 814
Supply—Gratuity to Lady Gosset, 1512

Bramwell, Lord
Crofters (Scotland) (No. 2), Comm. *cl.* 6, 168
Infants, Comm. *cl.* 5, 4

Brassey, Sir T., *Hastings*
Colonial Defences—The Colonial Navy—The White Ensign, 1141
Navy Estimates—Dockyards and Naval Yards at Home and Abroad, 1342, 1383, 1401

Bridgeman, Colonel Hon. F., *Bolton*
Government of Ireland, 2R. 877

**British North America Bill** [H.L.]
(*Mr. Osborne Morgan*)
*c.* Read 1° * *May* 25 [Bill 234]
Read 2°, after short debate *May* 28, 423
Committee * ; Report ; read 3° *May* 31

Broadhurst, Mr. H. (Under Secretary of State for the Home Department), *Birmingham, Bordesley*
Coal Mines, Comm. *cl.* 1, 1620, 1622, 1623 ; *cl.* 2, Motion for reporting Progress, *ib.*, 1624 ; *add. cl.* 1671
Jurors' Detention, Consid. Preamble, 781
Local Taxation—County Rate—Incidence of Payment by Towns having Quarter Sessions, 662
Mines Regulation Act—Hours of Work of Women, 826
Parliamentary Elections (Returning Officers) Act (1875) Amendment, *add. cl.* 1452, 1457
Shop Hours Regulation, Comm. on Re-comm. 1802, 1803 ; Consid. *cl.* 4, 1811 ; *cl.* 9, 1819

BRODRICK, Hon. W. St. J. F., *Surrey, Guildford*
Intoxicating Liquors (Sale to Children), Comm. *cl.* 1, Amendt. 1660, 1661; *cl.* 3, 1663
Parliamentary Elections (Returning Officers) Act (1875) Amendment, Consid. Schedule, 1592, 1598, 1599

BRUNNER, Mr. J. T., *Cheshire, Northwich*
Ordnance Survey—The "Bench Mark," 1128
Public Health Acts (Improvement Expenses), Comm. *cl.* 2, 129; *cl.* 9, 136; *cl.* 13, 141; *add. cl.* 148

BRYCE, Mr. J. (Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs), *Aberdeen, S.*
Africa (West Coast)—British Protectorate in the Gulf of Guinea, 1012
The Congo, 188
Bulgaria—Alleged Conspiracy, 314
Diplomatic Service—Consuls and Diplomatic Agents Abroad, 832
Dominion of Canada—Extradition Act, 1877, 307
Dutch West Indies—Island of Curaçao—Case of Mr. Godden, 1720
Egypt—Re-organization, &c. 1131
Government of Ireland, 2R. 408
Islands of the South Pacific—New Caledonia—H.M. Acting Consul, 1854
The New Hebrides, 1300;—Reported Massacre, 1716, 1717;—Action of France, 1853
Merchant Shipping Acts—Grain Bags—Russian Regulations, 311, 312
Portugal — Quarantine at Tercia — The "Maggie," 1701
Republic of Hayti—Imprisonment of a British Subject, 492, 664
Spain—Commercial Convention—Duties on Iron, 202;—Wine Duties, 209
Supply—Civil Services and Revenue Departments, 1633
Sweden and Norway—Political Relations and Internal Condition, 194
Trade and Commerce—Questions
Commercial Relations between the United States and the West Indies, 1844
Commercial Treaties with Foreign States—The British Colonies, 1013;—The Most Favoured Nation Clause—Notice of Withdrawal, 1015
Turkey—Exactions at Salonica, 1714
Treaty of Berlin—Article LXI.—Armenia, 1139
United States and Canada—The Fishery Disputes, 1846
Vaccination in the Island of Rügen, 845
Venezuela — Complaints against Venezuelan Authorities—Seizure of British Merchant Vessels, 840

BUCHANAN, Mr. T. R., *Edinburgh, W.*
Admiralty—Royal Naval Volunteers, 828
Burgh Police and Health (Scotland), 32
Customs, 2R. 1572
East India Railway (Loans), 1486

BUCHANAN, Mr. T. R.—*cont.*
Parliament — Adjournment of the House, Ministerial Statement, 1320
Palace of Westminster—Admittance of Visitors to the House of Commons, 1712
Parliamentary Elections (Returning Officers) Act (1875) Amendment, Consid. Schedule, 1599
Railways—North British Railway—Accident near Sunnyside, 1713
Returning Officers' Charges (Scotland), Consid. Schedule 1, 1639; Schedule 2, Amendt. 1649

BUCKINGHAM AND CHANDOS, Duke of (Chairman of Committees)
Gravesend and Northfleet Docks and Railways, Motion, 614

*Bulgaria—Alleged Conspiracy*
Question, Sir Robert Peel; Answer, The Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Mr. Bryce) *May* 28, 314

BURDETT-COUTTS, Mr. W. L. A. B., *Westminster*
Admiralty—Copying Writers, 1014

**Burgh Police and Health (Scotland) Bill** [H.L.] (*The Lord Advocate*)
*c.* Question, Mr. Buchanan; Answer, The Lord Advocate (Mr. J. B. Balfour) *May* 25, 32
Bill withdrawn * *June* 10 [Bill 194]

**Burial Grounds Bill** (*Mr. Osborne Morgan, Mr. Secretary Childers, Mr. Henry H. Fowler, Mr. Broadhurst*)
*c.* Bill withdrawn * *June* 11 [Bill 131]

**Burial Grounds (Scotland) Act (1855) Amendment Bill** (*Lord Balfour*)
*l.* Royal Assent *June* 4 [49 *Vict.* c. 21]

*Burmah—Conduct of British Troops*
Question, Mr. Hunter; Answer, The Under Secretary of State for India (Mr. Stafford Howard) *June* 7, 1140

BURY, Viscount
Electric Lighting Act (1882) Amendment (No. 3), Report, 1833, 1834

**Butter Substitutes Regulation Bill** [H.L.] (*The Lord Vernon*)
*l.* Presented; read 1ª * *May* 28 (No. 128)
Bill withdrawn * *June* 18

BUXTON, Mr. E. N., *Essex, Walthamstow*
Education, Royal Commission on—Physical Training in Elementary Schools, 830

CADOGAN, Earl
Gravesend and Northfleet Docks and Railways, Motion, 613

[*cont.*

Cameron, Dr. C., *Glasgow, College*
Lighthouse Illuminants Committee—Experiments at the South Foreland—Reports from Foreign Governments, 1138
Orkney Roads, 2R. 1689
Parliament—Adjournment of the House—Appointment of Commissioners under the Crofters (Scotland) Act, 1505
Public Education (Scotland), Departmental Statement, 1755
Returning Officers' Charges (Scotland), Consid. 1640

Cameron, Mr. J. M., *Wick, &c.*
Crofters (Scotland) (No. 2), Lords' Amendts. Consid. 960, 965
Orkney Roads, 2R. 1689
Scotland—Education—Dingwall School Board, 1845; — Rosskeen School Board, Ross-shire—The Teachers, 195

Campbell, Sir G., *Kirkcaldy, &c.*
Army Estimates—Army Services, 1531
Crofters (Scotland) (No. 2), Lords' Amendts. Consid. 958, 959, 961; Amendt. 961
Currency—Relative Value of Gold and Silver, 1712
Customs, 2R. 1571
Egypt—Re-organization, &c. 1131
India, Government of — Joint Committee, 316
Islands of the South Pacific—New Caledonia—H.M. Acting Consul, 1854
Reported Massacre at the New Hebrides, 1717
Parliament — Adjournment of the House, Ministerial Statement, 1321
Parliament—Sittings and Adjournment of the House—Derby Day, 34, 35, 40;—Ascension Day—Committees, 783
Poor Law Loans and Relief (Scotland), Comm. 1565
Returning Officers' Charges (Scotland), Comm. *cl.* 4, Amendt. 1555; *cl.* 7, Amendt. 1557; Schedule 1, 1558, 1560, 1561, 1562; Consid. Amendt. 1636; Schedule 1, 1637; Amendt. 1638
Shop Hours Regulation, Consid. *cl.* 9, 1867
Supply—Report—Civil Services and Revenue Departments, 1632
Terms of Removal (Scotland), Comm. *cl.* 1, 968, 969; *cl.* 4, 971

Campbell, Mr. H., *Fermanagh, S.*
Ireland—Questions
Magistracy—Appointment of Mr. Francis Bogue, Co. Fermanagh, 1126
National Schools—Irwine, of Carrickapolin National School, 1126
Railways—Railway Bridges at Ballinamore and Ballyconnell, 1629
State of Ireland — Orange Disturbance, Brookborough, Co. Fermanagh, 1125

Campbell, Mr. J. A., *Glasgow and Aberdeen Universities*
Medical Acts Amendment, Comm. *cl.* 7, 608
Orkney Roads, 2R. 1684

Campbell, Mr. R. F. F., *Ayr, &c.*
Post Office—Acceleration of Mails to Oban, 1701

Campbell-Bannerman, Right Hon. H. (Secretary of State for War), *Stirling, &c.*
Army—Questions
Army Contracts — Regimental Supplies, 493
Army Discipline Act—Redress of Wrong—Appeals, 495
Artillery Barracks at Scarborough, 314
Discharged Soldiers — Case of Michael Noone, 1st Battalion, Royal Irish Rifles, 828
Egyptian Medal (Military Expedition), 1125
H.M. Birthday—Trooping of the Colours, 210
Regimental Canteens, 1506
Army (Auxiliary Forces)—Questions
Bayonets for the Volunteers, 1705
Cavan Militia—Captain Leslie, 200
Colonels of the Irish Militia, 192
Liverpool Volunteers, 1702
Volunteer Capitation Grant, 1487
Army—War Department—Questions
Calshot Castle — Southampton Water, 1842
Coal Depôt at St. Lucia (West Indies), 1131
Dockyards — Devonport Dockyard — The Queen's Birthday, 501;—Discharge of Workmen at Woolwich, 1853
43-ton Guns, 496
Quartermasters in the Commissariat and Ordnance Departments, 1849
Regimental Bands at Public Festivals, 670, 843, 1486
Steamers on the Nile, 491
War Office—Charges against "The Ordnance Department," 831
Army Estimates—Army Services, 1545, 1551, 1554, 1634
Egypt (The Military Expedition)—The Troops at Assouan, 1851
Imperial Defences — The Fortifications of Simon's Bay and Table Bay, 1722
Navy—H.M.S. "Collingwood" — Bursting of the 43-ton Gun, 203, 204, 206, 1848
Parliamentary Elections — The Volunteers, 1719

Camperdown, Earl of
Electric Lighting Act (1882) Amendment (No. 3), Report, 1834, 1835

*Canada, Dominion of*
*Canada and the United States — The Fishery Disputes*, Question, Sir Frederick Stanley; Answer, The Under Secretary of State for the Colonies (Mr. Osborne Morgan) *June* 7, 1134; Question, Mr. Gourley; Answer, The Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Mr. Bryce) *June* 18, 1846
*Extradition Act*, 1877, Question, Mr. Howard Vincent; Answer, The Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Mr. Bryce) *May* 28, 307

**Carbutt**, Mr. E. H., *Monmouth, &c.*
- Navy—H.M.S. "Collingwood"—Bursting of the 43-ton Gun, 1848
- Portugal — Quarantine at Tercia — The "Maggie," 1701
- Public Health Acts (Improvement Expenses), Comm. *cl.* 2, Amendt. 128, 129; Consid. *cl.* 2, Amendt. 977

**Carnarvon**, Earl of
- Government of Ireland—The Earl of Carnarvon and Mr. Parnell, Personal Explanation, 1256

**Cavendish**, Lord E., *Derbyshire, W.*
- Fisheries (England and Wales)—The Morecambe Bay Cockle Fishery, 32

**Chamberlain**, Right Hon. J., *Birmingham, W.*
- Government of Ireland, 2R. 574, 576; Motion for Adjournment, 590, 675, 685, 687, 688, 768, 955

**Chance**, Mr. P. A., *Kilkenny, S.*
- Arms (Ireland), Comm. *cl.* 2, Amendt. 236, 255, 263, 272, 273, 274, 275; *add. cl.* 282, 288
- Parliament — Business of the House — Precedence of Committees of Supply and Ways and Means, and Money Bills, 1496
- Parliamentary Elections (Returning Officers) Act (1875) Amendment, Comm. *add. cl.* Amendt. 425; Consid. Amendt. 931, 983; Schedule, Amendt. 1462, 1465, 1580, 1583, 1584, 1585, 1586, 1594, 1597, 1598, 1601, 1602; Re-comm. Schedule 2, 1669
- Registration of Voters (Ireland), 2R. 794, 815
- Returning Officers' Charges (Scotland), Comm. Schedule 1, 1559, 1561, 1562

**Chancellor**, The Lord (*see* **Herschell**, Lord)

**Chancellor** of the **Duchy** of **Lancaster** (*see* **Kay-Shuttleworth**, Right Hon. Sir U. J.)

**Chancellor** of the **Exchequer** (*see* **Harcourt**, Right Hon. Sir W. G. V.)

**Channing**, Mr. F. A., *Northampton, E.*
- Intoxicating Liquors (Sale to Children), 3R. 1823
- Law and Justice—Conviction of John Cox, Signalman, 1124
- Railways (England and Wales)—Somerset and Dorset Railway—Case of John Cox, 1705

*Charity Commissioners, The*
- *The Trusts of Dedham Grammar School*, Question, Captain Price; Answer, The Vice President of the Council (Sir Lyon Playfair) *May* 27, 189

[*cont.*

*Charity Commissioners, The*—cont.
- *Tunbridge School Endowments*, Question, Sir Julian Goldsmid; Answer, The Vice President of the Council (Sir Lyon Playfair) *June* 1, 668

**Chelmsford**, Lord
- Patriotic Fund, 2R. 997

**Childers**, Right Hon. H. C. E. (Secretary of State for the Home Department), *Edinburgh, S.*
- General Election, 1885—Returns of Election Expenses, 1717
- Inspector of Mines (South Wales), 1298, 1300
- Intoxicating Liquors (Sale to Children), Comm. 1659
- Ireland—Crime and Outrage—Riots at Belfast, 1483, 1484, 1485, 1490, 1491
- Law and Justice (England and Wales)—Questions
  - Arrest of Sir Thomas Fermor-Hesketh, 1132
  - Conviction of John Cox, Signalman, 1124
  - Poole Perjury Case, 1291
  - Truck Act—Rhymney Company, 1707
- Licensing Laws, 1883-4-5—Returns, 309
- Losses by Riot (Compensation), Comm. *cl.* 2, 419, 420; *cl.* 3, *ib.*, 421; *cl.* 4, *ib.*; *add. cl. ib.* 422
- Marriages (Hours of Solemnization) Act, 1886, 1292
- Metropolis—Corporate Bodies—The City Fellowship of Porters, 1296
  - Parks—Greenwich Park—Hours of Admission, 202
- Mines Regulation Act, 1872—Hours of Work of Women, 1125
- Parliament — Adjournment of the House, Ministerial Statement, 1320, 1322
- Parliament — Business of the House — Precedence of Committees of Supply and Ways and Means, and Money Bills, 1491, 1493, 1494
- Parliamentary Elections (Returning Officers) Act (1875) Amendment, Consid. *add. cl.* 1438, 1439, 1441, 1444, 1445; Schedule, Motion for Adjournment, 1467
- Prisons (England and Wales)—Transference of Convicts, 203
- Railways (England and Wales)—Somerset and Dorset Railway—Case of John Cox, 1705
- Shop Hours Regulation, Comm. on Re-comm. 1786, 1798, 1800; Consid. *cl.* 3, Amendt. 1807, 1808; *cl.* 4, Amendt. *ib.* 1809, 1814; *cl.* 5, Amendt. 1817; *cl.* 8, Amendt. *ib.* 1818
- Tithe Rent-Charge (Extraordinary) Redemption, Comm. 1434; *cl.* 1, 1761, 1763; *cl.* 4, Amendt. 1782
- Trades Unions Act, 1871—The Return, 1711

*Church Building Acts—Balance of Fund*
- Question, Viscount Lewisham; Answer, The Secretary to the Board of Trade (Mr. C. T. D. Acland) *June* 17, 1703

**Churchill**, Right Hon. Lord R. H. S., *Paddington, S.*
- Arms (Ireland), Comm. 223

[*cont.*

Churchill, Right Hon. Lord R. H. S.—*cont.*
  Government of Ireland Bill—Policy of the Government, Ministerial Statement, 326, 329, 330, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340
  Government of Ireland, 2R. 763, 882, 1217, 1226, 1234
  Palace of Westminster—Ventilation of this House, Report of the Select Committee, 845
  Parliament—Adjournment of the House, Motion for Adjournment, 295
  Sale of Intoxicating Liquors on Sunday, Comm. *cl.* 1, 1110

**Church Patronage Bill** [H.L.]
  (*The Lord Archbishop of Canterbury*)
*l.* Select Comm., E. Powis, E. Northbrook *added May* 25
  Report of Select Comm. *June* 4 [No. 145]
  Bill reported * *June* 4 (Nos. 63-146)

**Church Sites (Compulsory Powers Repeal) Bill** (*Mr. Francis Powell, Mr. John Talbot, Mr. Addison*)
*c.* Bill withdrawn * *June* 17 [Bill 171]

*Civil Service—Lower Division Clerks and Writers*
  Questions, Mr. Arthur O'Connor, Mr. Bartley; Answers, The Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Henry H. Fowler) *June* 18, 1850

Clancy, Mr. J. J., *Dublin Co., N.*
  Government of Ireland, 2R. 1084, 1086, 1090

Clark, Dr. G. B., *Caithness*
  Crofters (Scotland) (No. 2)—Appointment of Commissioners, 1144
  War Department—Quartermasters in the Commissariat and Ordnance Departments, 1849

Clarke, Mr. E. G., *Plymouth*
  Intoxicating Liquors (Sale to Children), Comm. Preamble, Amendt. 1667, 1668
  Merchant Shipping (Fishing Boats) Acts Amendment, 2R. Amendt. 1569, 1654, 1655
  Registration of Voters (Ireland), 2R. 814, 816
  Returning Officers' Charges (Scotland), Consid. 1641
  Salmon and Freshwater Fisheries, 3R. 1653

Cloncurry, Lord
  Labourers (Ireland) Acts Amendment, 3R. Amendt. 1677

*Coaling Stations*
  *Coal Depôt for H.M. Ships of War at St Lucia* (*West Indies*), Question, General Sir William Crossman; Answer, The Secretary to the Admiralty (Mr. Hibbert) *June* 3, 828; Question, General Sir William Crossman; Answer, The Secretary of State for War (Mr. Campbell-Bannerman) *June* 7, 1131

**Coal Mines Bill** (*Sir Richard Cross, Mr. Stuart-Wortley, Mr. Forwood*)
*c.* Committee—R.P. *June* 11, 1620 [Bill 92]
[*cont.*

*Coal Mines Bill*—cont.
  Committee; Report; Considered; read $3^o$ *June* 16, 1670
*l.* Read $1^a$ * (*Lord Ashbourne*) *June* 17 (No. 160)
  Read $2^a$ * *June* 18

**Coal Mines Regulation Bill**
  (*Mr. Secretary Childers, Mr. Broadhurst*)
*c.* Bill withdrawn * *June* 11 [Bill 217]

Cobb, Mr. H. P., *Warwick, S.E., Rugby*
  Law and Justice (England and Wales)—The Rev. H. Mills, Chairman of the Kineton Petty Sessions, Warwickshire, 1841
  Parliamentary Elections (Returning Officers) Act (1875) Amendment, Consid. 1589

Coddington, Mr. W., *Blackburn*
  Hull, Barnsley, and West Riding Junction Railway and Dock, 2R. Amendt. 1470, 1474

Cohen, Mr. L. L., *Paddington, N.*
  Intoxicating Liquors (Sale to Children), Comm. *cl.* 3, 1664

*Colonial and Indian Exhibition—Duties on Foreign Gold and Silver Plate*
  Questions, Mr. Kimber; Answers, The Chancellor of the Exchequer (Sir William Harcourt) *May* 25, 29; *May* 28, 315; *June* 1, 670

*Colonial Defences*
  *Conference of Australian Prime Ministers*, Question, Mr. Henniker Heaton; Answer, The Under Secretary of State for the Colonies (Mr. Osborne Morgan) *June* 7, 1136
  *The Colonial Navy—The White Ensign*, Question, Sir Thomas Brassey; Answer, The Secretary to the Admiralty (Mr. Hibbert) *June* 7, 1141
  [See title *Defences of the Empire*]

*Colonial Department—Emigrants' Information Office*
  Question, Observations, The Earl of Harrowby; Reply, The Secretary of State for the Colonies (Earl Granville) *May* 28, 305; Question, Lord William Compton; Answer, The Under Secretary of State for the Colonies (Mr. Osborne Morgan) *June* 7, 1139; Question, Mr. Gourley; Answer, The Under Secretary of State for the Colonies (Mr. Osborne Morgan) *June* 18, 1847

*Colonial Statistical Tables*
  Question, Mr. Octavius Morgan; Answer, The Secretary to the Board of Trade (Mr. C. T. D. Acland) *June* 3, 827

Colonies—Secretary of State for (*see* Granville, Earl)

Colonies—Under Secretary of State for (*see* Morgan, Right Hon. G. Osborne)

*Colonization and Emigration*
Observations, The Earl of Longford *June* 7, 1119

COMMERELL, Admiral Sir J. E., *Southampton*
Navy—Naval Administration, 1855
Navy Estimates—Dockyards and Naval Yards at Home and Abroad, 1377

COMMITTEE OF COUNCIL ON EDUCATION—Vice President (*see* PLAYFAIR, Right Hon. Sir Lyon)

**Commons Regulation (Stoke) Provisional Order Bill** (*Lord Sudeley*)
*l.* Read 2ª * *May* 27 (No. 102)
Committee *; Report *May* 28
Read 3ª * *May* 31
Royal Assent *June* 4 [49 *Vict.* c. xv]

**Commons Regulation and Inclosure (Totternhoe) Provisional Order Bill** (*Lord Sudeley*)
. Read 2ª * *May* 27 (No. 103)
Committee *; Report *May* 28
Read 3ª * *May* 31
Royal Assent *June* 4 [49 *Vict.* c. xvi]

**Companies Acts Amendment Bill** (*The Earl of Dalhousie*)
*l.* Royal Assent *June* 4 [49 *Vict.* c. 23]

COMPTON, Lord W. G., *Warwick, Stratford-upon-Avon*
Colonial Department—Emigrants' Information Office, 1139

CONDON, Mr. T. J., *Tipperary, E.*
Ireland—Post Office—Clonmel, &c.—Accelerated Mail Service, 1009

**Consolidated Fund (Appropriation) Bill** (*Mr. Courtney, Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Henry H. Fowler*)
*c.* Resolution in Committee *June* 11
Resolution reported, and agreed to; Bill ordered; read 1° * *June* 16
Read 2°, after debate *June* 17, 1723
Committee; Report, after debate *June* 18, 1855

*Contagious Diseases (Animals) Acts—Abortion among Cattle*
Question, Mr. Ainslie; Answer, The Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster (Sir Ughtred Kay-Shuttleworth) *May* 31, 495

**Contagious Diseases (Animals) Bill** [H.L.] (*The Lord President*)
*l.* Read 2ª, after debate *May* 28, 299 (No. 122)
Committee *June* 4, 1002
Report *June* 7, 1117 (No. 149)
Read 3ª * *June* 8 (No. 153)
[*cont.*

*Contagious Diseases (Animals) Bill*—cont.
*c.* Read 1° * (*Sir U. Kay-Shuttleworth*) *June* 10
Read 2° * *June* 16 [Bill 268]
Committee *; Report *June* 17

*Contagious Diseases of Cattle—M. Pasteur's Discoveries*
Question, Sir Richard Paget; Answer, The Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster (Sir Ughtred Kay-Shuttleworth) *May* 31, 488

**Conveyancing (Scotland) Acts Amendment Bill** (*The Lord Advocate, Mr. Solicitor General for Scotland*)
*c.* Ordered; read 1° * *June* 1 [Bill 251]
Read 2° * *June* 3
Committee *; Report *June* 10
Read 3°, after short debate *June* 11, 1564
*l.* Read 1ª * (*E. of Dalhousie*) *June* 17, 1678 (No. 163)

**Conveyancing (Scotland) Act (1874) Amendment (No. 2) Bill** (*The Lord Advocate, Mr. Solicitor General for Scotland*)
*c.* Ordered; read 1° * *May* 28 [Bill 242]
Bill withdrawn * *May* 31

CONWAY, Mr. M., *Leitrim, N.*
Elementary Education Acts—Religious Denomination of Teachers, 1708
Ireland—Poor Law—Boards of Guardians—Election at Manorhamilton, 835
Public Education, England, Departmental Statement, 1736

CONYBEARE, Mr. C. A. V., *Cornwall, Camborne*
Arms (Ireland), Comm. *cl.* 2, 245; *add. cl.* 283, 285, 291
Intoxicating Liquors (Sale to Children), 3R. 1822
Parliamentary Elections (Returning Officers) Act (1875) Amendment, Consid. *add. cl.* 1439, 1416
Sale of Intoxicating Liquors on Sunday, Comm. *cl.* 1, 1111

COOK, Mr. E. R., *West Ham, N.*
Arms (Ireland), Comm. *cl.* 2, Motion for reporting Progress, 267, 270

COOKE, Mr. C. W. R., *Newington, W.*
Government of Ireland, 2R. 777
Parks Regulation Act, 1872—Richmond Park, 1843
Parliament—Palace of Westminster—Ventilation of this House, 1485
Parliamentary Elections (Returning Officers) Act (1875) Amendment, Consid. 1613
Shop Hours Regulation, Consid. *cl.* 4, 1812

COOTE, Mr. T., *Huntingdon, S.*
Arms (Ireland), Comm. *cl.* 2, 267

**Copyhold Enfranchisement Bill**
(*The Lord Hobhouse*)
*l.* Standing Order No. XXXIV. considered *June* 4, 990
Moved, "That the said Order be dispensed with in respect of the said Bill;" after short debate, on Question? Cont. 39, Not-Cont. 63; M. 24; resolved in the negative

**Copyhold Enfranchisement Bill** [H.L.]
(*The Lord Hobhouse*)
*l.* Presented; read 1ª* *June* 7 (No. 152)

CORBET, Mr. W. J., *Wicklow, E.*
Ireland—Questions
Fisheries—Fishermen of Arklow — Loans for Building Boats, 1010
Piers and Harbours — Arklow Harbour Works, 316
Reproductive Loan Fund — Loans to Fishermen, 191

CORRY, Sir J. P., *Armagh, Mid*
Army—Egyptian Medal (Military Expedition), 1125
Belfast Main Drainage, Consid. 186, 187; *add. cl.* Amendt. 486
Parliament—Business of the House—Precedence of Committees of Supply and Ways and Means, and Money Bills, 1496
Registration of Voters (Ireland), 2R. Motion for Adjournment, 824

COSSHAM, Mr. H., *Bristol, E.*
Arms (Ireland), Comm. 235; *cl.* 2, 244
Army Estimates—Army Services, 1542
Intoxicating Liquors (Sale to Children), Comm. *cl.* 1, Amendt. 1659, 1661; *cl.* 3, Amendt. 1662, 1663, 1666
Returning Officers' Charges (Scotland), Consid. 1642
Supply—Civil Services and Revenue Departments, 1524, 1526

COTTON, Capt. E. T. D., *Cheshire, Wirral*
Public Health Acts (Improvement Expenses), Comm. *add. cl.* 146; Consid. Amendt. 980

**County Courts Consolidation Bill** [H.L.]
(*The Lord Chancellor*)
*l.* Presented; read 1ª* *June* 7 (No. 151)

**County Government (Ireland) Bill**
(*Mr. John O'Connor, Mr. Timothy Healy, Mr. Sexton, Mr. Dillon, Mr. Reynolds, Mr. Small*)
*c.* Bill withdrawn* *June* 10 [Bill 2]

COURTNEY, Mr. L. H. (Chairman of Committees of Ways and Means and Deputy Speaker), *Cornwall, Bodmin*
Arms (Ireland), Comm. *cl.* 2, 265, 270, 271; *add. cl.* 293, 294
Belfast Main Drainage, Consid. *add. cl.* 456
Hull, Barnsley, and West Riding Junction Railway and Dock, 2R. 1475, 1480
Intoxicating Liquors (Sale to Children), Comm. *cl.* 1, 1661, 1662

[*cont.*

COURTNEY, Mr. L. H.—*cont.*
Medical Acts Amendment, Comm. *cl.* 5, 594, 595; *cl.* 21, 1428
Navy Estimates—Dockyards and Naval Yards at Home and Abroad, 1407
Orkney Roads, 2R. 1690
Parliament—Private Bills—Standing Orders for the Suspension of Private Bills, or Bills to Confirm any Provisional Order or Certificate, 1692, 1694, 1695
Parliamentary Elections (Returning Officers) Act (1875) Amendment, Consid. 1614, 1615, 1616
Public Health Acts (Improvement Expenses), Consid. *cl.* 2, 977
Returning Officers' Charges (Scotland), Comm. Schedule 2, 1563; Consid. Schedule 2, 1650
Sale of Intoxicating Liquors on Sunday, Comm. *cl.* 1, 1109, 1111
Shop Hours Regulation, Consid. *cl.* 4, 1816
Terms of Removal (Scotland), Comm. *cl.* 4, 970
Tithe Rent Charge (Extraordinary) Redemption, Comm. *cl.* 1, 1576, 1577, 1578; *cl.* 3, 1780

COWEN, Mr. J., *Newcastle-on-Tyne*
Government of Ireland, 2R. 1193

COX, Mr. J. R., *Clare, E.*
Lighthouse Keepers (Ireland)—Notice of Examinations, 1669

COZENS-HARDY, Mr. H. H., *Norfolk, N.*
Education Department—Science and Art Department and Medical Schools (Hospitals), 1123

CRANBORNE, Viscount, *Lancashire, N.E., Darwen*
Sale of Intoxicating Liquors on Sunday, 1017; Comm. *cl.* 1, 1109

CRANBROOK, Viscount
Arms (Ireland), 2R. 654, 656

CRAWFORD, Mr. D., *Lanark, N.E.*
Army (Auxiliary Forces)—Volunteer Capitation Grant, 1487
Returning Officers' (Scotland), Consid. Schedule 1, 1638

CREMER, Mr. W. R., *Shoreditch, Haggerston*
Parliamentary Elections (Returning Officers) Act (1875) Amendment, Consid. *add. cl.* 1452, 1455; Amendt. 1456, 1458; Schedule, 1585

CRILLY, Mr. D., *Mayo, N.*
Army—Regimental Canteens, 1507
Ireland—Poor Law—Belfast Board of Guardians, 308
Post Office—Allowances to Letter Sorters, 28

**Crofters (Scotland) Bill**
(*The Marquess of Stafford, Dr. Farquharson*)
*c.* Bill withdrawn * *June* 7 [Bill 17]

**Crofters (Scotland) (No. 2) Bill**
(*The Earl of Dalhousie*)
*l.* Committee *May* 27, 156 (No. 95)
Report *May* 31, 447 (No. 127)
Moved, "That the Bill be now read 3ª" *June* 1, 659
Amendt. to leave out ("now") add ("this day six months") (*The Earl of Wemyss*); on Question, That ("now,") &c.; resolved in the affirmative
Bill read 3ª; on Question, That the Bill do pass? an Amendt. moved, and negatived; Bill passed
Lords Amendts. considered *June* 3, 957; several agreed to, one amended, and agreed to; subsequent Amendts. agreed to

*Crofters (Scotland) (No. 2) Bill*
*Appointment of Commissioners*, Observations, The Duke of Argyll; Reply, The Secretary for Scotland (The Earl of Dalhousie) *June* 7, 1113; Questions, Sir Julian Goldsmid, Dr. Clark; Answers, The Lord Advocate (Mr. J. B. Balfour), 1143;—*Mr. Macfarlane*, Question, Mr. Macfarlane; Answer, The Solicitor General for Scotland (Mr. Asher) *June* 17, 1720
*Names of the Commissioners*, Observation, The Secretary for Scotland (The Earl of Dalhousie) *June* 10, 1289
*The Lay Commissioners*, Question, Dr. R. M'Donald; Answer, The Lord Advocate (Mr. J. B. Balfour) *June* 17, 1713

**Crompton, Mr. C.**, *Staffordshire, Leek*
Registration of Voters (Ireland), 2R. 796

**Cross, Right Hon. Sir R. A.**, *Lancashire, S.W., Newton*
Coal Mines, Comm. *cl.* 1, 1620, 1621, 1622, 1623; *cl.* 2, *ib.* 1625; Amendt. 1670; *cl.* 3, 1671
Education, Royal Commission on—Physical Training in Elementary Schools, 839
Glebe Lands, 2R. Bill withdrawn, 1620
Law and Police—Arrest of Sir Thomas Fermor-Hesketh, 835, 836, 1132
Losses by Riot (Compensation), Comm. *cl.* 2, Amendt. 418
Married Women (Maintenance in Case of Desertion), Comm. *cl.* 1, 1672; *add. cl.* 1673
Parliamentary Elections (Returning Officers) Act (1875) Amendment, Consid. 1612
Registration of Voters (Ireland), 2R. 814
Returning Officers' Charges (Scotland), Consid. 1640, 1646
Salmon and Freshwater Fisheries, 3R. 1652
Shop Hours Regulation, Committee on Recommitment, 1785, 1797, 1798, 1799, 1803
Terms of Removal (Scotland), Comm. *cl.* 1, 969, 970
Tithe Rent Charge (Extraordinary) Redemption, Comm, *cl.* 3, 1778

**Crossman, Major-General Sir W.**, *Portsmouth*
Army—War Department—Coal Depôt at St. Lucia (West Indies), 1131
Army Estimates—Army Services, 1539
Navy—Coaling Stations in the West Indies, 828
Navy Estimates—Dockyards and Naval Yards at Home and Abroad, 1339
Office of Works—The Consulting Surveyor, 829

*Currency, The*
*Circulation of Foreign Copper Coin*, Question, Mr. Montagu; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer (Sir William Harcourt) *May* 31, 492
*Relative Value of Gold and Silver*, Questions, Sir George Campbell; Answers, The Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Henry H. Fowler) *June* 17, 1712

**Customs and Inland Revenue Bill**
(*The Lord Sudeley*)
*l.* Royal Assent *June* 4 [49 *Vict.* c. 18]
*c.* *Duties on Spanish Wines*, Question, Sir Michael Hicks-Beach; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer (Sir William Harcourt) *June* 11, 1489

**Customs Bill**
(*Mr. Henry H. Fowler, Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer*)
*c.* Considered in Committee; Resolution agreed to, and reported; Bill ordered; read 1° * *June* 10 [Bill 276]
Read 2°, after short debate *June* 11, 1570
Committee *; Report *June* 16
Read 3° * *June* 17
*l.* Read 1ª * (*Lord Sudeley*) *June* 18 (No. 175)

*Customs Department, London*
*Outdoor Officers*, Question, Mr. Lawson; Answer, The Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Henry H. Fowler) *June* 4, 1008
*Redundant Clerks*, Question, Mr. M'Culloch; Answer, The Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Henry H. Fowler) *May* 31, 490

**Dalhousie, Earl of** (Secretary for Scotland)
Contagious Diseases (Animals), Comm. *cl.* 9, 1003
Crofters (Scotland) (No. 2), Comm. *cl.* 1, 157, 158, 160, 161, 162; *cl.* 2, 164, 165, 166; *cl.* 5, Amendt. 167, 168, 169, 170; *cl.* 9, 171; *cl.* 11, 172, 173, 174; *cl.* 12, *ib.*, 175; *cl.* 13, *ib.*, 176, 177; *cl.* 16, 178, 179; *cl.* 17, 180; *cl.* 20, *ib.*; *cl.* 32, 182; *cl.* 33, 183; Schedule, 184; Report, *cl.* 1, Amendt. 447; *cl.* 9, Amendt. *ib.*; *cl.* 32, Amendt. *ib.*; *cl.* 33, Amendt. 448; 3R. 660, 1114; Commons Amendts. to Lords Amendts. Consid. 1289
Hillhead and Kelvinside (Annexation to Glasgow), 2R. 631
Sea Fishing Boats (Scotland), Comm. 1247, 1248

DAWSON, Mr. R., *Leeds, E.*
Government of Ireland, 2R. 745, 879
Intoxicating Liquors (Sale to Children), Comm. *cl.* 3, 1665
Metropolis—Police—Capture of Dogs in the Streets, 192, 193

DE COBAIN, Mr. E. S. W., *Belfast, E.*
Belfast Main Drainage, Consid. *add. cl.* 485, 486
Ireland—Crime and Outrage—Riots at Belfast, 1482
Registration of Voters (Ireland), 2R. 821

**Deeds of Arrangement Bill**
(*Mr. Brinton, Mr. Colman*)
*c.* Ordered; read 1° * *June* 2 [Bill 254]

*Defences of the Empire*
*A Naval Review*, Question, Mr. Baden-Powell; Answer, The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. E. Gladstone) *June* 4, 1017
*Coal Depôt for H.M. Ships of War at St. Lucia (West Indies)*, Question, General Sir William Crossman; Answer, The Secretary to the Admiralty (Mr. Hibbert) *June* 3, 828; Question, General Sir William Crossman; Answer, The Secretary of State for War (Mr. Campbell-Bannerman) *June* 7, 1131
*The Fortification of Simon's Bay and Table Bay*, Questions, Mr. W. H. Smith; Answers, The Secretary of State for War (Mr. Campbell-Bannerman) *June* 17, 1722
[See title *Colonial Defences*]

DE LA WARR, Earl
Gravesend and Northfleet Docks and Railways, Motion, 614

DENMAN, Lord
Crofters (Scotland) (No. 2), Comm. *cl.* 15, Amendt. 177; *cl.* 17, 179
Infants, Comm. *add. cl.* 4
Women's Suffrage, 2R. 1249

DICKSON, Major A. G., *Dover*
Hull, Barnsley, and West Riding Junction Railway and Dock, 2R. Motion for Adjournment, 1474

DILKE, Right Hon. Sir C. W., *Chelsea*
Public Health Acts (Improvement Expenses), Comm. *cl.* 2, Amendt. 126, 128; *cl.* 3, Amendt. 130; *cl.* 4, Amendt. 131, 132, 133, 134; *cl.* 5, Amendt. *ib.*, 135; *cl.* 9, Amendt. 136; *cl.* 10, Amendt. 137; *cl.* 13, 140; *add. cl.* 147, 148; Consid. *add. cl.* 973, 978, 979
Registration of Voters (Ireland), 2R. 793, 794, 795, 807

DILLON, Mr. J., *Mayo, E.*
Arms (Ireland), Comm. 218; *cl.* 2, 241, 275, 280
Belfast Main Drainage, Consid. *add. cl.* Motion for Adjournment, 478
Government of Ireland, 2R. 688, 1043, 1045, 1079, 1209

DILLON, Mr. J.—*cont.*
Medical Acts Amendment, Comm. *cl.* 4, 593; *cl.* 5, 597; *cl.* 7, 599, 607
Parliament—Business of the House—Precedence of Committees of Supply and Ways and Means, and Money Bills, 1496
Registration of Voters (Ireland), 2R. 784, 789

*Diplomatic Service, The — Consuls and Diplomatic Agents Abroad*
Question, Mr. Hutton; Answer, The Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Mr. Bryce) *June* 3, 832

*Disorderly Persons, &c. Act (Amendment) Act*, 1838—*Sunday Baking in Ireland*
Question, Mr. Nolan; Answer, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. John Morley) *June* 7, 1121

DODDS, Mr. J., *Stockton*
Public Health Acts (Improvement Expenses), Comm. *cl.* 2, 128, 129; *cl.* 4, 132, 134; *cl.* 5, *ib.*; *cl.* 9, 136; *cl.* 10, 137; *cl.* 12, 139; *cl.* 13, 141, 142; *cl.* 20, Amendt. 143; *cl.* 22, *ib.*; *add. cl.* 145, 146, 148; Schedule, 149, 150; Consid. *cl.* 7, 979, 980, 981

DONKIN, Mr. R. S., *Tynemouth*
Parliamentary Elections — The Volunteers, 1718

DOUGLAS, Mr. A. AKERS-, *Kent, St. Augustine's*
Tithe Rent Charge (Extraordinary) Redemption, Comm. *cl.* 1, 1782

**Drainage and Improvement of Lands (Ireland) Provisional Orders (No. 2) Bill** [H.L.] (*The Lord Thurlow*)
*l.* Committee *; Report *May* 27 (No. 84)
Read 3ª * *May* 28
*c.* Read 1° * *May* 31 [Bill 246]
Read 2° * *June* 7
Report * *June* 18

**Drowned Persons (Discovery and Interment) Bill** (*The Earl Stanhope*)
*l.* Royal Assent *June* 4 [49 *Vict.* c. 20]

DUCKHAM, Mr. T., *Herefordshire, Leominster*
Returning Officers' Charges (Scotland), Consid. 1649

DUFF, Mr. R. W. (Civil Lord of the Admiralty), *Banffshire*
Navy—Admiralty—Copying Writers, 1014
Torpedo Boats, 1860
Navy—Dockyards—Pay of Joiners, 194
Widows of Seamen and Marines, 34
Navy Estimates—Dockyards and Naval Yards at Home and Abroad, 1421
New Works, Buildings, &c. 1423, 1424
Peterhead Harbour of Refuge, Comm. 1565; Consid. *cl.* 16, 1652

[*cont.*

**Duncan**, Colonel F., *Finsbury, Holborn*
Army Estimates—Army Services, 1543
Artizans' Dwellings Act—The Brooke Market Site, Holborn, 1845
Belfast Main Drainage, Consid. *add. cl.* 460

**Duncombe**, Mr. A., *York, E.R., Howdenshire*
Intoxicating Liquors (Sale to Children), Comm. *cl.* 1, 1662

**Durham**, Earl of
Sale of Intoxicating Liquors on Sunday (Durham), 3R. 6, 10

*Dutch West Indies—Island of Curaçao—Case of Mr. Godden*
Question, Mr. Banister Fletcher; Answer, The Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Mr. Bryce) *June* 17, 1719

**Dyke**, Right Hon. Sir W. H., *Kent, Dartford*
Tithe Rent-Charge (Extraordinary) Redemption, Comm. *cl.* 1, 1769; *cl.* 3, 1774; *cl.* 4, 1782

**East India Railways (Loans) Bill**
(*Mr. Stafford Howard, Mr. Henry H. Fowler*)
c. Resolution in Committee *June* 4
Resolution reported, and agreed to; Bill ordered * *June* 10
Question, Mr. Buchanan; Answer, The Under Secretary of State for India (Mr. Stafford Howard) *June* 11, 1486

**Ebrington**, Viscount, *Devon, Tavistock*
Agricultural Department of the Privy Council—The Cattle Markets of the United Kingdom, 842

*Ecclesiastical Commissioners — Evictions near Bream's Buildings, Chancery Lane*
Question, Mr. Ince; Answer, The Secretary to the Board of Trade (Mr. C. T. D. Acland) *May* 31, 502

*Education Department*
*Elementary Education Acts—Religious Denomination of Teachers*, Question, Mr. Conway; Answer, The Vice President of the Council (Sir Lyon Playfair) *June* 17, 1708
*Inspection of Elementary Schools*, Question, Mr. Henry Allen; Answer, The Vice President of the Council (Sir Lyon Playfair) *May* 25, 27
*Science and Art Department and Medical Schools (Hospitals)*, Questions, Mr. Cozens-Hardy, Dr. Farquharson; Answers, The Vice President of the Council (Sir Lyon Playfair) *June* 7, 1123
*The Royal Commission on Education—Physical Training in Elementary Schools*, Question, Mr. Buxton; Answer, Sir R. Assheton Cross *June* 3, 839

[*cont.*

*Education Department*—cont.
*Upton-cum-Kexby National School*, Question, Mr. Bennett; Answer, The Vice President of the Council (Sir Lyon Playfair) *June* 7, 1122

*Education Department (England and Wales)*
Departmental Statement (on Appropriation Bill) of The Vice President of the Council (Sir Lyon Playfair); Debate thereon *June* 17, 1723

*Education Department (Scotland)*
Departmental Statement (on Appropriation Bill) of the Right Hon. The Lord Advocate (Mr. J. B. Balfour); Debate thereon *June* 17, 1749

*Egypt*
*The Military Expedition*
*Egyptian Medal*, Question, Sir James Corry; Answer, The Secretary of State for War (Mr. Campbell-Bannerman) *June* 7, 1125
*The Troops at Assouan*, Question, Mr. Norton; Answer, The Secretary of State for War (Mr. Campbell-Bannerman) *June* 18, 1850

*Re-organization, &c.*, Question, Sir George Campbell; Answer, The Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Mr. Bryce) *June* 7, 1131

**Electric Lighting Act (1882) Amendment (No. 1) Bill** (*The Lord Rayleigh*)
l. Report of Select Comm. * *June* 4

**Electric Lighting Act (1882) Amendment (No. 2) Bill** (*Viscount Bury*)
l. Report of Select Comm. * *June* 4 [No. 147]

**Electric Lighting Act (1882) Amendment (No. 3) Bill** (*The Lord Houghton*)
l. Report * *June* 4 (No. 148)
Committee * *June* 10
Report *June* 18, 1833

**Electric Lighting Provisional Order Bill**
(*Mr. Charles Acland, Mr. Mundella*)
c. Ordered; read 1° * *June* 11 [Bill 278]

**Elementary Education Provisional Order Confirmation (Birmingham) Bill** [H.L.]
(*The Lord President*)
l. Read 2ª * *May* 25 (No. 96)
Committee * *June* 4
Report * *June* 7
Read 3ª * *June* 8
c. Read 1° * *June* 10 [Bill 272]
Read 2° * *June* 17

**Elementary Education Provisional Order Confirmation (London) Bill** [H.L.]
(*The Lord President*)
*l.* Read 2ª * *May* 25 (No. 97)
Committee * *June* 4
Report * *June* 7
Read 3ª * *June* 8
*c.* Read 1º * *June* 10 [Bill 273]
Read 2º * *June* 17

Ellenborough, Lord
Speech of the Marquess of Salisbury—"Twenty Years of Coercion," Personal Explanation, 988

Ellis, Sir J. W., *Surrey, Kingston*
Admiralty—Naval Volunteers, 666

Ellis, Mr. J. E., *Nottingham, Rushcliffe*
Hull, Barnsley, and West Riding Junction Railway and Dock, 2R. 1482

Elphinstone, Lord
Navy—Effect of Shots on Iron-Clads—Experiments, 1117

*Emigration, State-Directed — Emigration Bureaux*
Question, Mr. Gourley; Answer, The Under Secretary of State for the Colonies (Mr. Osborne Morgan) *June* 18, 1847

**Employers' Liability Act (1880) Amendment Bill**
(*Mr. Arthur O'Connor, Dr. Commins, Mr. Sexton, Mr. Jesse Collings*)
*c.* Special Report of Select Comm. *June* 11 [No. 192]

**Employers' Liability Act (1880) Amendment (No. 2) Bill**
(*Mr. Burt, Mr. Broadhurst, Mr. Joicey, Mr. Haldane, Mr. Lockwood*)
*c.* Special Report of Select Comm. *June* 11 [No. 192]

*Ensilage Commission, The—The Expenses*
Question, Mr. Thorold Rogers; Answer, The Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Henry H. Fowler) *June* 1, 664

Esmonde, Sir T. G., *Dublin Co., S.*
Arms (Ireland), Comm. 235
Army (Auxiliary Forces)—Colonels of the Irish Militia, 192
Government of Ireland, 2R. 386

Esslemont, Mr. P., *Aberdeenshire, E.*
Army Estimates—Army Services, 1542
Parliamentary Elections (Returning Officers) Act (1875) Amendment, Consid. 1448; Schedule, 1593
Returning Officers' Charges (Scotland), Comm. Schedule 1, 1559, 1561; Schedule 2, Amendt. 1563, 1564; Consid. Amendt. 1640; *add. cl.* 1649
Shop Hours Regulation, Consid. *cl.* 4, 1810, 1815, 1816

*Europe, South-Eastern States of*
*Bulgaria—Alleged Conspiracy*, Question, Sir Robert Peel; Answer, The Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Mr. Bryce) *May* 28, 314
*Greece and Turkey—Raising of the Blockade of the Greek Ports*, Observation, The Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (The Earl of Rosebery) *June* 7, 1117

Evelyn, Mr. W. J., *Deptford*
Government of Ireland, 2R. 1052
Metropolis—Parks—Greenwich Park—Hours of Admission, 202, 315

Everett, Mr. R. L., *Suffolk, Woodbridge*
Intoxicating Liquors (Sale to Children), 3R. 1822
Returning Officers' Charges (Scotland), Consid. 1646

**Fairs and Markets (Tolls) (Ireland) Bill**
(*Mr. Sexton, Mr. Hayden, Mr. Harris, Mr. P. J. O'Brien, Mr. Chance, Mr. Justin M'Carthy*)
*c.* Bill withdrawn * *June* 10 [Bill 36]

Farquharson, Dr. R., *Aberdeenshire, W.*
Education Department — Science and Art Department and Medical Schools (Hospitals), 1123
Medical Acts Amendment, Comm. *cl.* 7, 602; Amendt. 606; *add. cl.* 1432

Fenwick, Mr. C., *Northumberland, Wansbeck*
Government of Ireland, 2R. 83

Fergusson, Right Hon. Sir J., *Manchester, N.E.*
Army Estimates—Army Services, 1537
India (Bombay) — Indian Factory Act, 1885, 187
Parliament — Business of the House — Precedence of Committees of Supply and Ways and Means, and Money Bills, 1493
Parliamentary Elections (Returning Officers) Act (1875) Amendment, Consid. Motion for Adjournment, 981, 983; *add. cl.* 1438, 1443, 1454, 1610
Tithe Rent-Charge (Extraordinary) Redemption, Comm. 1433

Field, Admiral E., *Sussex, Eastbourne*
Navy—Admiralty—The Coastguardmen—The General Election, 1852
Torpedo Boats, 1859
Navy—H.M.S. "Collingwood" — Bursting of the 43-ton Gun, 205
Navy Estimates—Dockyards and Naval Yards at Home and Abroad, 1354, 1363, 1364, 1412
New Works, Buildings, &c. 1424
Peterhead Harbour of Refuge, Consid. *cl.* 16, Amendt. 1651

Fife, Earl of
  Crofters (Scotland) (No. 2), Comm. *cl.* 33, Amendt. 183

*Fiji—The Hurricane*
  Question, Mr. M'Arthur; Answer, The Under Secretary of State for the Colonies (Mr. Osborne Morgan) *June* 17, 1714

Finucane, Mr. J., *Limerick, E.*
  Ireland—Commissioners of National Education—Model Schools—Compulsory Prepayment on Admission, 199
    Landlord and Tenant — Law of Ejectment Notices — Case of Timothy Conway, of Doon, Co. Limerick, 198

Fisher, Mr. W. H., *Fulham*
  Government of Ireland, 2R. 378, 381

*Fisheries (England and Wales)*
  *North Sea Fisheries Convention—The Protecting Cruisers*, Question, Sir Edward Birkbeck; Answer, The Secretary to the Admiralty (Mr. Hibbert) *June* 10, 1295
  *The Morecambe Bay Cockle Fishery*, Question, Lord Edward Cavendish; Answer, The Secretary to the Board of Trade (Mr. C. T. D. Acland) *May* 25, 32

FitzGerald, Lord
  Infants, Comm. *cl.* 3, 3
  Ireland — Crime and Outrage — Murder of Patrick Tangney, near Killarney, 1116
  Labourers (Ireland) Acts Amendment, Report, 298; 3R. Amendt. 1678
  Tramways Order in Council (Ireland), 2R. 997

Fitzgerald, Mr. R. U. P., *Cambridge*
  Commissioners of Irish Lights — Public Competition—Sir James Douglass's Patents, 1297

FitzWygram, General Sir F., *Hants, Fareham*
  Army Estimates—Army Services, 1535, 1545

Fletcher, Mr. B., *Wilts, Chippenham*
  Dutch West Indies—Island of Curaçao—Case of Mr. Godden, 1719
  England, Wales, and Scotland, Self-Government of, 1142

Flynn, Mr. J. C., *Cork, N.*
  Government of Ireland, 2R. 77, 83
  Ireland—Liscarroll, Co. Cork, 1129

Folkestone, Right Hon. Viscount, *Middlesex, Enfield*
  Parliamentary Elections (Returning Officers) Act (1875) Amendment, Consid. Schedule, 1582

*Food Supply, The—Sale of Imported Meat*
  Question, Observations, Lord Lamington; Reply, Lord Houghton *May* 31, 436

Foreign Affairs—Secretary of State (*see* Rosebery, Earl of)

Foreign Affairs—Under Secretary of State (*see* Bryce, Mr. J.)

Fortescue, Earl
  Arms (Ireland), 2R. 658

Forwood, Mr. A. B., *Lancashire, Ormskirk*
  Parliamentary Elections (Returning Officers) Act (1875) Amendment, Consid. *add. cl.* 1442, 1445; Schedule, 1465
  Public Health Acts (Improvement Expenses), Consid. 976

Foster, Dr. B. W., *Chester*
  Arms (Ireland), Comm. *cl.* 2, 268
  Medical Acts Amendment, Comm. *cl.* 5, 596; *cl.* 7, Amendt. 598, 602, 603, 607, 609; *cl.* 8, Amendt. 1426

Fowler, Sir R. N., *London*
  Africa (South)—Kimberley Diamond Mines, 1707, 1708
  Coal Mines, Comm. *cl.* 1, 1623
  Customs, 2R. 1573
  Government of Ireland, 2R. 947, 957
  India—Adulteration of Whisky at the Calcutta Custom House, 187
  Parliamentary Elections (Returning Officers) Act (1875) Amendment, Consid. *add. cl.* 1451
  Prisons (England and Wales)—Transference of Convicts, 203
  Registration of Voters (Ireland), 2R. 815
  Sale of Intoxicating Liquors on Sunday, Comm. *cl.* 1, 1109, 1111
  Shop Hours Regulation, Consid. *cl.* 4, 1814, 1816; *cl.* 9, 1819
  Supply—Civil Services and Revenue Departments, 1519, 1522, 1524, 1526
  Terms of Removal (Scotland), Comm. *cl.* 1, Motion for Adjournment, 968

Fowler, Mr. Henry H. (Secretary to the Treasury), *Wolverhampton, E.*
  Civil Service—Lower Division Clerks and Writers, 1850
  Currency—Relative Value of Gold and Silver, 1712
  Customs, 2R. 1573
  Customs Department, London — Outdoor Officers, 1009;—Redundant Clerks, 490
  Ensilage Commission—The Expenses, 665
  Government of Ireland, 2R. Motion for Adjournment, 417, 508, 514
  Imperial Taxation on Real and Personal Property—The Return, 1291
  Income Tax, Res. 1509
  Inland Revenue—Salaries, 666
  Ireland—Questions
    Inland Navigation and Drainage — The River Bann, 1138
    Piers and Harbours — Arklow Harbour Works, 316

Fowler, Mr. H. H.—*cont.*
Railways—Railway Bridges at Ballinamore and Ballyconnell, 1629
Sale of Crown Lands—The Fort of Culmore, 497
Parliament—Adjournment of the House—Appointment of Commissioners under the Crofters (Scotland) Act, 1505
Ministerial Statement, 1322
Order of Business, 1676
Parliamentary Elections (Returning Officers) Act (1875) Amendment, Consid. *add. cl.* 1458; Schedule, 1596, 1600
Post Office—Questions
Abstraction of Newspapers, 316, 837
Annual Report, 1137
Contracts—Conveyance of Mails to India, 668
Letters to the Niger and Gulf of Guinea, 1669
Newspapers, 1136
Postage to Australia, 501
Postal Charges from West African Colonies, 1130
Post Cards, 309
Sea Conveyance to Australia, 1136
Transmission of Newspapers to India and Australia, 837
Post Office (Ireland)—Questions
Allowances to Letter Sorters, 28
Clonmel, &c.—Accelerated Mail Service, 1010
Cork Postmen, 1007
Mails between Skibbereen and Baltimore, 1122
Pay of Letter Carriers, 489
Sub-Post Office at Bauravilla, 1630
Post Office (Scotland)—Questions
Acceleration of Mails to Oban, 1702
Mails to the Outer Hebrides, 313, 1842
Oban Post Office, 1011
Public Parks and Works (Metropolis), 1137
Public Works Loans (Tramways Ireland), 2R. 1568; Comm. *cl.* 3, Amendt. 1635; 3R. 1864
Scotland—Questions
Fishing Privileges—Return, 313
Poor Law—Memorial of the Parochial Boards of Skye, 1843
Supply, Ministerial Statement, 1498
Supply—Civil Services and Revenue Departments, 1521, 1527, 1528
Gratuity to Lady Gosset, 1510
Westminster Abbey Restoration, 2R. 1673, 1676

**Freshwater Fisheries Bill**
(*Mr. Charles Acland, Mr. Mundella*)
*c.* Committee; Report; Bill re-committed *May* 31, 611 [Bill 218]

**Friendly Societies Act (1875) Amendment Bill** [H.L.] (*The Lord Greville*)
*l.* Bill withdrawn, after debate *May* 31, 426 (No. 99)

Fry, Mr. T., *Darlington*
Sale of Intoxicating Liquors on Sunday, Comm. *cl.* 1, 1108

Galloway, Earl of
Crofters (Scotland) (No. 2), Comm. *cl.* 2, 165; *cl.* 32, 182
Navy—H.M.S. "Colossus"—The 43-ton Gun, 444

**Gas Provisional Orders (No. 1) Bill**
(*Mr. Charles Acland, Mr. Mundella*)
*c.* Report * *June* 4 [Bill 196]
Considered * *June* 7
Read 3° * *June* 10
*l.* Read 1ª * (*Lord Sudeley*) *June* 10 (No. 154)
Read 2ª * *June* 18

**Gas Provisional Orders (No. 2) Bill**
(*Mr. Charles Acland, Mr. Mundella*)
*c.* Read 2° * *May* 28 [Bill 214]

**Gas and Water Provisional Orders Bill**
(*Mr. Charles Acland, Mr. Mundella*)
*c.* Report * *May* 28 [Bill 206]
Read 3° * *May* 31
*l.* Read 1ª * (*Lord Sudeley*) *June* 1 (No. 136)
Read 2ª * *June* 8

Gathorne-Hardy, Hon. J. S., *Kent, Medway*
Parliamentary Elections (Returning Officers) Act (1875) Amendment, Consid. Schedule, 1581
Tithe Rent-Charge (Extraordinary) Redemption, Comm. 1434; *cl.* 1, 1576, 1578

Gibson, Mr. J. G., *Liverpool, Walton*
Jurors' Detention, Consid. Preamble, 781
Medical Acts Amendment, Comm. *cl.* 7, 604;

Gilhooly, Mr. J., *Cork, W.*
Ireland—Post Office—Mails between Skibbereen and Baltimore, 1122
Pay of Letter Carriers, 488
Trees (Ireland), Lords' Reasons and Amendts. Consid. Amendt. 1619

Gill, Mr. H. J., *Limerick*
Arms (Ireland), Comm. *cl.* 2, 271

Gladstone, Right Hon. W. E. (First Lord of the Treasury), *Edinburgh, Mid Lothian*
Defences of the Empire—A Naval Review, 1017
England, Wales, and Scotland, Self-Government of, 1143
Government of India—Joint Committee, 317
Government of Ireland, 2R. 69, 102, 554, 679, 780, 892, 931, 934, 1044, 1045, 1046, 1077, 1082, 1146, 1162, 1193, 1201, 1202, 1205, 1215, 1234, 1235; Motion for Adjournment, 1245
Government of Ireland—Questions
Meeting at the Foreign Office, 211, 212, 213, 674
Policy of the Government, Ministerial Statement, 317, 321, 326, 330, 332, 333, 335, 336, 343, 344, 505
Termination of the Debate, 846

[*cont.*

**Gladstone**, Right Hon. W. E.—*cont.*
Government of Ireland and Sale and Purchase of Land (Ireland) Bills, 210
"Imperial Federation, Naval and Military"—Captain Colomb's Lecture, 1015, 1016
Ireland—Crime and Outrage—Riots at Belfast, 1489
Parliament—Questions
Business of the House—Precedence of Committees of Supply and Ways and Means, and Money Bills, 1492
Dissolution, Ministerial Statement, 1304, 1306, 1312, 1318, 1321, 1488
Parliamentary Elections—Expenses of Candidates, 672, 673
Roman Catholic Disabilities Removal Act—The Viceroy of Ireland, 1483
Secret Service Money, 210

**Gladstone**, Mr. H. J. (Financial Secretary to the War Department), *Leeds, W.*
Army (Auxiliary Forces)—Irish Militia—6th Brigade, North Irish Division, R.A. 1010

**Glebe Lands Bill** (*Sir Richard Cross, Sir Richard Webster, Mr. Gregory*)
*c.* Order for 2R. discharged; Bill withdrawn *June* 11, 1620 [Bill 93]

**Glebe Lands (No. 2) Bill**
(*Dr. Foster, Mr. Cobb, Lord William Compton, Mr. Shirley, Captain Verney, Mr. Pilkington*)
*c.* Ordered; read 1°* *June* 10 [Bill 275]
Bill withdrawn* *June* 16

**Goldsmid**, Sir J., *St. Pancras, S.*
Arms (Ireland), Comm. 230
Charity Commissioners — Tonbridge School Endowments, 668
Crofters (Scotland) (No. 2)—Appointment of Commissioners, 1143
Government of Ireland, 2R. 926, 931, 937
Medical Acts Amendment, Comm. *cl.* 7, 604
Parliament—Adjournment of the House, Ministerial Statement, 1321
Parliamentary Elections (Returning Officers) Act (1875) Amendment, Consid. *add. cl.* 1461
Secret Service Money, 209
Tithe Rent Charge (Extraordinary) Redemption, Comm. *cl.* 1, 1762; *cl.* 4, 1781

**Goldsworthy**, Major-General W. T., *Hammersmith*
Army (Auxiliary Forces)—Bayonets for the Volunteers, 1705
Army Estimates—Army Services, 1552

**Gorst**, Sir J. E., *Chatham*
Intoxicating Liquors (Sale to Children), Comm. 1658; *cl.* 3, 1664
Navy Estimates—Dockyards and Naval Yards at Home and Abroad, Amendt. 1323, 1337, 1379

[*cont.*

**Gorst**, Sir J. E.—*cont.*
Parliamentary Elections (Returning Officers) Act (1875) Amendment, Re-comm. Schedule 2, 1669
Registration of Voters (Ireland), 2R. 806, 807, 808

**Goschen**, Rt. Hon. G. J., *Edinburgh, E.*
Government of Ireland, 2R. 567; Motion for Adjournment, 1105, 1145, 1146, 1147, 1162

**Gourley**, Mr. E. T., *Sunderland*
Admiralty—The Reserve and Channel Squadrons—The Manœuvres, 1846
State-Directed Emigration—Emigration Bureaux, 1847
United States and Canada—Fishery Disputes, 1846

**Government of Ireland Bill**
(*Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Secretary Childers, Mr. John Morley, Mr. Attorney General*)
*c.* Order read, for resuming Adjourned Debate on Amendment proposed to Question [10th May], "That the Bill be now read 2°;" Question again proposed, "That 'now,' &c.;" Debate resumed [Sixth Night] *May* 25, 40; after long debate, Debate further adjourned
Adjourned Debate further adjourned *May* 27
*Rule* 2 (*Adjournment of the House*)—*Policy of the Government*, Observations, Sir Michael Hicks-Beach; Reply, The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. E. Gladstone) *May* 28, 317
Moved, "That this House do now adjourn" (*Sir Michael Hicks-Beach*); after debate, Question put; A. 1, N. 405; M. 404 (D. L. 110)
The Entry in the Votes, 354
Debate resumed [Seventh Night] *May* 28, 354; after long debate, Debate further adjourned
Debate resumed [Eighth Night] *May* 31, 506; after long debate, Debate further adjourned
Debate resumed [Ninth Night] *June* 1, 675; after long debate, Debate further adjourned
*Termination of the Debate*, Questions, Sir Michael Hicks-Beach, Mr. Labouchere, Mr. Bradlaugh, Mr. Molloy; Answers, The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. E. Gladstone) *June* 3, 845
Debate resumed [Tenth Night] *June* 3, 847; after long debate, Debate further adjourned
Debate resumed [Eleventh Night] *June* 4, 1018; after long debate, Debate further adjourned
Debate resumed [Twelfth Night] *June* 7, 1145; after long debate, Question put; A. 311, N. 341; M. 30; Div. List, A. and N. 1240
Words added; main Question, as amended, put, and agreed to; 2R. put off for six months [Bill 181]
Moved, "That this House, at the rising of the House this day, do adjourn till Thursday" (*Mr. W. E. Gladstone*); after short debate, Question put, and agreed to
*The Ministerial Policy*, Moved, "That this House do now adjourn" (*The Duke of Argyll*) *June* 10, 1260; after debate, on Question? resolved in the negative
[See *Parliament—The Dissolution*]

*Government of Ireland Bill*
*Government of Ireland and Sale and Purchase of Land (Ireland) Bills*, Questions, Mr. Norris; Answers, The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. E. Gladstone) *May* 27, 210; Question, Mr. Heneage; Answer, The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. E. Gladstone) *May* 31, 505
*Meeting at the Foreign Office*, Questions, Sir Michael Hicks-Beach; Answers, The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. E. Gladstone) *May* 27, 211; Question, Mr. Ince; Answer, The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. E. Gladstone) *June* 1, 674
*Civil Servants*, Questions, Mr. Stanley Leighton; Answers, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. John Morley) *May* 28, 309
*The Archives of Dublin Castle*, Question, Mr. Mitchell Henry; Answer, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. John Morley) *June* 1, 669
*Speech of the Marquess of Salisbury—" Twenty Years of Coercion,"* Personal Explanation, The Marquess of Salisbury; Observations, The Earl of Kimberley *June* 4, 986
*The Earl of Carnarvon and Mr. Parnell*, Personal Explanation, The Earl of Carnarvon *June* 10, 1256

Gower, Mr. G. G. L. (Lord of the Treasury), *Stafford, N.W.*
Metropolitan Improvements—New Roads at Hyde Park Corner, 844
Office of Works—The Consulting Surveyor, 829
Ordnance Survey—The "Bench Mark," 1128
Palace of Westminster—Questions
  Admission of Visitors to the House of Commons, 1712
  Palace Yard—A Glass Shelter, 29
  Ventilation of the House—Report of the Select Committee, 837, 838, 1129, 1485
Parks (Metropolis)—Greenwich Park—Hours of Opening, 315
  Parks Regulation Act, 1872—Richmond Park—The Guildford Coach, 1843;—Tricycles and Bicycles, 1295

Granard, Earl of
Army (Auxiliary Forces)—Irish Militia—Snider Rifles, 1093

Granville, Earl (Secretary of State for the Colonies)
Colonial Information Department, The Proposed, 305
Parliament—Table of this House, 298
Sale of Intoxicating Liquors on Sunday (Durham), 3R. 21

*Gravesend and Northfleet Docks and Railways Bill*
*l.* Moved, "That the Examiners' Certificate of non-compliance with the Standing Orders be referred back to the Standing Orders Committee" (*The Earl Cadogan*) *June* 1, 613; after short debate, on Question? Cont. 52, Not-Cont. 54; M. 2; resolved in the negative

Gray, Mr. E. Dwyer, *Dublin, St. Stephen's Green*
Belfast Main Drainage, Consid. *add. cl.* 483, 485
Government of Ireland, 2R. 564, 575, 576
Parliament — Business of the House — Precedence of Committees of Supply and Ways and Means, and Money Bills, 1495

*Greenwich Hospital*
Resolved, That the Statement of the Estimated Income and Expenditure of Greenwich Hospital for the year 1886-7, presented to Parliament pursuant to Act 48 and 49 Vic. c. 42, be approved (*Mr. Hibbert*) *June* 17

Gregory, Mr. G. B., *Sussex, East Grinstead*
Customs, 2R. 1571
Income Tax, Res. 1510
Parliament — Adjournment of the House, Ministerial Statement, 1321
Parliamentary Elections (Returning Officers) Act (1875) Amendment, Consid. Schedule, 1596
Supply — Civil Services and Revenue Departments, 1525
Tithe Rent-Charge (Extraordinary) Redemption, Comm. *cl.* 1, 1577, 1758, 1764; *cl.* 3, 1772; Amendt. 1773, 1779, 1780; *cl.* 4, Amendt. 1782

Greville, Lord
Friendly Societies Act (1875) Amendment, 2R. 426, 436

Grimston, Viscount, *Hertfordshire, St. Alban's*
Intoxicating Liquors (Sale to Children), Comm. Amendt. 1655; Preamble, 1668

Halsbury, Lord
Infants, Comm. *cl.* 3, Amendt. 2
Ireland—Ministerial Policy, 1287
Tramways Order in Council (Ireland), 1252

Halsey, Mr. T. F., *Herts, Watford*
Parliamentary Elections (Returning Officers) Act (1875) Amendment, Consid. *add. cl.* 1446, 1461

Hamilton, Lord C. J., *Liverpool, West Derby*
Commercial Treaties with Foreign States—The British Colonies, 1013
Commercial Treaties — The Most Favoured Nation Clause—Notice of Withdrawal, 1014

Hamilton, Lord F., *Manchester, S.W.*
Medical Acts Amendment, Comm. *cl.* 7, 601

Hamilton, Right Hon. Lord G. F., *Middlesex, Ealing*
Ireland, State of—House League, 27
Navy Estimates—Dockyards and Naval Yards at Home and Abroad, 1382, 1389, 1391, 1397, 1407, 1418

HAMILTON, Colonel C. E., *Southwark, Rotherhithe*
  Excise—Rice, &c. Used in Brewing, 29

HANBURY, Mr. R. W., *Preston*
  Maharajah Dhuleep Singh, 25

HARCOURT, Right Hon. Sir W. G. V. (Chancellor of the Exchequer), *Derby*
  Artizans' Dwellings Act—The Brooke Market Site, Holborn, 1845
  Belfast Main Drainage, Consid. *add. cl.* 481, 487
  Colonial Exhibition—Duties on Foreign Gold and Silver Plate, 29, 315, 671
  Currency—Circulation of Foreign Copper Coin, 492
  Customs, 2R. 1572, 1573
  Customs and Inland Revenue Bill—Duties on Spanish Wines, 1489
  Excise—Questions
    Conduct of an Excise Officer, 1129
    Duty on Beer—The Farmers, 1296
    Rice, &c. Used in Brewing, 30
  Government of Ireland Bill—Policy of the Government, Ministerial Statement, 337, 339, 343, 344
  Government of Ireland, 2R. 755, 763, 768, 769
  Inland Revenue—Superannuation of an Excise Officer, 842
  Intoxicating Liquors (Sale to Children), Comm. 1657, 1658; *cl.* 1, 1661; *cl.* 3, 1663; *cl.* 5, 1667
  Law and Justice (England and Wales)—The Rev. H. Mills, Chairman of the Kineton Petty Sessions, Warwickshire, 1811
  Law and Police—Arrest of Sir Thomas Fermor-Hesketh, 836
  Law of Evidence Amendment, 2R. 1870
  Merchant Shipping (Fishing Boats) Acts Amendment, 2R. 1655
  Parliament—Questions
    Adjournment of the House, 297; Ministerial Statement, 1319, 1854
    Business of the House—Precedence of Committees of Supply and Ways and Means, and Money Bills, 1492, 1497
    Private Bills—Standing Orders for the Suspension of Private Bills or Bills to confirm any Provisional Order or Certificate, 1695
  Parliamentary Elections (Returning Officers) Act (1875) Amendment, Consid. Schedule, 1591, 1601, 1611, 1612
  Sale of Intoxicating Liquors on Sunday, Comm. *cl.* 1, 1110
  Supply—Civil Services and Revenue Departments, 1523
  Tariff and Customs Act—Sec. 179, 30
  Tithe Rent-Charge (Extraordinary) Redemption, Comm. *cl.* 1, 1575
  Westminster Abbey—Restoration, 496

HARRINGTON, Mr. T. C., *Dublin, Harbour*
  Government of Ireland, 2R. 562, 1019
  Registration of Voters (Ireland), 2R. 805

HARROWBY, Earl of
  Colonial Information Department, The Proposed, 305

HARTINGTON, Right Hon. Marquess of, *Lancashire, Rossendale*
  Government of Ireland Bill—Policy of the Government, Ministerial Statement, 341, 343, 344, 346, 347

HASLETT, Mr. J. H., *Belfast, W.*
  Belfast Main Drainage, Consid. *add. cl.* 469, 470
  Intoxicating Liquors (Sale to Children), Comm. *cl.* 3, 1664
  Registration of Voters (Ireland), 2R. 825

HAYDEN, Mr. L. P., *Leitrim, S.*
  Army—Discharged Soldiers—Case of Michael Noone, 1st Battalion, Royal Irish Rifles, 827
  Ireland, State of—Conduct of Emergency Men at Ballinamore, Co. Leitrim, 188

*Hayti, Republic of—Imprisonment of a British Subject*
  Question, Sir Henry Holland; Answer, The Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Mr. Bryce) *May* 31, 492; Question, Mr. F. W. Maclean; Answer, The Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Mr. Bryce) *June* 1, 663

HEALY, Mr. M., *Cork*
  Arms (Ireland), Comm. 234; *cl.* 2, Amendt. 255, 257, 259, 273, 278; *add. cl.* 294
  Ireland—Questions
    Parliamentary Elections—National School Teachers, 1628
    Parliamentary Voters—Assistant Revising Barristers, 838, 1628
    Poor Law—Stowaways—The Cork Union, 1631
    Post Office—Cork Postmen, 1007
    Railways—Great Southern and Western Railway—Signalmen, 1630
  Parliamentary Elections (Returning Officers) Act (1875) Amendment, Consid. Schedule, 1590; Re-comm. *add. cl.* 1615, 1618
  Registration of Voters (Ireland), 2R. 786, 789

HEALY, Mr. T. M., *Londonderry, S.*
  Arms (Ireland), Comm. Amendt. 213, 221, 222, 231; *cl.* 2, 237, 238, 277; *add. cl.* 280, 281, 282, 292, 293; Amendt. 294, 295
  Belfast Main Drainage, Consid. *add. cl.* 467, 470, 487
  Government of Ireland, 2R. 92, 93, 98, 106, 109, 120, 560, 561, 678, 685, 1245
  Government of Ireland Bill—Policy of the Government, Ministerial Statement, 319
  Ireland—Questions
    Crime and Outrage—Riots at Belfast, 1484, 1485
    Dublin Mounted Police—Sergeant Chase, 1006
    Inland Navigation and Drainage—The River Bann, 1138
    Law and Police—Rioting at Downpatrick, 500

[*cont.*

Healy, Mr. T. M.—*cont.*
- Magistracy—The Coronership of Antrim, 24, 500
- Sale of Crown Lands—The Fort of Culmore, 497
- State of Ireland—Riots in Ulster, 1303
- Jurors' Detention, Consid. Preamble, Amendt. 781
- Parliament—Questions
  - Adjournment of the House, Ministerial Statement, 1318
  - Business of the House—Precedence of Committees of Supply and Ways and Means, and Money Bills, 1492, 1493, 1494
  - Sittings and Adjournment of the House—Derby Day, 35
- Parliamentary Elections—Expenses of Candidates, 673
- Parliamentary Elections (Returning Officers) Act (1875) Amendment, Comm. *cl.* 2, Amendt. 424; Consid. Amendt. 611; Motion for Adjournment, 612, 932, 983, 985; *add. cl.* 1436, 1442, 1447, 1448; Amendt. 1453, 1454, 1455, 1458, 1460, 1462; Schedule, 1465, 1580, 1582, 1584, 1585, 1586, 1591, 1595, 1598, 1599; Amendt. 1600, 1601, 1602, 1603, 1604, 1611; Re-comm. *add. cl.* 1614, 1615, 1618

Heaton, Mr. J. H., *Canterbury*
- Army Estimates—Army Services, 1544
- Colonial Defences—Conference of Australian Prime Ministers, 1136
- Licensing Laws, 1883-4-5—Returns, 309
- Post Office—Questions
  - Abstraction of Newspapers, 316
  - Annual Report, 1137
  - Newspapers, 1136
  - Postage to Australia, 501
  - Sea Conveyance to Australia, 1135
  - Transmission of Newspapers to India and Australia, 837

Heneage, Right Hon. E., *Great Grimsby*
- Government of Ireland and Land Purchase Bills, 505
- Merchant Shipping (Fishing Boats) Act Amendment, Comm. *cl.* 11, Amendt. 1866
- Parliament — Adjournment of the House, Ministerial Statement, 1320

Henry, Mr. M., *Glasgow, Blackfriars*
- Arms (Ireland), Comm. 228
- Government of Ireland Bill—The Archives of Dublin Castle, 669

Herschell, Lord (Lord Chancellor)
- Arms (Ireland), 2R. 650
- Copyhold Enfranchisement, Res. 993, 994
- Infants, Comm. *cl.* 3, 2, 3; *cl.* 5, Amendt. 4; Report, 304
- International and Colonial Copyright, 2R. 1250; Comm. 1835
- Ireland—Ministerial Policy, 1282, 1286
- Patents Amendment, 2R. 999; Comm. 1251
- Private Bills (Standing Order, No. 128), 152
- Tramways Order in Council (Ireland), 2R. 998, 1252

Hibbert, Right Hon. J. T. (Secretary to the Admiralty), *Oldham*
- Colonial Defences—The Colonial Navy—The White Ensign, 1141
- Navy—Questions
  - Coaling Stations in the West Indies, 829
  - Naval Administration, 1856
- Navy—Admiralty—Questions
  - Coastguardsmen—The General Election, 1852
  - H.M.SS. "Nile" and "Trafalgar," 672
  - Naval Reserve Men, 1713
  - Naval Reserves — Chief Gunners and Gunners, 831
  - Naval Volunteers, 668, 828
  - Pay of Coastguardsmen, 666
  - Reserve and Channel Squadrons — The Manœuvres, 1846, 1847
  - Shipbuilding, &c.—Contract Prices, 1700
  - Tactical Evolutions in Speed, 671
  - Torpedo Boats, 1135
- Navy Estimates—Dockyards and Naval Yards at Home and Abroad, 1337, 1371, 1375, 1384, 1386, 1405, 1406, 1407, 1422
- North Sea Fisheries Convention—The Protecting Cruisers, 1295

Hickman, Mr. A., *Wolverhampton, W.*
- Income Tax, Res. Amendt. 1507, 1510

*Hillhead and Kelvinside (Annexation to Glasgow) Bill*
- *l.* Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2ª" (*The Lord Balfour*) *June* 1, 619
  - Amendt. to leave out ("now,") add ("this day six months") (*The Marquess of Tweeddale*); after short debate, on Question, That ("now") &c.? resolved in the affirmative; Bill read 2ª, and committed; the Committee to be proposed by the Committee of Selection

Hobhouse, Lord
- Copyhold Enfranchisement, Res. 990

Hobhouse, Mr. H., *Somerset, E.*
- Metropolis — Corporate Bodies — The City Fellowship of Porters, 1296

Holland, Right Hon. Sir H. T., *Hampstead*
- Islands of the South Pacific—New Hebrides—Action of France, 1853
- Medical Acts Amendment, Comm. *cl.* 3, 591; *cl.* 4, 592, 593; *cl.* 13, Amendt. 1426; *cl.* 25, Amendt. 1428; *add. cl.* 1432
- Public Education (England), Departmental Statement, 1738, 1741
- Republic of Hayti—Imprisonment of a British Subject, 492
- West Indian Incumbered Estates, 2R. 423

Holmes, Right Hon. H., *Dublin University*
- Arms (Ireland), Comm. 231; *cl.* 2, 258; *add cl.* 281, 285, 288
- Registration of Voters (Ireland), 2R. 819

**Home Department**—Secretary of State (*see* **Childers**, Right Hon. H. C. E.)

**Home Department**—Under Secretary of State (*see* **Broadhurst**, Mr. H.)

**Hooper**, Mr. J., *Cork, S.E.*
- Army Contracts—Regimental Supplies, 493
- Ireland—Fisheries—Loans for Building Fishing Smacks, 1706
  - Post Office—Sub-Post Office at Bauravilla, 1630

**Hope**, Right Hon. A. J. B. Beresford, *Cambridge University*
- Tithe Rent Charge (Extraordinary) Redemption, Comm. *cl.* 1, Motion for reporting Progress, 1756, 1763

**Houghton**, Lord
- Electric Lighting Act (1882) Amendment (No. 3), Report, 1835
- Food Supply—Sale of Imported Meat, 437

**Howard**, Mr. E. Stafford (Under Secretary of State for India), *Gloucester, Thornbury*
- Army (India)—Case of Brigade Surgeon Ross, 201
- Burmah—Conduct of British Troops, 1140
- India—Questions
  - Adulteration of Whisky at the Calcutta Custom House, 188
  - Bombay—The Indian Factory Act, 1885, 187
  - East India Railway (Loans), 1486
  - Indian Income Tax Act, 30
  - Maharajah Dhuleep Singh, 25

**Howard**, Mr. J. M., *Camberwell, Dulwich*
- Government of Ireland, 2R. 1184

**Howell**, Mr. G., *Bethnal Green, N.E.*
- Parliamentary Elections (Returning Officers) Act (1875) Amendment, Consid. *add. cl.* 1446, 1453, 1456

**Hughes**, Colonel E., *Woolwich*
- Public Health Acts (Improvement Expenses), Comm. *add. cl.* 146

**Hughes-Hallett**, Colonel F. C., *Rochester*
- Admiralty—Torpedo Boats, 1135
- Government of Ireland, 2R. 535
- Merchant Shipping Act—The SS. "Creole," 1127

*Hull, Barnsley, and West Riding Junction Railway and Dock Bill* [*Lords*] (*by Order*)
- c. Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2°" (*Sir Charles Forster*) *June* 11, 1470

[*cont.*

*Hull, Barnsley, and West Riding Junction Railway and Dock Bill*—cont.
- Amendt. to leave out "now," add "upon this day three months" (*Mr. Coddington*); Question proposed, "That 'now,' &c.;" Moved, "That the Debate be now adjourned" (*Major Dickson*); after short debate, Question put; A. 57, N. 67; M. 10 (D. L. 128)
- Original Question again proposed, "That 'now,' &c." 1476; after short debate, original Question put, and agreed to
- Main Question put, and agreed to; Bill read 2°

**Hunter**, Mr. W. A., *Aberdeen, N.*
- Burmah—Conduct of British Troops, 1140
- Crofters (Scotland) (No. 2), Lords Amendts. Consid. 960
- Law of Evidence Amendment, 2R. 1873
- Returning Officers' Charges (Scotland), Consid. 1645

**Huntly**, Marquess of
- Contagious Diseases (Animals), 2R. 304

**Hutton**, Mr. J. F., *Manchester, N.*
- Africa (West Coast)—Questions
  - British Protectorate in the Gulf of Guinea, 1011
  - The Congo, 188
  - The Gold Coast, 1012
- Diplomatic Service—Consuls and Diplomatic Agents Abroad, 832
- Post Office—Letters to the Niger and Gulf of Guinea, 1669
  - Postal Charges from West African Colonies, 1130
- Trade and Commerce—Exactions at Salonica, 1714

**Iddesleigh**, Earl of
- Friendly Societies Act (1875) Amendment, 2R. 434
- Women's Suffrage, 2R. 1249

**Idiots Bill**
- c. Read 1° * *June* 16 [Bill 287]
- Read 2° * *June* 17
- Committee *; Report; read 3° *June* 18

**Illingworth**, Mr. A., *Bradford, W.*
- Government of Ireland, 2R. 778; Motion for Adjournment, 957, 1018
- Navy Estimates—Dockyards and Naval Yards at Home and Abroad, 1409
- Parliamentary Elections (Returning Officers) Act (1875) Amendment, Consid. Schedule, 1581, 1592

*Imperial Defences*—see title *Defences of the Empire*

"*Imperial Federation, Naval and Military*"—*Captain Colomb's Lecture*
- Questions, Mr. Howard Vincent; Answers, The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. E. Gladstone) *June* 4, 1015

*Imperial Taxation on Real and Realized Personal Property—The Return*
Question, Sir Richard Paget; Answer, The Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Henry H. Fowler) *June* 10, 1290

INCE, Mr. H. B., *Islington, E.*
Ecclesiastical Commissioners—Evictions near Bream's Buildings, Chancery Lane, 502
Government of Ireland Bill—Meeting at the Foreign Office, 674
Policy of the Government, Ministerial Statement, 330
Government of Ireland, 2R. 742

*Income Tax*
Amendt. on Committee of Supply *June* 11, To leave out from "That," add "in the opinion of this House, all persons in any way concerned in the assessment of the Income Tax should be paid by salary and not by poundage or in proportion to the amount of such assessments" (*Mr. Hickman*) *v.*, 1507; Question proposed, "That the words, &c.;" after short debate, Amendt. withdrawn

**Incumbents of Benefices Loans Extension Bill** (*Mr. Secretary Childers*)
*c.* Read 1° * *June* 16 [Bill 276]
Read 2° * *June* 17
Committee *; Report; Considered; read 3° *June* 18

INDIA—Secretary of State (*see* KIMBERLEY, Earl of)

INDIA—Under Secretary of State (*see* HOWARD, Mr. E. STAFFORD)

INDIA
*Adulteration of Whisky at the Calcutta Custom House*, Question, Sir Robert Fowler; Answer, The Under Secretary of State for India (Mr. Stafford Howard) *May* 27, 187
*Bombay — The Indian Factory Act*, 1885, Question, Sir James Fergusson; Answer, The Under Secretary of State for India (Mr. Stafford Howard) *May* 27, 187
*Government of India — The Joint Committee*, Question, Sir George Campbell; Answer, The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. E. Gladstone) *May* 28, 316
*Indian Income Tax Act*, Question, Mr. King; Answer, The Under Secretary of State for India (Mr. Stafford Howard) *May* 25, 30
*The Maharajah Dhuleep Singh*, Question, Mr. Hanbury; Answer, The Under Secretary of State for India (Mr. Stafford Howard) *May* 25, 25

**Infants Bill** (*The Lord Chancellor*)
*l.* Committee *May* 25, 2 (No. 86)
Report *May* 28, 304
Read 3ª * *May* 31 (No 135)

**International and Colonial Copyright Bill** (*Mr. Acland, Mr. Mundella, Mr. Bryce, Mr. Osborne Morgan, Sir Ughtred Kay-Shuttleworth*)
*c.* Committee *; Report *June* 1 [Bill 156]
Considered; read 3° *June* 3, 972
*l.* Read 1ª * (*Lord Chancellor*) *June* 4 (No. 144)
Read 2ª *June* 8, 1250
Committee; Report *June* 18, 1835

**Intoxicating Liquors (Sale to Children) Bill** (*Mr. Conybeare, Mr. Theodore Fry, Mr. Cossham, Mr. Valentine, Mr. Allison, Mr. O. V. Morgan, Mr. Channing*)
*c.* Order for Committee read; Moved, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair" *June* 16, 1655
Amendt. to leave out from "That," add "this House will, upon this day three months, resolve itself into the said Committee" (*Viscount Grimston*) *v.*; Question proposed, "That the words, &c.;" after short debate, Amendt. withdrawn; main Question put, and agreed to; Committee; Report [Bill 157]
Considered; read 3°, after short debate *June* 17, 1822
*l.* Read 1ª * (*E. of Milltown*) *June* 18 (No. 176)

IRELAND (*Questions*)
*Arms (Ireland) Act—Seizure of Arms at Lisnaskea, Co. Fermanagh*, Question, Captain M'Calmont; Answer, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. John Morley) *June* 17, 1704
*Contagious Diseases (Animals)—Glanders—Compulsory Slaughter of a Horse—Compensation*, Question, Major Saunderson; Answer, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. John Morley) *May* 27, 202
*Drainage Loans*, Question, Colonel Nolan; Answer, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. John Morley) *June* 1, 674
*Industrial Schools—Sir John Lentaigne*, Questions, Mr. Biggar; Answers, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. John Morley) *June* 17, 1700
*Landlord and Tenant—The Law of Ejectment Notices—Case of Timothy Conway, of Doon, Co. Limerick*, Question, Mr. Finucane; Answer, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. John Morley) *May* 27, 198
*Parliamentary Elections — National School Teachers*, Question, Mr. Maurice Healy; Answer, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. John Morley) *June* 16, 1628
*Registration — Production of Rate Books*, Question, Mr. William O'Brien; Answer, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. John Morley) *May* 25, 33
*Registration of Voters—Assistant Revising Barristers*, Questions, Mr. Maurice Healy; Answers, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. John Morley) *June* 3, 838; *June* 16, 1628
*Population for* 1886 (*Estimated*), Questions, Colonel Blundell, Mr. Sexton; Answers, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. John Morley) *May* 27, 190

[*cont.*

IRELAND—*cont.*
*Sale of Crown Lands—The Fort of Culmore,* Questions, Mr. T. M. Healy; Answers, The Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Henry H. Fowler) *May* 31, 497
*The Dublin Mounted Police—Sergeant Chase,* Question, Mr. T. M. Healy; Answer, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. John Morley) *June* 4, 1006
*The Irish Land Commission—Purchasers of Glebe Lands,* Observations, Mr. William O'Brien; Reply, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. John Morley) *June* 18, 1857
*Reproductive Loan Fund—Loans to Fishermen,* Question, Mr. W. J. Corbet; Answer, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. John Morley) *May* 27, 191

*Commissioners of Irish Lights*
*Allowances to Lightkeepers,* Questions, Mr. William O'Brien; Answers, The Secretary to the Board of Trade (Mr. C. T. D. Acland) *May* 27, 198; *June* 7, 1137
*Lighthouse Keepers—Notice of Examinations,* Question, Mr. Cox; Answer, The Secretary to the Board of Trade (Mr. C. T. D. Acland) *June* 17, 1699

*National Education (Ireland)*
*Carrickapolin National School—Charge against a National Teacher,* Question, Mr. H. Campbell; Answer, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. John Morley) *June* 7, 1126
*Commissioners of National Education—Model Schools—Compulsory Prepayment on Admission,* Question, Mr. Finucane; Answer, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. John Morley) *May* 27, 199
*Dismissal of the Schoolmistress of Ballycarew, Co. Wexford,* Question, Mr. John Redmond; Answer, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. John Morley) *May* 31, 504
*Science and Art Department—The May Examinations—Eligibility of Pupils in National Schools to earn Payments,* Question, Mr. Patrick O'Brien; Answer, The Vice President of the Council (Sir Lyon Playfair) *May* 31, 499

*Fisheries (Ireland)*
*Fishermen of Arklow—Loans for Building Boats,* Question, Mr. W. J. Corbet; Answer, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. John Morley) *June* 4, 1010
*Loans for Building Fishing Smacks,* Question, Mr. Hooper; Answer, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. John Morley) *June* 17, 1706
*Salmon Fisheries—The River Shannon,* Question, Mr. Jordan; Answer, The Chief Secretory for Ireland (Mr. John Morley) *May* 31, 489

*Sea Fisheries (Ireland)*
*Trawling on the Coast of Donegal,* Question, Mr. Bernard Kelly; Answer, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. John Morley) *May* 28, 312

*Inland Navigation and Drainage (Ireland)*
*The River Bann,* Question, Mr. T. M. Healy; Answer, The Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Henry H. Fowler) *June* 7, 1138

[*cont.*

IRELAND—*cont.*
*Piers and Harbours (Ireland)*
*Arklow Harbour Works,* Question, Mr. W. J. Corbet; Answer, The Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Henry H. Fowler) *May* 28, 316

*Poor Law (Ireland)*
*Inchigeelagh Dispensary District,* Question, Dr. Tanner; Answer, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. John Morley) *June* 7, 1122
*Stowaways—The Cork Union,* Question, Mr. Maurice Healy; Answer, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. John Morley) *June* 16, 1631
*The Claremorris Union—Destitution,* Question, Mr. James O'Brien; Answer, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. John Morley) *May* 31, 494

*Boards of Guardians*
*Belfast Board of Guardians,* Question, Mr. Crilly; Answer, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. John Morley) *May* 28, 308
*Election at Manorhamilton,* Question, Mr. Conway; Answer, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. John Morley) *June* 3, 835

*Post Office (Ireland)*
*Allowances to Letter Sorters,* Question, Mr. Crilly; Answer, The Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Henry H. Fowler) *May* 25, 28
*Clonmel, &c.—Accelerated Mail Service,* Question, Mr. Condon; Answer, The Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Henry H. Fowler) *June* 4, 1009
*Cork Postmen,* Question, Mr. Maurice Healy; Answer, The Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Henry H. Fowler) *June* 4, 1007
*Liscarroll, Co. Cork,* Question, Mr. Flynn; Answer, The Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Arnold Morley) *June* 7, 1129
*Mail Service between Skibbereen and Baltimore,* Question, Mr. Gilhooly; Answer, The Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Henry H. Fowler) *June* 7, 1122
*Mail Service between Londonderry and Dublin,* Question, The Earl of Belmore; Answer, The Postmaster General (Lord Wolverton) *May* 31, 448
*Pay of Letter Carriers,* Question, Mr. Gilhooly; Answer, The Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Henry H. Fowler) *May* 31, 488
*Sub-Post Office at Baurxvilla,* Question, Mr. Hooper; Answer, The Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Henry H. Fowler) *June* 16, 1630

*Railways (Ireland)*
*Great Southern and Western Railway—Signalmen,* Question, Mr. Maurice Healy; Answer, The Secretary to the Board of Trade (Mr. C. T. D. Acland) *June* 16, 1630
*Railway Bridges at Ballinamore and Ballyconnell,* Question, Mr. Henry Campbell; Answer, The Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Henry H. Fowler) *June* 16, 1629

*The Magistracy (Ireland)*
*Catholic Justices, Co. Donegal,* Question, Mr. Arthur O'Connor; Answer, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. John Morley) *June* 3 833

[*cont.*

Ireland—*The Magistracy*—cont.

*Co. Down Magistrates*, Question, Mr. A. Blane; Answer, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. John Morley) *June* 4, 1008

*Election of a Petty Sessions Clerk, Co. Cavan*, Question, Mr. A. Blane; Answer, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. John Morley) *June* 1, 664

*Petty Sessions at Tempo*, Questions, Mr. William Redmond; Answers, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. John Morley) *May* 27, 191

*The Coronership of North Antrim*, Questions, Mr. T. M. Healy; Answers, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. John Morley) *May* 25, 24; *May* 31, 500

*Appointment of Mr. Francis Bogue, Co. Fermanagh*, Question, Mr. H. Campbell; Answer, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. John Morley) *June* 7, 1126

*Mr. Frank Brook, J.P., of Brookborough, Co. Fermanagh*, Questions, Mr. William Redmond, Mr. Johnston; Answers, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. John Morley) *May* 27, 197

*Mr. Vesey Fitzgerald, R.M.*, Question, Mr. Lalor; Answer, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. John Morley) *May* 27, 194

*Mr. J. Porter Porter, J.P., Magheracross, Co. Fermanagh*, Questions, Mr. William Redmond; Answers, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. John Morley) *May* 27, 189; *June* 18, 1845

*Law and Police* (*Ireland*)

*Rioting at Downpatrick*, Questions, Mr. Shirley, Mr. Small, Mr. T. M. Healy; Answers, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. John Morley) *May* 31, 499

*The Royal Irish Constabulary*

*Promotion*, Question, Mr. Arthur O'Connor; Answer, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. John Morley) *May* 27, 207

*Seizures for Rent in Kerry*, Question, Mr. Sheehan; Answer, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. John Morley) *June* 1, 666

*The Rathfriland Police*, Question, Mr. Small; Answer, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. John Morley) *June* 1, 665

*Prisons* (*Ireland*)

*Imprisonment of Maurice Molony and others*, Question, Mr. Lalor; Answer, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. John Morley) *May* 31, 498

*Omagh Prison*, Observations, Mr. M. J. Kenny; Reply, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. John Morley) *June* 18, 1860

*State of Ireland*

*Conduct of Emergency Men at Ballinamore, Co. Leitrim*, Question, Mr. Hayden; Answer, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. John Morley) *May* 27, 188

*Mock Funeral at Woodford, Co. Galway*, Questions, Captain M'Calmont, Mr. Johnston; Answers, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. John Morley) *May* 31, 502

[*cont.*

Ireland—*State of*—cont.

*Orange Disturbance, Brookborough, Co. Fermanagh*, Question, Mr. H. Campbell; Answer, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. John Morley) *June* 7, 1125

*Police Protection*, Question, The Earl of Longford; Answer, The Lord President of the Council (Earl Spencer) *June* 1, 661

*The House League*, Question, Lord George Hamilton; Answer, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. John Morley) *May* 25, 27

*Crime and Outrage* (*Ireland*)

*Arrest of a Moonlighter—An Official Letter*, Question, Captain M'Calmont; Answer, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. John Morley) *June* 3, 841

"*Boycotting*"—*Case of Patrick Devany, Rosscahill, Co. Galway*, Question, Captain M'Calmont; Answer, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. John Morley) *May* 27, 206

"*Boycotting*," *Co. Sligo*, Question, Captain M'Calmont; Answer, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. John Morley) *June* 3, 834

"*Boycotting*" *the Rev. John Fleming*, Question, Captain M'Calmont; Answer, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. John Morley *June* 3, 833

*Murder of Patrick Tangney, near Killarney*, Questions, The Earl of Limerick, Lord Ashbourne, The Earl of Milltown; Answers, The Lord President of the Council (Earl Spencer), The Secretary of State for India (The Earl of Kimberley) *June* 7, 1115; Question, Major Saunderson; Answer, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. John Morley), 1144; Question, Observations, The Earl of Milltown; Reply, The Lord President of the Council (Earl Spencer) *June* 8, 1252

*Mutilation of Cattle*, Question, Observations' The Earl of Limerick; Reply, The Lord President of the Council (Earl Spencer) *June* 4, 1005

*The Disturbances at Listowel*, Question, Captain M'Calmont; Answer, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. John Morley) *May* 27, 207

*The Riots at Belfast*, Questions, Mr. Sexton, Mr. Johnston; Answers, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. John Morley) *June* 7, 1141; Questions, Mr. De Cobain, Mr. T. M. Healy, Mr. W. O'Brien, Mr. Sexton; Answers, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Childers) *June* 11, 1482; Questions, Major Saunderson, Mr. Sexton; Answers, The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. E. Gladstone), The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Childers) *June* 11, 1489; Question, Mr. James O'Brien; Answer, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. John Morley) *June* 17, 1711

*The Riots at Sligo*, Questions, Mr. Tottenham, Mr. Sexton; Answers, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. John Morley) *June* 18, 1851

[*cont.*

IRELAND—*Crime and Outrage*—cont.
*The Riots in Ulster*, Questions, Mr. Sexton, Major Saunderson, Mr. T. M. Healy, Mr. W. O'Brien; Answers, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. John Morley) *June* 10, 1301

ISAACS, Mr. L. H., *Newington, Walworth*
Palace of Westminster — Ventilation of the House, Report of the Select Committee, 837, 1129
Parliament—Sittings and Adjournment of the House—Derby Day, 39

*Islands of the South Pacific*—See title *South Pacific*

JACKS, Mr. W., *Leith, &c.*
Navy Estimates—Dockyards and Naval Yards at Home and Abroad, 1352, 1354, 1370
Spain — Commercial Convention — Duties on Iron, 201

JACKSON, Mr. W. L., *Leeds, N.*
Medical Acts Amendment, Comm. *cl.* 7, 603
Public Health Acts (Improvement Expenses), Consid. *add. cl.* 974, 978; *cl.* 7, Amendt. *ib.*

JAMES, Right Hon. Sir H., *Bury, Lancashire*
Law of Evidence Amendment, 2R. 1869
Parliament — Business of the House — Precedence of Committees of Supply and Ways and Means, and Money Bills, 1494
Parliamentary Elections (Returning Officers) Act (1875) Amendment, Comm. *add. cl.* 424; Consid. Schedule, Amendt. 1580, 1582, 1584, 1585

JAMES, Mr. C. H., *Merthyr Tydvil*
Coal Mines, Comm. *cl.* 1, Amendt. 1620; *cl.* 2, 1624

JENNINGS, Mr. L. L., *Stockport*
Government of Ireland, 2R. 881

JOHNS, Mr. J. W., *Warwick, Nuneaton*
Medical Acts Amendment, Comm. *cl.* 7, 610
Public Health Acts (Improvement Expenses), Comm. Schedule, 150

JOHNSTON, Mr. W., *Belfast, S.*
Arms (Ireland), Comm. 222, 227
Government of Ireland, 2R. 120, 1050, 1090
Ireland—Questions
Crime and Outrage—Riots at Belfast, 1141
Magistracy — Mr. Frank Brook, J.P., of Brookborough, 197
Roman Catholic Disabilities Removal Act—The Viceroy of Ireland, 1487, 1488
State of Ireland—Mock Funeral at Woodford, Co. Galway, 502

JORDAN, Mr. J., *Clare, W.*
Ireland—Salmon Fisheries—The River Shannon, 489

Jurors' Detention Bill (*Mr. Lockwood, Mr. Crompton, Mr. Finlay, Mr. Baggallay*)
c. Read 2° * *May* 28 [Bill 202]
Committee; Report *May* 31, 612
Considered *June* 1, 781
Read 3° * *June* 2
*l.* Read 1ª * (*Lord FitzGerald*) *June* 4 (No. 142)

Justices Jurisdiction Bill
*c.* Read 1° * *June* 7 [Bill 265]

KAY-SHUTTLEWORTH, Right Hon. Sir U. J. (Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster), *Lancashire, Clitheroe*
Agricultural Department of the Privy Council —The Cattle Markets of the United Kingdom, 842
Contagious Diseases (Animals) Acts—Abortion among Cattle, 495
Contagious Diseases of Cattle — M. Pasteur's Discoveries, 488

KELLY, Mr. B., *Donegal, S.*
Army (Auxiliary Forces)—The Irish Militia—6th Brigade, North Irish Division, R.A., 1010
Ireland—Sea Fisheries—Trawling on the Coast of Donegal, 312

KENNY, Dr. J. E., *Cork, S.*
Medical Acts Amendment, Comm. *cl.* 5, 595; Motion for reporting Progress, 596, 597; *cl.* 7, 599

KENNY, Mr. M. J., *Tyrone, Mid.*
Prisons (Ireland)—Omagh Prison, 1860

KENSINGTON, Lord
Sale of Intoxicating Liquors on Sunday (Durham), 3R. 13, 14

KENYON, Hon. G. T., *Denbigh, &c.*
Inspector of Mines (South Wales), 1298, 1299

KIMBER, Mr. H., *Wandsworth*
Colonial Exhibition—Duties on Foreign Gold and Silver Plate, 29, 315, 670
Local Government—Rating of Lunatic Asylums, &c. 312
Registration of Voters (Ireland), 2R. 798
Richmond Park—Tricycles and Bicycles, 1294
Shop Hours Regulation, Comm. on Re-comm. 1804; Consid. *cl.* 3, 1808; *cl.* 4, *ib.*, 1815
Supply—Civil Services and Revenue Departments, 1525, 1526
Tithe Rent-Charge (Extraordinary) Redemption, Comm. *cl.* 1, 1765; *cl.* 3, 1776, 1778; Amendt. 1780
Venezuela — Complaint against Venezuelan Authorities—Seizure of British Merchant Vessels, 839

KIMBERLEY, Earl of (Secretary of State for India)
Arms (Ireland), 2R. 644, 646, 655
Copyhold Enfranchisement, Res. 992
Crofters (Scotland) (No. 2), Comm. *cl.* 6, 168

[*cont.*

KIMBERLEY, Earl of—*cont.*
- Gravesend and Northfleet Docks and Railways, Motion, 618
- Ireland—Crime and Outrage—Murder of Patrick Tangney, near Killarney, 1116
  - Ministerial Policy, 1268, 1269, 1272, 1273, 1281
- Islands of the South Pacific—The New Hebrides—Action of France, 1840
- Speech of the Marquess of Salisbury—"Twenty Years of Coercion," Personal Explanation, 988
- Parliament—Questions
  - Adjournment of the House—Ministerial Crisis, 1247
  - Dissolution of—Ministerial Statement, 1254, 1255
  - Sittings and Adjournment of the House—The Whitsuntide Recess, 990
- Women's Suffrage, 2R. 1249

KING, Mr. H. S., *Hull, Central*
- Army (India)—Case of Brigade Surgeon Ross, 200
- Indian Income Tax Act, 30
- Merchant Shipping Acts—Grain Bags—Russian Regulations, 311
- Tariff and Customs Act—Section 179, 30

KING-HARMAN, Colonel E. R., *Kent, Isle of Thanet*
- Admiralty—Pay of Coastguardsmen, 666
- Government of Ireland, 2R. 1040, 1041, 1043, 1044, 1045, 1046, 1049, 1050, 1086
- Registration of Voters (Ireland), 2R. Motion for Adjournment, 813

KNATCHBULL-HUGESSEN, Mr. H. T., *Kent, Faversham*
- Navy Estimates—Dockyards and Naval Yards at Home and Abroad, 1340

LABOUCHERE, Mr. H., *Northampton*
- Army—War Department—Regimental Bands at Public Festivals, 669, 843, 1486
- Government of Ireland—Termination of the Debate, 846
- Government of Ireland, 2R. 930
- Metropolitan Improvements—New Roads at Hyde Park Corner, 844
- Parliament—Adjournment of the House, Ministerial Statement, 1320
  - Sittings and Adjournment of the House—Derby Day, 85
- Parliament—Business of the House—Precedence of Committees of Supply and Ways and Means, and Money Bills, 1494
- Parliamentary Elections—Expenses of Candidates, 672
- Parliamentary Elections (Returning Officers) Act (1875) Amendment, Consid. 984; *add. cl.* 1438, 1459; Amendt. 1460, 1461, 1462, 1604, 1606; Re-comm. *add. cl.* 1614, 1615; Schedule 2, 1616; *add cl.* 1668
- Returning Officers' Charges (Scotland), Consid. 1645
- Supply—Civil Services and Revenue Departments, 1510, 1519

**Labourers (Ireland) Acts Amendment Bill** (*Lord FitzGerald*)
- *l.* Moved, "That the Report of the Amendts. be received" *May* 28, 298
  - Amendt. to leave out from ("That") insert ("the Bill be re-committed to a Committee of the Whole House") (*The Earl of Limerick*); on question, Whether to agree to the said Amendt.? resolved in the negative; original Motion withdrawn
  - Moved, "That the Report of the Amendts. be received on Friday next;" Motion agreed to
  - Report * *June* 4
  - Read $3^a$ *June* 17, 1677

LACAITA, Mr. C. C., *Dundee*
- Medical Acts Amendment, Comm. *cl.* 7, 610

LALOR, Mr. R., *Queen's Co., Leix*
- Ireland—Magistracy—Mr. Vesey Fitzgerald, R.M., 194
  - Prisons—Imprisonment of Maurice Molony and others, 498

LAMINGTON, Lord
- Food Supply—Sale of Imported Meat, 436

**Land Law (Ireland) Act (1881) Amendment Bill** (*Mr. Connolly, Mr. Parnell, Mr. Timothy Healy, Mr. Sexton, Mr. William O'Brien*)
- *c.* Bill withdrawn * *June* 10 [Bill 1]

**Land Tax Commissioners' Names Bill** (*Mr. Leveson Gower, Mr. Henry H. Fowler*)
- *c.* Committee *; Report *June* 10 [Bill 113]
  - Read $3^o$ * *June* 11
- *l.* Read $1^a$ * (*L. Sudeley*) *June* 17 (No. 165)

LAW AND JUSTICE (ENGLAND AND WALES)
- *High Court of Justice* (*Chancery Division*)—*Distribution of Business*, Question, Mr. Whitley; Answer, The Attorney General (Sir Charles Russell) *June* 7, 1140
  - *Appeals*, Question, Mr. Arthur O'Connor; Answer, The Attorney General (Sir Charles Russell) *June* 17, 1710
- *Irish Appeals to the House of Lords*, Question, Mr. Biggar; Answer, The Attorney General (Sir Charles Russell) *June* 3, 841
- *Conviction of John Cox, Signalman on the Somerset and Dorset Railway*, Questions, Mr. Channing; Answers, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Childers) *June* 7, 1124; *June* 17, 1705
- *Licensing Act—The Rev. H. Mills, Chairman of the Kineton Petty Sessions, Warwickshire*, Question, Mr. Cobb; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer (Sir William Harcourt) *June* 18, 1841
- *The Poole Perjury Case*, Question, Mr. Shirley; Answer, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Childers) *June* 10, 1291
- *The Truck Act — The Rhymney Company*, Question, Mr. Bradlaugh; Answer, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Childers) *June* 17, 1706

LAW AND POLICE
*Arrest of Sir Thomas Fermor - Hesketh,* Questions, Sir R. Assheton Cross; Answers, The Chancellor of the Exchequer (Sir William Harcourt) *June* 3, 835; Question, Sir R. Assheton Cross; Answer, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Childers) *June* 7, 1132

**Law of Evidence Amendment Bill** [H.L.]
c. Read 1° * *June* 11 [Bill 286]
2R. deferred, after short debate *June* 17, 1820
Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2°" *June* 18, 1869; after short debate, Moved, "That the Debate be now adjourned" (*Mr. W. O'Brien*); Question put; A. 37, N. 40: M. 3 (D. L. 139)
Original Question again proposed, 1874 [House counted out]

LAWRENCE, Sir J. J. Trevor, *Surrey, Reigate*
Intoxicating Liquors (Sale to Children), Comm. 1658; *cl.* 3, 1662, 1664; *cl.* 5, Amendt. 1666, 1667
Medical Acts Amendment, Comm. *cl.* 7, 605
Parliamentary Elections (Returning Officers) Act (1875) Amendment, Consid. Schedule 2, 1670

LAWSON, Mr. H. L. W., *St. Pancras, W.*
Customs Department, London—Outdoor Officers, 1008

LEFEVRE, Right Hon. G. J. Shaw, *Bradford, Central*
Navy—Admiralty — H.M.SS. "Nile" and "Trafalgar," 671
Navy Estimates—Dockyards and Naval Yards at Home and Abroad, Amendt. 1386, 1406, 1407, 1415, 1418, 1419

LEIGHTON, Mr. S., *Shropshire, Oswestry*
Excise—Duty on Beer—The Farmers, 1296
Government of Ireland—Civil Servants, 309, 311
Parliament—Business of the House—Precedence of Committees of Supply and Ways and Means, and Money Bills, 1491, 1496
Public Education, England, Departmental Statement, 1746
Tithe Rent-Charge (Extraordinary) Redemption, Comm. Motion for Adjournment, 1434; *cl.* 1, Motion for reporting Progress, 1573, 1760, 1762, 1763; Amendt. 1766, 1770; *cl.* 2, Amendt. *ib.*; *cl.* 3, Amendt. 1772, 1778; *cl.* 4, Amendt. 1781

LEWIS, Mr. C. E., *Londonderry*
Registration of Voters (Ireland), 2R. Amendt. 788, 789, 795, 815
Revising Barristers (Ireland), Comm. 1862; *cl.* 2, *ib*
Shop Hours Regulation, Comm. on Re-comm. 1789, 1792, 1803; Consid. *cl.* 3, 1807; Amendt. 1808; *cl.* 4, 1809, 1811, 1814, 1815, 1816; *cl.* 8, 1817, 1818; *cl.* 9, *ib.*, 1819, 1867; 3R. 1868

LEWISHAM, Right Hon. Viscount, *Lewisham*
Church Building Acts—Grants Balance, 1703

*Licensing Laws*, 1883-4-5—*Returns*
Question, Mr. Henniker Heaton; Answer, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Childers) *May* 28, 309

*Lighthouse Illuminants*
*Burners — Sir James Douglass's Patents,* Question, Mr. Fitzgerald; Answer, The Secretary to the Board of Trade (Mr. C. T. D. Acland) *June* 10, 1297
*Lighthouse Illuminants Committee — Experiments at the South Foreland — Reports from Foreign Governments,* Question, Dr. Cameron; Answer, The Secretary to the Board of Trade (Mr. C. T. D. Acland) *June* 7, 1138
*Wigham's Double Quadriform Gas Light,* Question, Mr. Arthur O'Connor; Answer, The Secretary to the Board of Trade (Mr. C. T. D. Acland) *June* 17, 1709
[See title *Ireland—Commissioners of Irish Lights*]

LIMERICK, Earl of
Army (Auxiliary Forces)—The Irish Militia—Snider Rifles, 1004
Gravesend and Northfleet Docks and Railways, Motion, 615
Ireland — Crime and Outrage — Murder of Patrick Tangney, near Killarney, 1115;—Mutilation of Cattle, 1005
Labourers (Ireland) Acts Amendment, Report, Amendt. 299
Tramways Order in Council (Ireland), 2R. 998

**Liquor Traffic Local Veto (Scotland) Bill** (*Mr. M'Lagan, Dr. Cameron, Mr. Mackintosh, Mr. Noel, Mr. Cameron Corbett, Mr. Jacks, Mr. Mark Stewart, Mr. Lacaita, Dr. Clark*)
c. Order for 2R. read, and discharged; Bill withdrawn *June* 16, 1635 [Bill 72]

LLEWELLYN, Mr. E. H., *Somerset, N.*
Poor Law—Fires in Union Workhouses, 31

LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD — President (*see* STANSFELD, Right Hon. J.)

LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD—Secretary to (*see* BORLASE, Mr. W. C.)

**Local Government Provisional Order (County Divisions) Bill** (*Mr. Borlase, Mr. Stansfeld*)
c. Read 2° * *June* 1 [Bill 225]
Report * *June* 10
Read 3° * *June* 11
l. Read 1ª * *June* 17 (No. 167)
Waiting for 2R. *June* 25

**Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Order (Fermoy) Bill**
*c.* Read 2° * *June* 1 [Bill 226]
Report * *June* 10
Considered * *June* 11
Read 3° * *June* 16

**Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Orders (Public Health Act) Bill** [H.L.]
*c.* Read 1° * *May* 27 [Bill 239]
Read 2° * *June* 1
Report * *June* 10
Read 3° * *June* 11

**Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Orders (Public Health Act) (No. 2) Bill** (*Mr. John Morley, Mr. Henry H. Fowler*)
*c.* Ordered; read 1° * *June* 7 [Bill 261]
Read 2° * *June* 18

**Local Government Provisional Orders Bill** (*Lord Sudeley*)
*l.* Read 2ª * *May* 27 (No. 104)
Committee *; Report *May* 28
Read 3ª * *May* 21
Royal Assent *June* 4 [49 *Vict.* c. xvii]

**Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 2) Bill** (*Lord Sudeley*)
*l.* Read 2ª * *May* 27 (No. 105)
Committee *; Report *May* 28
Read 3ª * *May* 31
Royal Assent *June* 4 [49 *Vict.* c. xviii]

**Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 3) Bill** (*Mr. Borlase, Mr. Stansfeld*)
*c.* Read 2° * *June* 1 [Bill 223]
Report * *June* 10
Read 3° * *June* 11
*l.* Read 1ª * *June* 17 (No. 170)
Waiting for 2R. *June* 25

**Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 4) Bill** (*Mr. Borlase, Mr. Stansfeld*)
*c.* Read 2° * *June* 1 [Bill 224]
Report * *June* 10
Read 3° * *June* 11
*l.* Read 1ª * (*Lord Sudeley*) *June* 17 (No. 171)

**Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 5) Bill** (*Mr. Borlase, Mr. Stansfeld*)
*c.* Ordered; read 1° * *May* 27 [Bill 237]
Read 2° * *June* 1
Report * *June* 10
Read 3° * *June* 11
*l.* Read 1ª * *June* 17 (No. 172)
Waiting for 2R. *June* 25

**Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 6) Bill** (*Mr. Borlase, Mr. Stansfeld*)
*c.* Ordered; read 1° * *May* 27 [Bill 238]
Read 2° * *June* 1
Report * *June* 18

**Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 7) Bill** (*Mr. Borlase, Mr. Stansfeld*)
*c.* Ordered; read 1° * *June* 3 [Bill 256]

**Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 8) Bill** (*Mr. Borlase, Mr. Stansfeld*)
*c.* Ordered; read 1° * *June* 7 [Bill 262]

**Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 9) Bill** (*Mr. Borlase, Mr. Stansfeld*)
*c.* Ordered; read 1° * *June* 7 [Bill 263]

**Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 10) Bill** (*Mr. Borlase, Mr. Stansfeld*)
*c.* Ordered; read 1° * *June* 10 [Bill 269]

**Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 11) Bill** (*Mr. Borlase, Mr. Stansfeld*)
*c.* Ordered; read 1° * *June* 11 [Bill 277]

**Local Government Provisional Order (Highways) Bill** (*Mr. Borlase, Mr. Stansfeld*)
*c.* Ordered; read 1° * *May* 27 [Bill 235]
Read 2° * *June* 1
Report * *June* 10
Read 3° * *June* 11
*l.* Read 1ª * *June* 17 (No. 163)
Waiting for 2R. *June* 25

**Local Government Provisional Orders (Gas) Bill** (*Mr. Borlase, Mr. Stansfeld*)
*c.* Read 2° * *June* 1 [Bill 222]
Report * *June* 18

**Local Government Provisional Orders (Poor Law) (No. 1) Bill** (*The Lord Sudeley*)
*l.* Read 2ª * *May* 27 (No. 106)
Committee *; Report *May* 28
Read 3ª * *May* 31
Royal Assent *June* 24 [49 *Vict.* c. xix]

**Local Government Provisional Orders (Poor Law) (No. 2) Bill** (*The Lord Sudeley*)
*l.* Read 2ª * *May* 27 (No. 107)
Committee *; Report *May* 28
Read 3ª * *May* 31
Royal Assent *June* 4 [49 *Vict.* c. xx]

**Local Government Provisional Orders (Poor Law) (No. 3) Bill** (*The Lord Sudeley*)
*l.* Read 2ª * *May* 27 (No. 108)
Committee *; Report *May* 28
Read 3ª * *May* 31
Royal Assent *June* 4 [49 *Vict.* c. xxi]

**Local Government Provisional Orders (Poor Law) (No. 4) Bill**
(*The Lord Sudeley*)
*l.* Read 2ª* *May* 27 (No. 109)
Committee*; Report *May* 28
Read 3ª* *May* 31
Royal Assent *June* 4 [49 *Vict.* c. xxii]

**Local Government Provisional Orders (Poor Law) (No. 5) Bill**
(*The Lord Sudeley*)
*l.* Read 2ª* *May* 27 (No. 110)
Committee*; Report *May* 28
Read 3ª* *May* 31
Royal Assent *June* 4 [49 *Vict.* c. xxiii]

**Local Government Provisional Orders (Poor Law) (No. 6) Bill**
(*The Lord Sudeley*)
*l.* Read 2ª* *May* 27 (No. 111)
Committee*; Report *May* 28
Read 3ª* *May* 31
Royal Assent *June* 4 [49 *Vict.* c. xxiv]

**Local Government Provisional Orders (Poor Law) (No. 7) Bill**
(*Mr. Borlase, Mr. Stansfeld*)
*c.* Ordered; read 1º* *May* 27 [Bill 236]
Read 2º* *June* 1
Report* *June* 10
Read 3º* *June* 11
*l.* Read 1ª* *June* 17 (No. 169)

*Local Self-Government—Rating of Lunatic Asylums, &c.*
Questions, Mr. Kimber; Answers, The President of the Local Government Board (Mr. Stansfeld) *May* 28, 312

*Local Taxation—The County Rate—Contributions by Towns having separate Quarter Sessions*
Question, Mr. Powell Williams; Answer, The Under Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Broadhurst) *June* 1, 662

LOCKWOOD, Mr. F., *York*
Jurors' Detention, Comm. *cl.* 1, 612; Consid. Preamble, 781

LONGFORD, Earl of
Colonisation and Emigration, 1119
Ireland, State of—Police Protection, 661

LORD ADVOCATE, The (*see* BALFOUR, Right Hon. J. B.)

LORD LIEUTENANT OF IRELAND — Chief Secretary to the (*see* MORLEY, Right Hon. J.)

LORD PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL (*see* SPENCER, Earl)

**Losses by Riot (Compensation) Bill**
(*Mr. Secretary Childers, Mr. Broadhurst, Mr. Attorney General*)
*c.* Committee; Report *May* 28, 418 [Bill 209]
Considered*; read 3º *June* 1
*l.* Read 1ª* (*Lord Sudeley*) *June* 17 (No. 156)
Read 2ª, after short debate *June* 18, 1836

LOVAT, Lord
Crofters (Scotland) (No. 2), Comm. *cl.* 1, Amendt. 156, 157, 162

LUBBOCK, Sir J., *London University*
Army—War Department — Calshot Castle, Southampton Water, 1842
Medical Acts Amendment, Comm. *cl.* 7, 603, 604, 608
Shop Hours Regulation, Comm. on Re-comm. 1788, 1791, 1794, 1798; Consid. *cl.* 3, 1808; *cl.* 4, 1809, 1814, 1816; *cl.* 6, 1817, 1818; 3R. 1868
Tithe Rent-Charge (Extraordinary) Redemption, Comm. *cl.* 1, 1762

**Lunacy Acts Amendment Bill**
(*Mr. Henry H. Fowler*)
*c.* Bill withdrawn* *June* 11 [Bill 198]

LYELL, Mr. L., *Orkney and Shetland*
Orkney Roads, 2R. Amendt. 1681

LYMINGTON, Right Hon. Viscount, *Devon, South Molton*
Government of Ireland, 2R. 41

MCARTHUR, Mr. A., *Leicester*
Africa (South)—Kimberley Diamond Mines, 1707
Fiji—Hurricane, 1714
Government of Ireland, 2R. 903

MCCALMONT, Captain J., *Antrim, E.*
Ireland—Questions
  Arms Act—Seizure of Arms at Lisnaskea, Co. Fermanagh, 1704
  State of Ireland—Mock Funeral at Woodford, Co. Galway, 502
Ireland—Crime and Outrage—Questions
  Arrest of a Moonlighter—An Official Letter, 841
  "Boycotting" — Case of Patrick Devany, Rossoahill, Co. Galway, 206;—Case of the Rev. John Fleming, 833;—Co. Sligo, 834
  Disturbances at Listowel, 207

MCCULLOCH, Mr. J., *Glasgow, St. Rollox*
Customs Department — Redundant Clerks, 490

MACDONALD, Right Hon. J. H. A., *Edinburgh and St. Andrew's Universities*
Crofters (Scotland) (No. 2), Lords Amendts. Consid. Amendt. 962, 966

[*cont.*

Macdonald, Right Hon. J. H. A.—*cont.*
Medical Acts Amendment, Comm. *cl.* 7, 599, 609, 610
Parliamentary Elections (Returning Officers) Act (1875) Amendment, Consid. *add. cl.* 1449, 1450, 1457

McDonald, Mr. P., *Sligo, N.*
Parliamentary Elections (Returning Officers) Act (1875) Amendment, Consid. Schedule, 1597

McDonald, Dr. R., *Ross and Cromarty*
Crofters (Scotland) (No. 2)—The Lay Commissioners, 1713
Navy—Admiralty—Naval Reserve Men, 1713
Parliament—Adjournment of the House—Appointment of Commissioners under the Crofters (Scotland) Act, Motion for Adjournment, 1499, 1501
Parliamentary Elections (Returning Officers) Act (1875) Amendment, Consid. Schedule, 1593, 1597

Macfarlane, Mr. D. H., *Argyll*
Crofters (Scotland) (No. 2)—Appointment of Commissioners — Mr. Macfarlane, 1720, 1721
Metropolis—Police—Capture of Dogs in the Streets, 193
Parliament—Dissolution—Adjournment of the House, 1854
Returning Officers' Charges (Scotland), Consid. Schedule 1, 1637, 1639
Scotland—Questions
  Fishing Privileges—Return, 313
  Landlord and Tenant—Eviction at Ardnamurchan, 190
  Law and Justice—Duties of Procurators Fiscal—Bankrupt Estates, 1293;—Law of Summons of Removal — "Violent Profits," 1293
  Law and Police—Destruction of the Bathing Screen at Innellan, 1303
  Parliamentary Elections—Sheriff Substitutes as Presiding Officers, 1715
  Post Office—Mails to the Outer Hebrides, 313;—Oban Post Office, 1011

McGarel-Hogg, Sir J. M. (Chairman of the Metropolitan Board of Works), *Middlesex, Hornsey*
Metropolis—River Thames — Communication below Bridge, 1132
Palace of Westminster—Ventilation of this House, Report of the Select Committee, 845

McKenna, Sir J. N., *Monaghan, S.*
Arms (Ireland), Comm. *cl.* 2, 253
Parliament — Adjournment of the House, Ministerial Statement, 1322
  Business of the House—Precedence of Committees of Supply and Ways and Means, and Money Bills, 1497
Parliamentary Elections (Returning Officers) Act (1875) Amendment, Consid. *add. cl.* 1440, 1450
Shop Hours Regulation, Consid. *cl.* 4, 1814
Supply—Gratuity to Lady Gosset, 1512

Mackintosh, Mr. C. Fraser-, *Inverness-shire*
Scotland—Poor Law—Memorial of the Parochial Boards of Skye, 1842
  Post Office—Mails to the Outer Hebrides, 1842

McLagan, Mr. P., *Linlithgow*
Liquor Traffic (Local Veto) (Scotland), 2R. Bill withdrawn, 1635

Maclean, Mr. F. W., *Oxford, Woodstock*
Government of Ireland, 2R. 1075, 1077, 1082
Republic of Hayti—Imprisonment of a British Subject, 663

Macnaghten, Mr. E., *Antrim, N.*
Government of Ireland, 2R. 548, 554, 556, 560 561, 562

Magniac, Mr. C., *Bedford, N., Biggleswade*
Government of Ireland, 2R. 752

Manners, Right Hon. Lord J. J. R. *Leicestershire, E.*
Government of Ireland Bill—Policy of the Government, Ministerial Statement, 353
Government of Ireland, 2R. 523

*Marriages* (*Hours of Solemnization*) *Act* 1886
Question, Mr. Carvell Williams; Answer, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Childers) *June* 10, 1291

**Married Women (Maintenance in Case of Desertion) Bill** (*Mr. Pulley, Mr Thomas Blake, Mr. Winterbotham, Mr Warmington*)
*c.* Committee; Report; Considered; read 3 *June* 16, 1671 [Bill 111]
*l.* Read 1ª * (*L. FitzGerald*) *June* 17 (No. 164)

Mather, Mr. W., *Salford, S.*
Public Education (England), Departmenta Statement, 1743

*Mauritius, The—Sir John Pope Hennessy*
Question, Mr. Carvell Williams; Answer, The Under Secretary of State for the Colonies (Mr. Osborne Morgan) *June* 18, 1849

Maxwell, Sir H. E., *Wigton*
Islands of the South Pacific—Reported Massacre at the New Hebrides, 1717

**Medical Acts Amendment Bill** (*Sir Lyon Playfair, Mr. Mundella, The Lord Advocate*)
*c.* Committee—R.P. *May* 31, 591 [Bill 163]
Committee; Report *June* 10, 1425
Considered *; read 3° *June* 11
*l.* Read 1ª * (*Earl Spencer*) *June* 17 (No. 155)
Read 2ª, after short debate *June* 18, 1836

MELLOR, Right Hon. J. W. (Judge Advocate General), *Grantham*
Metropolis—Police—Capture of Dogs in the Streets, 193
Tithe Rent-Charge (Extraordinary) Redemption, Comm. *cl.* 1, 1758, 1764; *cl.* 3, 1778

MENZIES, Mr. R. S., *Perthshire, E.*
Government of Ireland, 2R. 1187
Scotland—Bye-Laws for Public Roads—Regulations as to Bicycles and Tricycles, 1705
Law and Police—Sheep Stealing in Perthshire, 1718

**Merchandise (Fraudulent Marking) Bill** (*Mr. Mundella, Mr. Acland*)
*c.* Ordered; read 1° * *June* 17 [Bill 291]
Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2°" *June* 18, 1865; after short debate, Motion withdrawn
Moved, "That the said Order be discharged;" Question put, and agreed to; Bill withdrawn

*Merchandize Marks Act*, 1862
Question, Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett; Answer, The Secretary to the Board of Trade (Mr. C. T. D. Acland) *May* 31, 505

*Merchant Shipping Act*, 1854—*The S.S. "Creole"*
Question, Colonel Hughes-Hallett; Answer, The Secretary to the Board of Trade (Mr. C. T. D. Acland) *June* 7, 1127

*Merchant Shipping Acts—Grain Bags—Russian Regulations*
Questions, Mr. King, Mr. Saunders; Answers, The Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Mr. Bryce) *May* 28, 311

**Merchant Shipping (Fishing Boats) Acts Amendment Bill** (*Mr. Mundella, Mr. Acland*)
*c.* Ordered; read 1° * *June* 10 [Bill 274]
Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2°" *June* 11, 1569
Amendt. to leave out "now," add "upon this day three months" (*Mr. E. Clarke*); Question proposed, "That 'now,' &c.;" Moved, "That the Debate be now adjourned" (*Mr. C. T. D. Acland*); Question put, and agreed to; Debate adjourned
Debate resumed *June* 16, 1654; after short debate, Amendt. withdrawn; main Question put, and agreed to; Bill read 2°
Committee; Report; Considered; read 3° *June* 18, 1865
*l.* Read 1ª * (*L. Sudeley*) *June* 19 (No. 184)

METROPOLIS
*Corporate Bodies — The City Fellowship of Porters*, Question, Mr. Hobhouse; Answer, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Childers) *June* 10, 1296

METROPOLIS—*cont.*
*The Police—Capture of Dogs in the Streets*, Questions, Mr. Dawson; Answers, The Judge Advocate General (Mr. Mellor) *May* 27, 192
*The River Thames — Communication below Bridge*, Questions, Mr. Norris, Mr. Ritchie; Answers, The Chairman of the Metropolitan Board of Works (Sir James M'Garel-Hogg) *June* 7, 1133
*Metropolitan Improvements — The New Roads at Hyde Park Corner*, Question, Mr. Labouchere; Answer, Mr. Leveson Gower (A Lord of the Treasury) *June* 3, 844
*The Parks*
*Greenwich Park — Hours of Admission*, Question, Mr. Evelyn; Answer, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Childers) *May* 27, 202; Question, Mr. Evelyn; Answer, Mr. Leveson Gower (A Lord of the Treasury) *May* 28, 315
*Richmond Park — Tricycles and Bicycles*, Question, Mr. Kimber; Answer, Mr. Leveson Gower (A Lord of the Treasury) *June* 10, 1294
[See title *Parks Regulation Act*]

*Metropolitan Asylums Board — Annual Inspection of Asylums*
Question, Mr. Sclater-Booth; Answer, The President of the Local Government Board (Mr. Stansfeld) *May* 28, 306

METROPOLITAN BOARD OF WORKS, Chairman of (*see* MCGAREL-HOGG, Sir J. M.)

**Metropolitan Board of Works (Money) Bill** (*Mr. Henry H. Fowler, Mr. Leveson Gower*)
*c.* Ordered; read 1° * *June* 11 [Bill 285]
Read 2° * *June* 16
Committee *; Report *June* 17
Read 3° * *June* 18
*l.* Read 1ª * (*Lord Sudeley*) *June* 19 (No. 181)

**Metropolitan Commons Provisional Order Bill** (*Lord Thurlow*)
*l* Royal Assent *June* 4 [49 *Vict* c. xiv]

**Metropolitan Fire Brigade Expenses (No. 2) Bill** (*Colonel Edwin Hughes, Mr. Dixon-Hartland, Sir Richard Temple, Mr. Baumann, Mr. Isaacs, Mr. Tatton Egerton, Mr. Baggallay*)
*c.* Ordered; read 1° * *May* 25 [Bill 231]

**Metropolitan Police (Stations) Bill** (*Lord Thurlow*)
*l.* Royal Assent *June* 4 [49 *Vict.* c. 22]

MIDLETON, Viscount
Labourers (Ireland) Acts Amendment, 3R. 1678

**Milltown**, Earl of
  Ireland – Crime and Outrage – Murder of Patrick Tangney, near Killarney, 1116, 1252

*Mines Regulation Act*, 1872—*Hours of Work of Women on "Pit Banks"*
  Question, Mr. J. Wilson (Durham, Houghton-le-Spring); Answer, The Under Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Broadhurst) *June* 3, 826; Question, Mr. J. Wilson (Durham, Houghton-le-Spring); Answer, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Childers) *June* 7, 1124

**Molloy**, Mr. B. C., *King's Co., Birr*
  Arms (Ireland), Comm. *cl.* 2, 250, 270
  Government of Ireland—Termination of the Debate, 846
  Law of Evidence Amendment, 2R. 1874
  Public Education (England and Wales), Departmental Statement, 1748

**Montagu**, Mr. S., *Tower Hamlets, Whitechapel*
  Currency — Circulation of Foreign Copper Coin, 492

**More**, Mr. R. J., *Shropshire, Ludlow*
  Parliamentary Elections — Registration of Voters, 193

**Morgan**, Right Hon. G. Osborne (Under Secretary of State for the Colonies), *Denbighshire, E.*
  Africa (South)—The Chief Montsioa, 830;—Kimberley Diamond Mines, 1707, 1708
    West Coast—Gold Coast, 1012
    Zululand—The Papers, 1844
  British North America, 2R. 423
  Colonial Defence—Conference of Australian Prime Ministers, 1136
  Colonial Department—Emigrants' Information Office, 1139
  Fiji—The Hurricane, 1715
  Government of Ireland, 2R. 1031, 1041
  Island of Tristan D'Acunha, 26
  Mauritius—Sir John Pope Hennessy, 1849
  North America—Canadian Fisheries, 1134
  State-Directed Emigration—Emigration Bureaux, 1847
  Trade and Commerce—Reports and Suggestions from Indian and Colonial Chambers of Commerce, 663
  West Indian Incumbered Estates, 2R. 422, 423

**Morgan**, Mr. O. V., *Battersea*
  Colonial Statistical Tables, 827

**Morley**, Earl of
  Gravesend and Northfleet Docks and Railways, Motion, 616

**Morley**, Right Hon. J. (Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland), *Newcastle-upon-Tyne*
  Arms (Ireland), Comm. 221, 222, 223, 231; *cl.* 2, 238, 245, 249, 257, 267, 272, 273; Amendt. 274, 275, 279; *add. cl.* 280, 281, 283, 293; Amendt. 294, 295; Consid. Amendt. 418
  Belfast Main Drainage, Consid. *add. cl.* 465, 467, 487
  Government of Ireland, 2R. 69, 414, 936, 937, 941, 955
  Government of Ireland Bill—Civil Servants, 310, 311;—Archives of Dublin Castle, 669
  Ireland—Questions
    Arms Act—Seizure of Arms at Lisnaskea, Co. Fermanagh, 1704
    Contagious Diseases (Animals)—Glanders—Compulsory Slaughter of a Horse—Compensation, 202
    Disorderly Persons, &c. Act (Amendment) Act, 1838—Sunday Baking in Ireland, 1121
    Drainage Loans, 674
    Dublin Mounted Police—Sergeant Chase, 1607
    Industrial Schools—Sir John Lentaigne, 1700, 1701
    Irish Land Commission—Purchasers of Glebe Lands, 1858
    Landlord and Tenant—Law of Ejectment Notices—Case of Timothy Conway, of Doon, Co. Limerick, 199
    Law and Police – Rioting at Downpatrick, 499, 500
    Parliamentary Elections—National School Teachers, 1628
    Parliamentary Voters—Assistant Revising Barristers, 838, 1628
    Population for 1886, 190
    Prisons—Imprisonment of Maurice Molony and others, 498;—Omagh Prison, 1861
    Public Petitions—Petition against Home Rule, 493
    Registration—Production of Rate Books, 33
  Ireland—Crime and Outrage—Questions
    Arrest of a Moonlighter — An Official Letter, 841
    "Boycotting" the Rev. John Fleming, 833;—Co. Sligo, 834
    Compensation — "Boycotting" — Case of Patrick Devany, Rosscahill, Co. Galway, 206
    Disturbances at Listowel, 207
    Murder of Patrick Tangney, near Killarney, 1144
    Riots at Belfast, 1141, 1142, 1711
    Riots at Sligo, 1851, 1852
  Ireland—Fisheries—Questions
    Fishermen of Arklow—Loans for Building Boats, 1011;—Loans for Building Fishing Smacks, 1706
    Reproductive Loan Fund—Loans to Fishermen, 192
    Salmon Fisheries—The River Shannon, 489
    Sea Fisheries—Trawling on the Coast of Donegal, 313
  Ireland—Magistracy—Questions
    Appointment of Mr. Francis Bogue, Co. Fermanagh, 1126

[*cont.*

**Morley, Right Hon. J.**—*cont.*
Catholic Justices, Co. Donegal, 833
Coronership of Antrim, 25, 500, 501
Co. Down Magistrates, 1008
Election of a Petty Sessions Clerk, Co. Cavan, 664
Mr. Frank Brook, J.P. of Brookborough, 197
Mr. Vesey Fitzgerald, R.M. 195
Mr. J. Porter Porter, J.P. Magheracross, Co. Fermanagh, 190, 1845
Petty Sessions at Tempo, 191
Ireland—National Education—Questions
Commissioners of National Education—Model Schools — Compulsory Prepayment on Admission, 199
Dismissal of the Schoolmistress of Ballycarew, Co. Wexford, 504
National Schools—Irwine, of Carrickapolin National School, 1126
Ireland—Poor Law—Questions
Boards of Guardians — Belfast Board of Guardians, 308;—Election at Manorhamilton, 835
Claremorris Union—Destitution, 494
Inchigeelagh Dispensary District, 1123
Stowaways—Cork Union, 1632
Ireland—Royal Irish Constabulary—Questions
Promotion, 208
Rathfriland Police, 665
Seizures for Rent in Kerry, 667
Ireland, State of—Questions
Conduct of Emergency Men at Ballinamore, Co. Leitrim, 188
House League, 28
Mock Funeral at Woodford, Co. Galway, 502
Orange Disturbance, Brookborough, Co. Fermanagh, 1125
Riots in Ulster, 1301, 1303
Registration of Voters (Ireland), 2R. 802, 805, 808, 814
Revising Barristers (Ireland), Comm. Motion for Adjournment, 1862; *cl.* 2, 1863

**Morley, Mr. A.** (Secretary to the Treasury), *Nottingham, E.*
Ireland—Post Office—Liscarroll, Co. Cork, 1130

**Moulton, Mr. J. F.**, *Clapham*
Government of Ireland, 2R. 1094

**Municipal Boundaries (Dublin) Bill**
(*Mr. Chance, Mr. T. D. Sullivan, Mr. Edmond Dwyer Gray, Mr. Timothy Harrington, Mr. Murphy*)
*c.* 2R. deferred *May* 28, 425 [Bill 20]
Bill withdrawn * *June* 10

**Municipal Corporations (Scheme Confirmation) Bill** [H.L.] (*The Lord President*)
*l.* Committee *; Report *May* 27 (No. 90)
Read 3ª * *May* 28
*c.* Read 1° * *June* 1 [Bill 247]
Read 2° * *June* 10
Report * *June* 18

**Muntz, Mr. P. A.**, *Warwickshire, Tamworth*
Government of Ireland, 2R. 1192, 1193

**Napier and Ettrick, Lord**
Crofters (Scotland) (No. 2), Comm. *cl.* 1, 156, 157, 159, 160; *cl.* 2, Amendt. 165; *cl.* 6, 169; Amendt. 170; *cl.* 11, 172; Amendt. 173; *cl.* 12, Amendt. 174, 175; *cl.* 13, Amendt. 176; *cl.* 16, 179; *cl.* 20, 180; *cl.* 21, Amendt. 181, 182; *cl.* 33, 184; Schedule, Amendt. *ib.*

**National Debt Bill** (*Lord Thurlow*)
*l.* Royal Assent *June* 4 [49 *Vict.* c. 19]

**National School Teachers (Ireland) Bill**
(*Mr. William O'Brien, Mr. Justin Huntly M'Carthy, Mr. Sexton, Mr. Edmond Dwyer Gray, Mr. Conway*)
*c.* Bill withdrawn * *June* 10 [Bill 12]

**Navy** (*Questions*)
*Admiralty*
*Coastguardmen, Pay of,* Question, Colonel King-Harman; Answer, The Secretary to the Admiralty (Mr. Hibbert) *June* 1, 666
*The General Election,* Question, Admiral Field; Answer, The Secretary to the Admiralty (Mr. Hibbert) *June* 18, 1852
*Copying Writers,* Question, Mr. Burdett-Coutts; Answer, The Civil Lord of the Admiralty (Mr. R. W. Duff) *June* 4, 1014
*Shipbuilding, &c.—Contract Prices,* Question, Commander Bethell; Answer, The Secretary to the Admiralty (Mr. Hibbert) *June* 17, 1700
*Tactical Evolutions at High Speed,* Questions, Commander Bethell; Answers, The Secretary to the Admiralty (Mr. Hibbert) *June* 1, 671
*The Reserve and Channel Squadrons—The Manœuvres,* Questions, Mr. Gourley, Commander Bethell; Answers, The Secretary to the Admiralty (Mr. Hibbert) *June* 18, 1846
*The Naval Reserve—Chief Gunners and Gunners in the Dockyards,* Question, Captain Price; Answer, The Secretary to the Admiralty (Mr. Hibbert) *June* 3, 831
*Naval Reserve Men,* Question, Dr. R. M'Donald; Answer, The Secretary to the Admiralty (Mr. Hibbert) *June* 17, 1713
*The Royal Naval Volunteers,* Question, Mr. Buchanan; Answer, The Secretary to the Admiralty (Mr. Hibbert) *June* 3, 828
*Corps of Naval Volunteers at Great Yarmouth,* Question, Sir Whittaker Ellis; Answer, The Secretary to the Admiralty (Mr. Hibbert) *June* 1, 668

*Coal Depôt for H.M. Ships of War at St Lucia (West Indies),* Question, General Sir William Crossman; Answer, The Secretary to the Admiralty (Mr. Hibbert) *June* 3, 828; Question, General Sir William Crossman; Answer, The Secretary of State for War (Mr. Campbell-Bannerman) *June* 7, 1131

[*cont.*

Navy—*cont.*
*Effect of Shots on Iron-Clads—Experiments,* Question, Observations, Lord Elphinstone; Reply, The First Lord of the Admiralty (The Marquess of Ripon) *June* 7, 1117
*H.M.S. "Collingwood" — Bursting of the 43-ton Gun,* Questions, Sir Henry Tyler, Admiral Field, Colonel Salis-Schwabe; Answers, The Secretary of State for War (Mr. Campbell-Bannerman) *May* 27, 203; Questions, Sir Henry Tyler, Mr. Carbutt; Answers, The Secretary of State for War (Mr. Campbell-Bannerman) *June* 18, 1848
*H.M.S. "Colossus"—The 43-ton Guns,* Question, Observations, The Earl of Ravensworth; Reply, The First Lord of the Admiralty (The Marquess of Ripon) *May* 31, 437
*H.M.SS. "Nile" and "Trafalgar,"* Question, Observations, Viscount Sidmouth; Reply, The First Lord of the Admiralty (The Marquess of Ripon) *May* 31, 445; Question, Mr. Shaw Lefevre; Answer, The Secretary to the Admiralty (Mr. Hibbert) *June* 1, 671

*Naval Administration,* Observations, Sir John Commerell; Reply, The Secretary to the Admiralty (Mr. Hibbert) *June* 18, 1855
*The Dockyards—Devonport Dockyard—The Queen's Birthday,* Question, Captain Price; Answer, The Secretary of State for War (Mr. Campbell-Bannerman) *May* 31, 501
*Pay of Joiners,* Question, Captain Price; Answer, The Civil Lord of the Admiralty (Mr. R. W. Duff) *May* 27, 194
*Torpedo Boats,* Question, Colonel Hughes-Hallett; Answer, The Secretary to the Admiralty (Mr. Hibbert) *June* 7, 1135; Observations, Admiral Field; Reply, The Civil Lord of the Admiralty (Mr. R. W. Duff) *June* 18, 1859
*Unarmour-Ended Ships,* Question, Observations, Viscount Sidmouth; Reply, The First Lord of the Admiralty (The Marquess of Ripon) *June* 4, 994; Personal Explanation, Viscount Sidmouth; Observations, The First Lord of the Admiralty (The Marquess of Ripon) *June* 8, 1246
*Widows of Seamen and Marines,* Question, Lord Charles Beresford; Answer, The Civil Lord of the Admiralty (Mr. R. W. Duff) *May* 25, 33

*Navy and Army Expenditure,* 1884-5
Ordered, That the Appropriation Accounts for the Navy and Army Departments, which were presented upon the 6th and 18th days of February last respectively, be referred to the Committee
Accounts considered in Committee *June* 17, 1826
Resolutions reported *June* 18

Newnes, Mr. G., *Cambridge, E., Newmarket*
Government of Ireland, 2R. 1050

Nolan, Colonel J. P., *Galway, N.*
Arms (Ireland), Comm. *cl.* 2, 239; *add. cl.* 287
Government of Ireland, 2R. 922

[*cont.*

Nolan, Colonel J. P.—*cont.*
Ireland—Drainage Loans, 674
Law of Evidence Amendment, 2R. 1820
Navy Estimates—Dockyards and Naval Yards at Home and Abroad, 1406, 1107, 1421, 1422
Parliamentary Elections (Returning Officers) Act (1875) Amendment, Consid. Schedule 1, 1582, 1584, 1587, 1596

Nolan, Mr. J., *Louth, N.*
Disorderly Persons, &c. (Amendment) Act, 1838—Sunday Baking in Ireland, 1121

Norris, Mr. E. S., *Tower Hamlets, Limehouse*
Government of Ireland and Sale and Purchase of Land (Ireland) Bills, 210
Metropolis—River Thames — Communication below Bridge, 1132

Northbrook, Earl of
Arms (Ireland), 2R. 635
Navy—H.M.S. "Colossus"—The 43-ton Gun, 442

*North Sea Fisheries Convention—The Protecting Cruisers*
Question, Sir Edward Birkbeck; Answer, The Secretary to the Admiralty (Mr. Hibbert) *June* 10, 1295

Norton, Lord
Friendly Societies Act (1875) Amendment, 2R. 428
Sale of Intoxicating Liquors on Sunday (Durham) 3R. 15

Norton, Mr. R., *Kent, Tunbridge*
Egypt (The Military Expedition)—The Troops of Assouan, 1850
Tithe Rent-Charge (Extraordinary) Redemption, Comm. *cl.* 1, 1769; *cl.* 3, 1776; *cl.* 4, Amendt. 1782

Oaths Bill
(*Mr. Serjeant Simon, Mr. Stansfeld, Mr. Heneage, Mr. Charles Russell, Mr. Channing*)
*c.* Bill withdrawn * *June* 10 [Bill 64]

O'Brien, Mr. J. F. X., *Mayo, S.*
Ireland—Crime and Outrage—Riots at Belfast, 1711
Poor Law—Claremorris Union—Destitution, 494

O'Brien, Mr. P., *Monaghan, N.*
Ireland — National Education — Science and Art Department — May Examinations — Eligibility of Pupils in National Schools to earn Payments, 499

O'Brien, Mr. W., *Tyrone, S.*
Arms (Ireland), Comm. 228
Government of Ireland, 2R. 381, 687, 1045

[*cont.*

O'Brien, Mr. W.—*cont.*
Ireland—Questions
Commissioners of Irish Lights—Allowances to Lightkeepers, 198, 1137
Crime and Outrage—Riots at Belfast, 1484
Irish Land Commission — Purchasers of Glebe Lands, 1857
Registration — Production of Rate Books, 33
State of Ireland—Riots in Ulster, 1303
Law of Evidence Amendment, 2R. Motion for Adjournment, 1874

O'Connor, Mr. A., *Donegal, E.*
Civil Service — Lower Division Clerks and Writers, 1850
High Court of Justice—Appeals, 1710
Intoxicating Liquors (Sale to Children), Comm. *cl.* 3, 1665
Ireland—Questions
Magistracy—Catholic Justices, Co. Donegal, 833
Roman Catholic Disabilities Removal Act —The Viceroy of Ireland, 1487
Royal Irish Constabulary—Promotion, 207
Lighthouse Illuminants — Wigham's Double Quadriform Gas Light, 1709
Parliament — Adjournment of the House, Ministerial Statement, 1322
Parliament—Private Bills — Standing Orders for the Suspension of Private Bills or Bills to confirm any Provisional Order or Certificate, 1695
Parliamentary Elections (Returning Officers) Act (1875) Amendment, Re-comm. Schedule 2, 1669
Returning Officers' Charges (Scotland), Consid. *add. cl.* 1647
Supply—Army Services, 1634
Vaccination in the Island of Rügen, 844

O'Connor, Mr. J., *Tipperary, S.*
Arms (Ireland), Comm. *cl.* 2, 240, 261, 276; *add. cl.* 289
Intoxicating Liquors (Sale to Children), Comm. *cl.* 3, Amendt. 1662, 1666; 3R. 1824
Navy Estimates — New Works, Buildings, &c. 1422
Parliamentary Elections (Returning Officers) Act (1875) Amendment, Consid. Schedule, 1589
Shop Hours Regulation, Consid. *cl.* 8, 1817, 1818; *cl.* 9, 1819

O'Connor, Mr. T. P., *Liverpool, Scotland*
Government of Ireland, 2R. 97, 514, 680, 768; Motion for Adjournment, 777, 847, 877, 879, 881, 882, 886, 1213, 1245
Government of Ireland Bill—Policy of the Government, Ministerial Statement, 346, 348, 350
Medical Acts Amendment, Comm. *cl.* 7, 603
Parliament — Business of the House — Precedence of Committees of Supply and Ways and Means, and Money Bills, 1497
Parliamentary Elections—Expenses of Candidates, 673
Parliamentary Elections (Returning Officers) Act (1875) Amendment, Consid. *add. cl.* 1440, 1448

O'Doherty, Mr. J. E., *Donegal, N.*
Arms (Ireland), Comm. 233

O'Doherty, Dr. K. I., *Meath, N.*
Government of Ireland, 2R. 1064
Medical Acts Amendment, Comm. *cl.* 3, Amendt. 591; *cl.* 5, 594, 595

O'Hanlon, Mr. T., *Cavan, E.*
Arms (Ireland), Comm. *add. cl.* 284
Government of Ireland, 2R. 1045

O'Hea, Mr. P., *Donegal, W.*
Arms (Ireland), Comm. *cl.* 2, 260; *add. cl.* 286

Onslow, Earl of
Allotments and Cottage Gardens, 999

Ordnance — Surveyor General (*see* Woodall, Mr. W.)

*Ordnance Survey—The "Bench Mark"*
Question, Mr. Brunner; Answer, Mr. Leveson Gower (A Lord of the Treasury) *June* 7, 1128

*Orkney Roads Bill [Lords] (by Order)*
*c.* Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2°" *June* 17, 1681
Amendt. to leave out "now," add "upon this day three months" (*Mr. Lyell*); Question proposed, "That 'now,' &c.;" after debate, Question put; A. 81, N. 82; M. 1 (D. L. 133); words added
Main Question, as amended, put, and agreed to; 2R. put off for three months

Otter, Mr. F., *Lincolnshire, Louth*
Treaty of Berlin—Article LXI.—Armenia, 1139

**Owners of Dogs Liability Bill**
(*Mr. Addison, Mr. Francis Powell, Mr. Tomlinson, Mr. Forwood*)
*c.* Ordered; read 1° * *June* 4 [Bill 258]
Bill withdrawn * *June* 10

**Oxford University (Justices) Bill** [H.L.]
(*The Lord Chancellor*)
*l.* Committee *; Report *May* 31 (No. 119)
Read 3ª * *June* 4
*c.* Read 1° * (*Mr. Attorney General*) *June* 11
Read 2° * *June* 17 [Bill 280]
Committee *; Report; read 3° *June* 18

Paget, Sir R. H., *Somerset, Wells*
Contagious Diseases of Cattle—M. Pasteur's Discoveries, 488
Imperial Taxation on Real and Realized Personal Property—The Return, 1290

PALMER, Mr. C. M., *Durham, Jarrow*
Parliamentary Elections — The Volunteers, 1718

*Parks Regulation Act*, 1872—*Richmond Park*
*The Guildford Coach*, Question, Mr. Radcliffe Cooke; Answer, Mr. Leveson Gower (A Lord of the Treasury) *June* 18, 1843
*Tricycles and Bicycles*, Question, Mr. Kimber; Answer, Mr. Leveson Gower (A Lord of the Treasury) *June* 10, 1294
[See title *Metropolis—The Parks*]

**Parliament**
LORDS—
*Private Bills* (*Standing Order No.* 128)
Report from the Select Committee considered; Motion, The Lord Chancellor (*Lord Herschell*) *May* 27, 152; after short debate, Motion agreed to, and resolved accordingly; the said Standing Order to be printed (No. 126)

*Private and Provisional Order Confirmation Bills*
Ordered, That Standing Orders Nos. 92. and 93. be suspended; and that the time for depositing petitions praying to be heard against Private and Provisional Order Confirmation Bills, which would otherwise expire during the adjournment of the House at Whitsuntide, be extended to the first day on which the House shall sit after the recess *June* 10

*The Table of this House*, Observations, The Marquess of Salisbury; Reply, The Secretary of State for the Colonies (Earl Granville) *May* 28, 298

*Sittings and Adjournment of the House—The Whitsuntide Recess*, Question, Lord Balfour; Answer, The Secretary of State for India (The Earl of Kimberley) *June* 4, 990
[House adjourned from Thursday *June* 10 to Thursday *June* 17]

*Adjournment of the House—The Ministerial Crisis*, Observations, The Secretary of State for India (The Earl of Kimberley) *June* 8, 1247

*Dissolution of Parliament*, Ministerial Statement, The Secretary of State for India (The Earl of Kimberley); short debate thereon *June* 10, 1254

COMMONS—
*PRIVATE BILLS*
Ordered, That Standing Orders 39 and 129 be suspended, and that the time for depositing Petitions against Private Bills, or against any Bill to confirm any Provisional Order, or Provisional Certificate, and for depositing duplicates of any Documents relating to any Bill to confirm any Provisional Order, or Provisional Certificate, be extended to the day on which the House shall first sit after the Adjournment (*The Chairman of Ways and Means*) *June* 10

[*cont.*

PARLIAMENT—COMMONS—*cont.*
*Standing Orders for the Suspension of Private Bills, or Bills to confirm any Provisional Order or Certificate*
Moved, "That the Promoters of every Private Bill which shall have been introduced into this House, or brought from the House of Lords in the present Session of Parliament, shall have leave to suspend any further proceeding thereupon, in order to proceed with the same Bill in the next Session of Parliament" (*The Chairman of Ways and Means*) *June* 17, 1692
Amendt. in line 2, after "Bill," insert "except the Belfast Main Drainage Bill" (*Mr. Sexton*); Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted;" after short debate, Amendt. withdrawn; main Question put, and agreed to [Other Orders agreed to]

*Standing Orders*
Standing Orders 135, 183A, 200A read and amended *June* 17, 1698

*THE NEW RULES OF PROCEDURE*
*Rule* 2 (*Adjournment of the House*)
*The Division on the Government of Ireland Bill—The Ministerial Statement*
Moved, "That this House do now adjourn" (*Sir Michael Hicks-Beach*) *June* 10, 1397; after debate, Motion withdrawn
*Appointment of Commissioners under the Crofters* (*Scotland*) *Act*
Moved, "That this House do now adjourn" (*Dr. Roderick Macdonald*) *June* 11, 1499; after short debate, Motion withdrawn

*SITTINGS AND ADJOURNMENT OF THE HOUSE*
*The Derby Day—Order*, Questions, Sir George Campbell; Answers, Mr. Speaker *May* 25, 34
Moved, "That this House, at its rising, do adjourn until Thursday next" (*Mr. Labouchere*) *May* 25, 35; after short debate, Question put; A. 251, N. 150; M. 101 (D.L. 106)

Moved, "That this House do now adjourn" (*Lord Randolph Churchill*) *May* 27, 295; after short debate, Question put, and agreed to

*Ascension Day—Committees*
Moved, "That Committees shall not sit Tomorrow, being Ascension Day, until Two of the clock, and have leave to sit until Six of the clock, notwithstanding the sitting of the House" (*The Chief Secretary for Ireland, Mr. John Morley*) *June* 2, 783; after short debate, Question put; A. 63, N. 22; M. 41 (D. L. 114)

Ordered, That all Committees have leave to sit, notwithstanding the Adjournment of the House (*The First Lord of the Treasury, Mr. W. E. Gladstone*) *June* 7

*The Dissolution*
Ministerial Statement, The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. E. Gladstone) *June* 10, 1304

[*cont.*

PARLIAMENT—COMMONS—*The Dissolution*—cont.
Moved, "That this House do now adjourn" (*Sir Michael Hicks-Beach*) *June* 10, 1307; after debate, Motion withdrawn
Ministerial Statement, The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. E. Gladstone) *June* 11, 1488
Question, Mr. Macfarlane; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer (Sir William Harcourt) *June* 18, 1854; Moved, "That this House, at its rising, do adjourn till Monday next" (*Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer*); Question put, and agreed to

*Order of Business*, Question, Mr. W. H. Smith; Answer, The Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Henry H. Fowler) *June* 16, 1676

*The Whitsuntide Recess*
[House adjourned from Friday *June* 11 to Wednesday *June* 16

*Public Petitions—Petitions against Home Rule*, Question, Mr. Biggar; Answer, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. John Morley) *May* 31, 493

*PALACE OF WESTMINSTER*
*Admission of Visitors to the House of Commons*, Questions, Mr. Buchanan; Answers, Mr. Leveson Gower (A Lord of the Treasury) *June* 17, 1712
*Palace Yard—A Glass Shelter*, Question, Mr. William Beckett; Answer, Mr. Leveson Gower (A Lord of the Treasury) *May* 25, 29
*Ventilation of this House*, Question, Mr. Radcliffe Cooke; Answer, Mr. Leveson Gower (A Lord of the Treasury) *June* 11, 1485; — *Report of the Select Committee*, Questions, Mr. Isaacs, Mr. F. S. Powell; Answers, Mr. Leveson Gower (A Lord of the Treasury) *June* 3, 837; Question, Lord Randolph Churchill; Answer, The Chairman of the Metropolitan Board of Works (Sir James M'Garel Hogg), 845;—*Recommendations of the Select Committee*, Question, Mr. Isaacs; Answer, Mr. Leveson Gower (A Lord of the Treasury) *June* 7, 1129

*Parliament—Business of the House—Precedence of Committees of Supply and Ways and Means, and Money Bills*
Questions, Mr. Stanley Leighton; Answers, Mr. T. H. Bolton, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Childers) *June* 11, 1491
Moved, "That for the remainder of the Session the Committees of Supply and Ways and Means and all stages of Money Bills have precedence of Notices of Motion and Orders of the Day on every day on which they may be set down by the Government" (*The First Lord of the Treasury, Mr. W. E. Gladstone*); after short debate, Motion agreed to

PARLIAMENT—HOUSE OF LORDS
*Sat First*
*May* 27—The Earl of Chichester, after the death of his father

*Parliamentary Elections*
*Registration of Voters*, Question, Mr. Jasper More; Answer, The President of the Local Government Board (Mr. Stansfeld) *May* 27, 193
*Expenses of Candidates*, Questions, Mr. Labouchere, Mr. T. P. O'Connor, Mr. T. M. Healy; Answers, The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. E. Gladstone) *June* 1, 672
*The General Election, 1885—Returns of Election Expenses*, Question, Mr. Carvell Williams; Answer, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Childers) *June* 17, 1717
*The Volunteers*, Questions, Mr. Palmer, Mr. Donkin; Answers, The Secretary of State for War (Mr. Campbell-Bannerman) *June* 17, 1718

**Parliamentary Elections Bill** (*Mr. Conybeare, Mr. Macdonald Cameron, Mr. Lawson, Mr. Hobhouse, Mr. Shirley*)
*c.* Bill withdrawn* *June* 17 [Bill 82]

**Parliamentary Elections (Returning Officers) Act (1875) Amendment Bill** (*Mr. T. M. Healy, Mr. Chance*)
*c.* Committee; Report *May* 28, 424 [Bill 211]
Considered *May* 31, 611; further Proceeding deferred [Bill 241]
Further Proceeding resumed *June* 3, 981; Moved, "That this House do now adjourn" (*Mr. Mark Stewart*); after short debate, Question put, and agreed to
Further Proceeding resumed *June* 10, 1436; after debate, Moved, "That the Debate be now adjourned" (*Mr. Secretary Childers*); Motion agreed to; Debate adjourned
Bill, as amended, further considered *June* 11, 1579
Amendts. made; Moved, "That the Bill be re-committed in respect of a new Clause and Schedule" (*Mr. Labouchere*), 1606; after short debate, Question put; A. 98, N. 67; M. 31 (D. L. 129)
Moved, "That it be an Instruction to the Committee that they have power to provide for the payment of the returning officer's expenses out of rates" (*Mr. Labouchere*), 1614; Question put, and agreed to
Motion, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair," put, and agreed to; Committee; Report; Considered
Bill re-committed; Committee; Report; Considered; read 3° *June* 16, 1668 [Bill 282]
*l.* Read 1ª* (*The Lord President*) *June* 17 (No. 162)

**Parliamentary Elections (Returning Officers' Expenses) (Ireland) Bill** (*Mr. Tuite, Mr. Chance, Mr. Timothy Harrington, Mr. Maurice Healy, Mr. Alexander Blane*)
*c.* Bill withdrawn* *June* 10 [Bill 8]

**Parliamentary Franchise (Extension to Women) Bill** (*Mr. Woodall, Sir Robert Fowler, Mr. Houldsworth, Mr. Illingworth, Mr. Stansfeld, Mr. Yorke*)
*c.* Bill withdrawn * *June* 10 [Bill 70]

PARNELL, Mr. C. S., *Cork*
Government of Ireland, 2R. 98, 99, 778, 779, 1168, 1199, 1200
Terms of Removal (Scotland), Comm. *cl.* 1, 969

*Patent Law—Ensilage Appliances*
Question, Mr. Beach; Answer, The Secretary to the Board of Trade (Mr. C. T. D. Acland) *June* 3, 831

**Patents Amendment Bill** [H.L.]
(*The Lord Chancellor*)
*l.* Presented; read 1ª * *May* 31 (No. 133)
Read 2ª *June* 4, 999
Committee *June* 8, 1251
Report * *June* 10
Read 3ª * *June* 17
*c.* Read 1° * *June* 17 [Bill 289]
Read 2° * *June* 18

**Patriotic Fund Bill** [H.L.]
(*The Lord Sandhurst*)
*l.* Presented; read 1ª * *May* 31 (No. 131)
Read 2ª *June* 4, 996
Committee *; Report *June* 8
Read 3ª * *June* 10
*c.* Read 1° * (*Mr. Secretary Campbell-Bannerman*) *June* 10 [Bill 271]
Read 2° * *June* 16
Committee *; Report; read 3° *June* 17

PEASE, Sir J. W., *Durham, Barnard Castle*
Government of Ireland, 2R. 1070
Hull, Barnsley, and West Riding Junction Railway and Dock, 2R. 1474, 1477, 1479
Sale of Intoxicating Liquors on Sunday, 1018; Comm. *cl.* 1, 1108; Motion for reporting Progress, 1109, 1110, 1111

PEEL, Right Hon. A. W. (*see* SPEAKER, The)

PEEL, Right Hon. Sir R., *Blackburn*
Bulgaria—Alleged Conspiracy, 314

**Peterhead Harbour of Refuge Bill**
(*Mr. Duff, Mr. Hibbert, Mr. Henry H. Fowler, The Lord Advocate, Mr. Solicitor General for Scotland*)
*c.* Ordered; read 1° * *May* 25 [Bill 232]
Read 2° *, and referred to a Select Committee *May* 31
Select Committee nominated *June* 2
Bill reported * *June* 7 [Bill 266]
Committee * (*on re-comm.*)—R.P. *June* 10
Committee (*on re-comm.*); Report *June* 11, 1565
Considered; read 3° *June* 16, 1651
*l.* Read 1ª * (*E. of Dalhousie*) *June* 17 (No. 166)

*Peterhead Harbour of Refuge* [*Expenses, &c.*]
*c.* Res. considered in Committee, and agreed to *June* 10, 1467
Res. reported *June* 11

PICKERSGILL, Mr. E. H., *Bethnal Green, S.W.*
Government of Ireland, 2R. 1056
Inland Revenue Department—Salaries, 665
Supply—Civil Services and Revenue Departments, 1515, 1526

PICTON, Mr. J. A., *Leicester*
Intoxicating Liquors (Sale to Children), Comm. 1658

**Pier and Harbour Provisional Orders Bill** (*Mr. Charles Acland, Mr. Mundella*)
*c.* Report * *June* 18 [Bill 201]

PLAYFAIR, Right Hon. Sir Lyon (Vice President of the Committee of Council on Education), *Leeds, S.*
Arms (Ireland), Comm. *cl.* 2, 268
Charity Commissioners—Trusts of Dedham Grammar School, 189
Tunbridge School Endowments, 668
Education Department—Questions
Elementary Education Acts—Religious Denomination of Teachers, 1709
Inspection of Elementary Schools, 27
Public Education, Departmental Statement, 1723, 1741
Science and Art Department and Medical Schools (Hospitals), 1123
Upton-cum-Kexby National School, 1122
Medical Acts Amendment, Comm. *cl.* 3, Amendt. 591, 592; *cl.* 4, Amendt. *ib.*, 593, 594; *cl.* 5, Amendt. *ib.*, 595, 596; *cl.* 7, Amendt. 598, 603, 607, 1425; *cl.* 8, Amendt. *ib.*; *cl.* 10, Amendt. 1426; *cl.* 13, 1427; *cl.* 18, Amendt. *ib.*; *cl.* 21, 1428; *add. cl.* 1429, 1430, 1431, 1432
National Education (Ireland)—Science and Art Department—The May Examinations—Eligibility of Pupils in National Schools to earn Payments, 499

PLUNKET, Right Hon. D. R., *Dublin University*
Arms (Ireland), Comm. *add. cl.* 291
Parliament—Business of the House — Precedence of Committees of Supply and Ways and Means, and Money Bills, 1493, 1494
Parliamentary Elections (Returning Officers) Act (1875) Amendment, 983, 984; Consid. *add. cl.* 1443; Schedule, 1465
Registration of Voters (Ireland), 2R. 822

**Police and Improvement (Scotland) Provisional Order (Leith) Bill**
(*The Lord Advocate, Mr. Mundella*)
*c.* Report * *June* 2 [Bill 197]
Considered * *June* 4
Read 3° * *June* 7
*l.* Read 1ª * (*E. of Dalhousie*) *June* 7 (No. 150)
Read 2ª * *June* 18

*Poor Law—Fires in Union Workhouses*
Question, Mr. Llewellyn; Answer, The President of the Local Government Board (Mr. Stansfeld) *May* 25, 31

**Poor Law Guardians (Ireland) Bill**
(*Mr. Edward Harrington, Mr. Edmond Dwyer Gray, Mr. Sexton, Mr. Timothy Healy, Mr. Jordan*)
*c.* Bill withdrawn * *June* 10 [Bill 5]

**Poor Law Loans and Relief (Scotland) Bill** (*The Lord Advocate, Mr. Solicitor General for Scotland*)
*c.* Ordered; read 1° * *June* 1 [Bill 252]
Read 2° * *June* 3
Committee *—R.P. *June* 10
Committee; Report *June* 11, 1564
Considered *; read 3° *June* 16
*l.* Read 1ª * (*E. of Dalhousie*) *June* 17 (No. 158)
Read 2ª * *June* 18

**Port and Harbour Authorities Bill**
(*Mr. Matthew Kenny, Mr. Biggar, Mr. Justin Huntly M'Carthy, Mr. Peter M'Donald, Mr. James O'Doherty, Mr. Timothy Harrington*)
*c.* Bill withdrawn * *June* 10 [Bill 40]

*Portugal — Quarantine at Tercia — The "Maggie"*
Question, Mr. Carbutt; Answer, The Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Mr. Bryce) *June* 17, 1701

POSTMASTER GENERAL (*see* WOLVERTON, Lord)

POST OFFICE (*Questions*)
*Abstraction of Newspapers*, Question, Mr. Henniker Heaton; Answer, The Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Henry H. Fowler) *May* 28, 316
*Acceleration of Mails to Oban*, Question, Mr. Richard Campbell; Answer, The Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Henry H. Fowler) *June* 17, 1701
*Annual Report*, Question, Mr. Henniker Heaton; Answer, The Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Henry H. Fowler) *June* 7, 1137
*Contracts — Conveyance of Mails to India*, Question, Mr. R. T. Reid; Answer, The Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Henry H. Fowler) *June* 1, 668
*Letters to the Niger and Gulf of Guinea*, Question, Mr. Hutton; Answer, The Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Henry H. Fowler) *June* 17, 1699
*Newspapers*, Question, Mr. Henniker Heaton; Answer, The Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Henry H. Fowler) *June* 7, 1136
*Transmission of Newspapers to India and Australia*, Question, Mr. Henniker Heaton; Answer, The Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Henry H. Fowler) *June* 3, 837

[*cont.*

POST OFFICE—*cont.*
*Postage to Australia*, Question, Mr. Henniker Heaton; Answer, The Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Henry H. Fowler) *May* 31, 501
*Sea Conveyance of Letters to Australia*, Question, Mr. Henniker Heaton; Answer, The Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Henry H. Fowler) *June* 7, 1135
*Postal Charges from West African Colonies*, Question, Mr. Hutton; Answer, The Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Henry H. Fowler) *June* 7, 1130
*Post Cards*, Question, Mr. Henniker Heaton; Answer, The Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Henry H. Fowler) *May* 28, 309

**Post Office Sites Bill**
(*Mr. Spencer, Mr. Henry H. Fowler*)
*c.* Report of Select Comm. *May* 25 [No. 166]
Committee * (*on re-comm.*); Report; read 3° *May* 28 [Bill 229]
*l.* Read 1ª * (*L. Wolverton*) *May* 31 (No. 130)
Read 2ª * *June* 7
Report * *June* 10
Committee *; Report; read 3ª *June* 18

POWELL, Mr. F. S., *Wigan*
Army (Auxiliary Forces)—Liverpool Volunteers, 1702
Intoxicating Liquors (Sale to Children), Comm *cl.* 1, 1361
Medical Acts Amendment, Comm. *cl.* 7, 601
Palace of Westminster—Ventilation of the House, Report of the Select Committee, 837
Public Health Acts (Improvement Expenses), Comm. *cl.* 4, 131; *cl.* 5, 135; *cl.* 9, 136; *add. cl.* 144, 146, 148; Schedule, 149; Consid. 976

POWER, Mr. R., *Waterford*
Army Discipline Act—Redress of Wrong—Appeals, 495

PRICE, Captain G. E., *Devonport*
Admiralty—Naval Reserves—Chief Gunners and Gunners, 831
Charity Commissioners—Trusts of Dedham Grammar School, 189
Navy—Dockyards—Pay of Joiners, 194;—Devonport Dockyard—The Queen's Birthday, 501
Navy Estimates—Dockyards and Naval Yards at Home and Abroad, 1360, 1463
Salmon and Freshwater Fisheries, Comm. *cl.* 6, 1566

PRIME MINISTER (*see* GLADSTONE, Right Hon. W. E.)

*Prisons (England and Wales)—Transference of Convicts*
Question, Sir Robert Fowler; Answer, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Childers) *May* 27, 203

**Probation of First Offenders Bill**
(*Mr. Howard Vincent, Sir Henry Selwin-Ibbetson, Sir Algernon Borthwick, Mr. Lawson, Mr. Molloy*)
c. Read 2° * *June* 11 [Bill 39]
Committee *; Report; read 3° *June* 18
l. Read 1ª * (*Earl Belmore*) *June* 19 (No. 185)

*Public Education* (*England and Wales*)
Departmental Statement, The Vice President of the Council (Sir Lyon Playfair); Debate thereon *June* 17, 1723

*Public Education* (*Scotland*)
Departmental Statement of the Right Hon. The Lord Advocate (Mr. J. B. Balfour); Debate thereon *June* 17, 1749

**Public Health Acts (Improvement Expenses) Bill** (*Mr. Dodds, Sir Edward Reed, Mr. Arnold Morley, Mr. William Cook, Mr. Bullard*)
c. Committee (*on re comm.*); Report *May* 25, 126 [Bill 153]
Considered; read 3° *June* 3, 973 [Bill 230]
l. Read 1ª * (*Earl of Jersey*) *June* 4 (No. 143)

**Public Health (Scotland) Provisional Order (Urray Water) Bill**
(*The Lord Advocate, Mr. Solicitor General for Scotland*)
c. Ordered; read 1° * *June* 11 [Bill 279]

**Public Parks and Works (Metropolis) Bill** (*Mr. Henry H. Fowler, Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Leveson Gower*)
c. Question, Mr. Howard Spensley; Answer, The Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Henry H. Fowler) *June* 7, 1137
Bill withdrawn * *June* 10 [Bill 227]

**Public Works Loans Bill**
(*Mr. Courtney, Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Henry H. Fowler*)
c. Resolutions in Committee *June* 11, 1625
Resolutions reported; Bill ordered; read 1° * *June* 16 [Bill 288]
Read 2° * *June* 17
Committee *; Report *June* 18

**Public Works Loans (Tramways Ireland) Bill** (*Mr. Henry H. Fowler, Mr. John Morley*)
c. Ordered; read 1° * *June* 4 [Bill 259]
Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2°" *June* 11, 1567
Amendt. to leave out "now," add "upon this day three months" (*Mr. Biggar*); Question proposed, "That 'now,' &c.;" after short debate, Amendt. withdrawn; main Question put, and agreed to; Bill read 2°
Committee; Report *June* 16, 1635
Considered * *June* 17
Read 3°, after short debate *June* 18, 1864
l. Read 1ª * (*Lord President*) *June* 19 (No. 182)

PULESTON, Mr. J. H., *Devonport*
Medical Acts Amendment, Comm. *add. cl.* 1432
Navy Estimates—Dockyards and Naval Yards at Home and Abroad, 1345, 1383
New Works, Buildings, &c. 1423, 1424
Parliament — Adjournment of the House, Ministerial Statement, 1321

PYNE, Mr. J. D., *Waterford, W.*
Arms (Ireland), Comm. *cl.* 2, 278; *add. cl.* 282
Government of Ireland, 2R. 561

**Quarries Regulation Bill**
(*Mr. Secretary Childers, Mr. Broadhurst*)
c. Ordered; read 1° * *June* 1 [Bill 250]
Bill withdrawn * *June* 10

RAIKES, Right Hon. H. C., *Cambridge University*
Government of Ireland Bill—Policy of the Government, Ministerial Statement, 351
Parliamentary Elections (Returning Officers) Act (1875) Amendment, Consid. *add. cl.* Motion for Adjournment, 1439

**Railway and Canal Traffic Bill**
(*Mr. Mundella, Mr. Acland, Mr. Attorney General*)
c. Bill withdrawn * *June* 10 [Bill 138]

**Railway Regulation Bill** (*Mr. Channing, Mr. Joseph Leicester, Mr. John Wilson (Durham), Mr. C. S. Parker, Mr. Jacoby, Mr. Lawson*) [Bill 97]
c. Select Committee nominated *June* 1; List of the Committee, 783
Mr. Seely *disch.*; Mr. W. Lawrence, Mr. Hugh Reid, Mr. Pickard *added June* 4

*Railways—North British Railway—Accident near Sunnyside*
Question, Mr. Buchanan; Answer, The Secretary to the Board of Trade (Mr. C. T. D. Acland) *June* 17, 1713

RAMSAY, Mr. J., *Falkirk, &c.*
Orkney Roads, 2R. 1687

**Rates (Dublin) Bill** (*Mr. Sheehy, Mr. Edmond Dwyer Gray, Mr. Mayne, Mr. Henry Gill, Mr. Timothy Harrington*)
c. Bill withdrawn * *June* 10 [Bill 21]

RATHBONE, Mr. W., *Carnarvonshire, Arfon*
Medical Acts Amendment, Comm. *cl.* 7, 602

RAVENSWORTH, Earl of
Contagious Diseases (Animals), 2R. 304
Navy—H.M.S. "Colossus"—The 43-ton Gun, 437

REDMOND, Mr. W. H. K., *Fermanagh, N.*
Arms (Ireland), Comm. 224, 227; *cl.* 2, 261, 265
Government of Ireland, 2R. 555, 556
Ireland—Magistracy—Questions
Mr. Frank Brook, J.P., of Brookborough, 197
Mr. J. Porter Porter, J.P., Magheracross, Co. Fermanagh, 189, 1845
Petty Sessions at Tempo, 191
Ireland—National Education—Dismissal of the Schoolmistress at Ballycarew, Co. Wexford, 504
Parliamentary Elections (Returning Officers) Act (1875) Amendment, Consid. *add. cl.* 1440; Schedule, 1588, 1599, 1601

REED, Sir E. J. (Lord of the Treasury), *Cardiff*
Navy Estimates—Dockyards and Naval Yards at Home and Abroad, 1415, 1419
Shop Hours Regulation, Consid. *cl.* 4, 1816
Tithe Rent-Charge (Extraordinary) Redemption, Comm. *cl.* 3, 1777, 1778

**Registration of Voters (Ireland) Bill**
(*Mr. Dillon, Mr. Maurice Healy, Mr. Chance, Mr. Timothy Healy, Mr. Harrington, Mr. Small*) [Bill 13]
*c.* Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2°" *June* 2, 784
Amendt. to leave out "now," add "upon this day six months" (*Mr. Lewis*); Question proposed, "That 'now,' &c.;" after debate, Moved, "That the Debate be now adjourned" (*Colonel King-Harman*); after further short debate, Question put; A. 133, N. 249; M. 116 (D. L. 115)
Question again proposed, "That 'now,' &c." 816; after short debate, Moved, "That this House do now adjourn" (*Sir James Corry*); Question put; A. 98, N. 201; M. 103 (D. L. 116); Debate adjourned

REID, Mr. H. G., *Aston Manor*
Post Office Contracts—Conveyance of Mails to India, 668

**Returning Officers' Charges (Scotland) Bill** (*The Lord Advocate, Mr. Solicitor General for Scotland*)
*c.* Committee; Report *June* 11, 1553 [Bill 188]
Considered *June* 16, 1636 [Bill 281]
Amendts. made; Moved, "That the Bill be re-committed in respect of a New Clause" (*Mr. Esslemont*); after short debate, Question put; A. 91, N. 35; M. 56 (D. L. 131)
Ordered, That it be an Instruction to the Committee that they have power to provide for the payment of Returning Officers out of the rates; Committee; Report; Considered
Re-comm *; Committee; Report; Considered; read 3° *June* 17
*l.* Read 1ª * (*E. Dalhousie*) *June* 18 (No. 173)

**Revising Barristers' Appointment Bill**
(*Mr. Attorney General, Mr. Secretary Childers*)
*c.* Ordered; read 1° * *May* 31 [Bill 245]
Read 2° * *June* 17
Committee; Report; Considered; read 3° *June* 18, 1861
*l.* Read 1ª * (*L. Chancellor*) *June* 19 (No. 179)

*Revising Barristers [Remuneration and Expenses]*
*c.* Res. considered in Committee, and agreed to *June* 17, 1825
Res. reported *June* 18

**Revising Barristers (Ireland) Bill**
(*Mr. John Morley, Mr. Henry H. Fowler*)
*c.* Ordered; read 1° * *June* 11 [Bill 283]
Read 2° * *June* 16
Committee; Report; read 3° *June* 18, 1862
*l.* Read 1ª * (*Lord President*) *June* 19 (No. 180)

*Revising Barristers (Ireland) [Remuneration]*
*c.* Res. considered in Committee, and agreed to *June* 17, 1825
Res. reported *June* 18

RIBBLESDALE, Lord
Hillhead and Kelvinside (Annexation to Glasgow), 2R. 628

RICHMOND AND GORDON, Duke of
Allotments and Cottage Gardens, 1002
Contagious Diseases (Animals), 2R. 303; Comm. *cl.* 9, 1003
Conveyancing (Scotland) Acts Amendment, 1R. 1679
Copyhold Enfranchisement, Res. 991
Crofters (Scotland) (No. 2), Comm. *cl.* 1, 156, 159, 162, 163; *cl.* 2, 165, 166; *cl.* 6, Amendt. 170; *cl.* 13, Amendt. 175; *cl.* 17, 179; *cl.* 20, 180; *cl.* 21, 181; *cl.* 33, Amendt 183, 184; Report, *cl.* 17, Amendt. 447
Islands of the South Pacific—The New Hebrides—Action of France, 1839
Medical Acts Amendment, 2R. 1839

RIGBY, Mr. J., *Cambridgeshire, Wisbech*
Government of Ireland, 2R. 354

RIPON, Marquess of (First Lord of the Admiralty)
Navy—Questions
Effect of Shots on Iron-Clads—Experiments, 1118
H.M.S. "Colossus"—The 43-ton Gun, 440
H.M.SS. "Nile" and "Trafalgar," 446
Unarmour-ended Ships, 995; Personal Explanation, 1247

RITCHIE, Mr. C. T., *Tower Hamlets, St. George's*
Intoxicating Liquors (Sale to Children), Comm. 1658; *cl.* 3, 1663
Metropolis—River Thames—Communication below Bridge, 1132

[*cont.*

RITCHIE, Mr. C. T.—*cont.*
Navy Estimates—Dockyards and Naval Yards at Home and Abroad, 1354, 1362, 1363, 1370
Parliamentary Elections (Returning Officers) Act (1875) Amendment, Re-comm. Schedule 2, Amendt. 1668

**Rivers Pollution Prevention Act (1876) Amendment Bill** [H.L.]
(*The Lord Balfour*)
*l.* 2R. discharged * *June* 1 (No. 114)

ROBERTS, Mr. J. B., *Carnarvonshire, Eifion*
Medical Acts Amendment, Comm. *cl.* 21, Amendt. 1427, 1428

ROBERTSON, Mr. E., *Dundee*
Crofters (Scotland) (No. 2), Lords Amendts. Consid. 966
Parliament—Adjournment of the House—Appointment of Commissioners under the Crofters (Scotland) Act, 1501, 1504, 1505
Returning Officers' Charges (Scotland), Consid. Schedule, 1641
Terms of Removal (Scotland), Comm. *cl.* 4, Amendt. 970, 971, 972

ROBERTSON, Mr. J. P. B., *Bute*
Terms of Removal (Scotland), Consid. *cl.* 4, Amendt. 1106

ROGERS, Mr. J. E. Thorold, *Southwark, Bermondsey*
Ensilage Commission—Expenses, 664
Parliamentary Elections (Returning Officers) Act (1875) Amendment, Consid. *add. cl.* 1445, 1450, 1451

*Roman Catholic Disabilities Removal Act—The Viceroy of Ireland*
Questions, Mr. Johnston, Mr. Arthur O'Connor; Answers, The Frst Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. E. Gladstone) *June* 11, 1487

ROSCOE, Sir H. E., *Manchester, S.*
Arms (Ireland), Comm. *cl.* 2, 269
Medical Acts Amendment, Comm. *cl.* 7, Amendt. 600, 603, 606
Public Education (England), Departmental Statement, 1736

ROSEBERY, Earl of (Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs)
South-Eastern States of Europe—Greece and Turkey—Raising of the Blockade of the Greek Ports, 1117

RUSSELL, Sir C. (Attorney General), *Hackney, S.*
Coal Mines, Comm. *cl.* 2, 1624
Government of Ireland, 2R. 50, 57
Intoxicating Liquors (Sale to Children), Comm. *cl.* 1, Amendt. 1659, 1660, 1662; Preamble, 1667, 1668
Jurors' Detention, Comm. *cl.* 1, Amendt. 612

[*cont.*

RUSSELL, Sir C.—*cont.*
Law and Justice—High Court of Justice (Chancery Division)—Appeals, 1710;—Distribution of Business, 1140
Irish Appeals to the House of Lords, 841
Law of Evidence Amendment, 2R. 1820, 1821
Married Women (Maintenance in Case of Desertion), Comm. *cl.* 1, 1672; *add. cl.* 1673
Parliament—Adjournment of the House, Ministerial Statement, 1321
Parliamentary Elections (Returning Officers) Act (1875) Amendment, Comm. *add. cl.* 425; Consid. Schedule, 1608
Revising Barristers' Appointment, Comm. *cl.* 2, Amendt. 1861
Shop Hours Regulation, Consid. *cl.* 3, 1808; *cl.* 4, 1816; *cl.* 8, 1818; *cl.* 9, *ib.*, 1819
Tithe Rent-Charge (Extraordinary) Redemption, Comm. *cl.* 3, Amendt. 1780

RUSSELL, Mr. E. R., *Glasgow, Bridgeton*
Government of Ireland, 2R. 1187

**Sale and Purchase of Land (Ireland) Bill** (*Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Secretary Childers, Mr. John Morley, Mr. Attorney General*)
*c.* Bill withdrawn * *June* 10 [Bill 193]

**Sale of Intoxicating Liquors on Sunday Bill** (*Sir Joseph Pease, Mr. Palmer, Mr. Isaac Wilson*)
*c.* Question, Viscount Cranborne; Answer, Sir Joseph Pease *June* 4, 1017
Committee—R.P. *June* 4, 1106 [Bill 27]

**Sale of Intoxicating Liquors on Sunday (Durham) Bill**
(*The Lord Bishop of Durham*)
*l.* Moved, "That the Bill be now read 3ª" *May* 25, 5
Amendt. to leave out ("now,") add ("this day six months") (*The Earl of Wemyss*); after debate, on Question, that ("now,") &c.; Cont. 70, Not-Cont. 97; M. 27; resolved in the negative; Div. List, Cont. and Not-Cont. 22; Bill to be read 3ª on this day six months (No. 123)

SALISBURY, Marquess of
Allotments and Cottage Gardens, 1001
Arms (Ireland), 2R. 646
Copyhold Enfranchisement, Res. 992, 993
Crofters (Scotland) (No. 2), Comm. *cl.* 2, 165
Gravesend and Northfleet Docks and Railways, Motion, 617
Ireland—Ministerial Policy, 1272, 1274
Islands of the South Pacific—New Hebrides—Action of the French, 1680
Labourers (Ireland) Acts Amendment, Report, 299
Parliament—Questions
Dissolution of Parliament, Ministerial Statement, 1255
Sittings and Adjournment of the House—The Whitsuntide Recess, 990
Table of this House, 298

*cont.*

SALISBURY, Marquess of—*cont.*
Sale of Intoxicating Liquors on Sunday (Durham), 3R. 16
Speech of the Marquess of Salisbury—"Twenty Years of Coercion," Personal Explanation, 968

SALIS-SCHWABE, Colonel G., *Lancashire, S.E., Middleton*
Navy—H.M.S. "Collingwood"—Bursting of the 43-ton Gun, 205

**Salmon and Freshwater Fisheries Bill** *formerly* **Freshwater Fisheries Bill**
(*Mr. Charles Acland, Mr. Mundella*)
*c.* Committee (on *re-comm*); Report *June* 11, 1566 [Bill 244]
Read 3°, after short debate *June* 16, 1652
*l.* Read 1ª * (*E. Dalhousie*) *June* 17 (No. 159)
Read 2ª * *June* 18

**Salmon Fisheries (Ireland) Bill**
(*Mr. Hooper, Mr. Timothy Healy, Mr. Sexton, Mr. Lane, Colonel Nolan, Mr. Leamy*)
*c.* Bill withdrawn * *June* 10 [Bill 15]

SANDHURST, Lord (Under Secretary of State for War)
Army (Auxiliary Forces) — Irish Militia — Snider Rifles, 1004;—Volunteer Inspections in Hyde Park, 1120
Patriotic Fund, 2R. 996

SANDYS, Colonel T. M., *Lancashire, S.W., Bootle*
Inland Revenue—Superannuation of an Excise Officer, 842, 1128

**Sanitary Registration of Buildings Bill**
(*Dr. Farquharson, Sir Henry Roscoe, Sir Guyer Hunter, Dr. Cameron*)
*c.* Ordered; read 1° * *June* 2 [Bill 255]

SAUNDERS, Mr. W., *Hull, E.*
Merchant Shipping Acts—Grain Bags—Russian Regulations, 312

SAUNDERSON, Major E., *Armagh, N.*
Government of Ireland, 2R. 722
Ireland — Contagious Diseases (Animals)—Glanders — Compulsory Saughter of a Horse—Compensation, 202
Crime and Outrage—Murder of Patrick Tangney, near Killarney, 1144;—Riots at Belfast, 1489
State of Ireland—Riots in Ulster, 1303
Registration of Voters (Ireland), 2R. 813

SCLATER-BOOTH, Right Hon. G., *Hants, Basingstoke*
Army—Regimental Canteens, 1506
Belfast Main Drainage, Consid. *add. cl.* 475
Metropolitan Asylums Board—Annual Inspection of Asylums, 306

[*cont.*

SCLATER-BOOTH, Right Hon. G.—*cont.*
Parliament—Business of the House—Precedence of Committees of Supply and Ways and Means, and Money Bills, 1498

SCOTLAND — Secretary for, &c. (*see* DALHOUSIE, Earl of)

SCOTLAND — Solicitor General for (*see* ASHER, Mr. A.)

SCOTLAND (*Questions*)
*Bye-Laws for Public Roads—Regulations as to Bicycles and Tricycles*, Question, Mr. Menzies; Answer, The Lord Advocate (Mr. J. B. Balfour) *June* 17, 1705
*Landlord and Tenant—Eviction at Ardnamurchan*, Question, Mr. Macfarlane; Answer, The Lord Advocate (Mr. J. B. Balfour) *May* 27, 190
*Parliamentary Elections—Sheriff Substitutes as Presiding Officers*, Question, Mr. Macfarlane; Answer, The Lord Advocate (Mr. J. B. Balfour) *June* 17, 1715
*Public Education*, Departmental Statement, The Lord Advocate (Mr. J. B. Balfour); short debate thereon *June* 17, 1749

*Education (Scotland)*
*Rosskeen School Board, Ross-shire — The Teachers*, Question, Mr. Macdonald Cameron; Answer, The Lord Advocate (Mr. J. B. Balfour) *May* 27, 195
*The Dingwall School Board*, Question, Mr. Macdonald Cameron; Answer, The Lord Advocate (Mr. J. B. Balfour) *June* 18, 1845

*Fisheries (Scotland)*
*Fishery Board—The Vacancy*, Question, Mr. J. W. Barclay; Answer, The Lord Advocate (Mr. J. B. Balfour) *June* 16, 1631
*Fishing Privileges — Return*, Question, Mr. Macfarlane; Answer, The Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Henry H. Fowler) *May* 28, 313
*The Herring Fishery—The Full Crown Brand*, Question, Mr. J. W. Barclay; Answer, The Lord Advocate (Mr. J. B. Balfour) *June* 16, 1631

*Law and Justice (Scotland)*
*Discharge of Prisoners at Barlinnie*, Question, Mr. Baird; Answer, The Lord Advocate (Mr. J. B. Balfour) *June* 3, 843
*Duties of Procurators Fiscal — Bankrupt Estates*, Question, Mr. Macfarlane; Answer, The Lord Advocate (Mr. J. B. Balfour) *June* 10, 1293
*Law of Summons of Removal — "Violent Profits,"* Question Mr. Macfarlane; Answer, The Lord Advocate (Mr. J. B. Balfour) *June* 10, 1293

*Law and Police (Scotland)*
*Destruction of the Bathing Screen at Innellan*, Question, Mr. Macfarlane; Answer, The Lord Advocate (Mr. J. B. Balfour) *June* 10, 1903
*Sheep Stealing in Perthshire*, Question, Mr. Menzies; Answer, The Lord Advocate (Mr. J. B. Balfour) *June* 17, 1718

[*cont.*

SCOTLAND—*cont.*

*Poor Law (Scotland)*

*Memorial of the Parochial Boards of Skye*, Question, Mr. Fraser-Mackintosh; Answer, The Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Henry H. Fowler) *June* 18, 1842

*Post Office (Scotland)*

*Oban Post Office*, Question, Mr. Macfarlane; Answer, The Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Henry H. Fowler) *June* 4, 1011

*Mails to the Outer Hebrides*, Questions, Mr. Macfarlane; Answers, The Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Henry H. Fowler) *May* 28, 313; Question, Mr. Fraser-Mackintosh; Answer, The Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Henry H. Fowler) *June* 18, 1842

**Sea Fishing Boats (Scotland) Bill** [H.L.]
(*The Earl of Dalhousie*)

*l.* Presented; read 1ª * *June* 1 (No. 140)
Read 2ª * *June* 4
Committee; Report; read 3ª *June* 8, 1247
*c.* Read 1° * (*The Lord Advocate*) *June* 10
Read 2° * *June* 11 [Bill 270]
Committee; Report *June* 16, 1650
Considered * *June* 17
Bill re-committed; Committee; Report; Considered; read 3° *June* 18, 1864

*Secret Service Money*

Question, Sir Julian Goldsmid; Answer, The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. E. Gladstone) *May* 27, 209

SELBORNE, Earl of
Arms (Ireland), 2R. 646
Infants, Comm. *cl.* 5, 3
Private Bills (Standing Order No. 128), 153

*Self-Government of England, Wales, and Scotland—Legislation*

Question, Mr. Banister Fletcher; Answer, The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. E. Gladstone) *June* 7, 1142

SELLAR, Mr. A. C., *Lanarkshire, Partick*
Government of Ireland, 2R. 731

SEXTON, Mr. T., *Sligo, S.*
Belfast Main Drainage, Consid. 186, 187; *add. cl.* 450, 456, 466, 467, 469, 475; Motion for Adjournment, 486, 487, 488
Government of Ireland, 2R. 700
Intoxicating Liquors (Sale to Children), Comm. *cl.* 3, 1665
Ireland—Population for 1886, 190
Ireland—Crime and Outrage—Questions
Riots at Belfast, 1141, 1142, 1484, 1490, 1491
Riots at Sligo, 1851
Riots in Ulster, 1301, 1303
Law of Evidence Amendment, 2R. 1821, 1870
Parliament—Business of the House—Precedence of Committees of Supply and Ways and Means, and Money Bills, 1492
Parliament—Private Bills—Standing Orders for the Suspension of Private Bills or Bills to confirm any Provisional Order or Certificate, Amendt. 1693, 1695

SHEEHAN, Mr. J. D., *Kerry, E.*
Ireland—Royal Irish Constabulary—Seizures for Rent in Kerry, 666

SHIRLEY, Mr. W. S., *Yorkshire, W.R., Doncaster*
Law and Justice—The Poole Perjury Case, 1291
Law and Police (Ireland)—Rioting at Downpatrick, 499

**Shop Hours Regulation Bill**
(*Sir John Lubbock, Mr. Burt, Mr. Macnaghten, Sir Robert Peel, Mr. Rathbone*)

*c.* Order for Committee (*on re-comm.*) read; Moved, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair" *June* 17, 1785
Amendt. to leave out from "That," add "this House will, upon this day three months, resolve itself into the said Committee" (*Mr. Cavendish Bentinck*) *v.*; Question proposed, "That the words, &c.;" after debate, Question put; A. 61, N. 23; M. 38 (D. L. 135); Committee; Report [Bill 216]
Considered *June* 18, 1866; after short debate, Moved, "That the Bill be now read 3°"
Amendt. to leave out "now," add "upon this day three months" (*Mr. Cavendish Bentinck*); Question proposed, "That 'now,' &c.;" after further short debate, Question put; A. 84, N. 17; M. 67 (D. L. 138)
Main Question put; Bill read 3°
*l.* Read 1ª * (*L. Sudeley*) *June* 19 (No. 186)

SIDMOUTH, Viscount
Navy—Questions
H.M.S. "Colossus"—The 43-ton Gun, 442
H.M.SS. "Nile" and "Trafalgar," 445
Unarmour-Ended Ships, 994; Personal Explanation, 1246

SITWELL, Sir G. R., *Scarborough*
Army—Artillery Barracks at Scarborough, 314

SMALL, Mr. J. F., *Down, S.*
Ireland—Law and Police—Rioting at Downpatrick, 499
Royal Irish Constabulary—The Rathfriland Police, 665
Parliamentary Elections (Returning Officers) Act (1875) Amendment, Consid. Schedule, Amendt. 1600, 1603
Registration of Voters (Ireland), 2R. 800

SMITH, Right Hon. W. H., *Strand, Westminster*
Army—War Department—Steamers on the Nile, 491
Army Estimates—Army Services, 1541
Imperial Defences—Fortification of Simon's Bay and Table Bay, 1722
Parliament—Questions
Adjournment of the House, Ministerial Statement, 1318
Order of Business, 1676
Supply, Ministerial Statement, 1498

[*cont.*

SMITH, Right Hon. W. H.—*cont.*
  Shop Hours Regulation, Comm. 1801
  Supply—Civil Services and Revenue Departments, 1519, 1525
  Sweden and Norway—Political Relations and Internal Condition, 194
  Westminster Abbey (Restoration), 496; 2R. 1674

**Solicitors' Annual Certificate Duty Bill**
(*Mr. O'Hea, Mr. Deasy, Mr. Dwyer Gray, Mr. Arthur O'Connor, Mr. Sexton*)
*c.* Bill withdrawn* *June* 10 [Bill 133]

*South Atlantic, Islands of the—The Island of Tristan D'Acunha*
  Question, Mr. Baden-Powell; Answer, The Under Secretary of State for the Colonies (Mr. Osborne Morgan) *May* 25, 26

*South Pacific, Islands of the*
  *New Caledonia—Her Majesty's Acting Consul,* Question, Sir George Campbell; Answer, The Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Mr. Bryce) *June* 18, 1854

  *The New Hebrides,* Question, Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett; Answer, The Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Mr. Bryce) *June* 10, 1300
    *Reported Massacre,* Questions, Mr. Howard Spensley, Sir Michael Hicks-Beach, Sir Herbert Maxwell, Sir George Campbell; Answers, The Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Mr. Bryce) *June* 17, 1715
    *Action of France,* Notice of Question, The Marquess of Salisbury *June* 17, 1680; Question, The Duke of Richmond and Gordon; Answer, The Secretary of State for India (The Earl of Kimberley) *June* 18, 1839; Question, Sir Henry Holland; Answer, The Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Mr. Bryce), 1853

*Spain—The Commercial Convention*
  Question, Mr. Armitage; Answer, The Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Mr. Bryce) *June* 7, 1134
  *Duties on Iron,* Question, Mr. Jacks; Answer, The Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Mr. Bryce) *May* 27, 201
  *Duties on Wine,* Question, Mr. Baden-Powell; Answer, The Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Mr. Bryce) *May* 27, 209

SPEAKER, The (Right Hon. ARTHUR WELLESLEY PEEL), *Warwick and Leamington*
  Belfast Main Drainage, Consid. 186, 187; *add. cl.* 485, 486, 488
  Freshwater Fisheries, Comm. Report, Re-comm. 611
  Government of Ireland, 2R. 82, 83, 92, 381, 507, 508, 685, 1045, 1245
  Government of Ireland Bill—Policy of the Government, Ministerial Statement, 318, 346, 347, 350

[*cont.*

SPEAKER, The—*cont.*
  Hull, Barnsley, and West Riding Junction Railway and Dock, 2R. 1476
  Jurors' Detention, Consid. Preamble, 781
  Law of Evidence Amendment, 2R. 1820, 1821
  Merchant Shipping (Fishing Boats) Acts Amendment, 2R. 1655
  Municipal Boundaries (Dublin), 2R. 425
  Parliament — Adjournment of the House, Ministerial Statement, 1307
    Sittings and Adjournment of the House—Derby Day, 34, 35
  Parliament—Adjournment of the House—Appointment of Commissioners under the Crofters (Scotland) Act, 1499
  Parliament — Business of the House — Precedence of Committees of Supply and Ways and Means, and Money Bills, 1494
  Parliament—Private Bills — Standing Orders for the Suspension of Private Bills or Bills to confirm any Provisional Order or Certificate, 1693, 1695
  Parliamentary Elections (Returning Officers) Act (1875) Amendment, Consid. 983; *add. cl.* 1439, 1442, 1453, 1454, 1455, 1456, 1459, 1460, 1461; Schedule 1594, 1595, 1606, 1612, 1618, 1619; Re-comm. Schedule 2, 1670
  Registration of Voters (Ireland), 2R. 789, 815
  Returning Officers' Charges (Scotland), Consid. 1637
  Tithe Rent-Charge (Extraordinary) Redemption, Comm. 1433, 1434; *cl.* 1, 1770

SPENCER, Earl (Lord President of the Council)
  Allotments and Cottage Gardens, 1000, 1002
  Arms (Ireland), 2R. 632, 643, 656
  Contagious Diseases (Animals), 2R. 299; Comm. *cl.* 9, Amendt. 1002, 1003; Report, 1117
  Conveyancing (Scotland) Acts Amendment, 1R. 1679
  Ireland—Questions
    Crime and Outrage—Murder of Patrick Tangney, near Killarney, 1115, 1254;—Mutilation of Cattle, 1005
    Ministerial Policy, 1277, 1281
    State of Ireland—Police Protection, 661
  Medical Acts Amendment, 2R. 1836, 1839
  Tramways Order in Council (Ireland), 2R. 998, 1252

SPENSLEY, Mr. H., *Finsbury, Central*
  Islands of the South Pacific—Reported Massacre at the New Hebrides, 1715
  Public Works and Parks (Metropolis), 1137

STANHOPE, Earl
  Ireland—Ministerial Policy, 1288
  Losses by Riot (Compensation), 2R. 1836

STANHOPE, Right Hon. E., *Lincolnshire, Horncastle*
  Bankruptcy (Agricultural Labourers' Wages), Lords Amendts. Consid. Amendt. 782
  Returning Officers' Charges (Scotland), Consid. 1640
  Salmon and Freshwater Fisheries, 3R. 1654

**Stanley, Right Hon. Colonel Sir F. A.**, *Lancashire, N.*, *Blackpool*
North America—Canadian Fisheries, 1134

**Stansfeld, Right Hon. J.** (President of the Local Government Board), *Halifax*
Local Government—Rating of Lunatic Asylums, &c. 312
Metropolitan Asylums Board—Annual Inspection of Asylums, 306
Parliamentary Elections — Registration of Voters, 193
Parliamentary Elections (Returning Officers) Act (1875) Amendment, Consid. 981
Poor Law—Fires in Union Workhouses, 31
Public Health Acts (Improvement Expenses), Consid. *cl.* 2, Amendt. 128, 129; *cl.* 3, Amendt. 130; *cl.* 4, 132; Amendt. 133; *cl.* 5, 135; *cl.* 10, Amendt. 137, 138; *cl.* 13, 142; *cl.* 17, Amendt. *ib.*; *cl.* 18, Amendt. 143; *cl.* 22, Amendt. *ib.*, 144; *add. cl.* 146, 147; Schedule, Amendt. 148, 150; Consid. 974, 976, 977, 978; Amendt. 979, 980
Registration of Voters (Ireland), 2R. 811
Terms of Removal (Scotland), Comm. *cl.* 1, 969

**Steam Engines and Boilers Bill** (*Mr. William Crawford, Mr. Burt, Mr. John Wilson* (*Durham*), *Mr. William Abraham* (*Glamorgan*), *Mr. Pickard, Mr. Fenwick, Mr. A. H. Dyke Acland*)
*c.* Ordered; read 1° * *June* 2 [Bill 253]

**Stevenson, Mr. F. S.**, *Suffolk, Eye*
Government of Ireland, 2R. 533

**Stevenson, Mr. J. C.**, *South Shields*
Sale of Intoxicating Liquors on Sunday, Comm. *cl.* 1, Amendt. 1106, 1109, 1110, 1111

**Stewart, Mr. M. J.**, *Kirkcudbright*
Parliament—Adjournment of the House, Ministerial Statement, 1321
Parliamentary Elections (Returning Officers) Act (1875) Amendment, Consid. Motion for Adjournment, 983
Terms of Removal (Scotland), Comm. *cl.* 1, Motion for reporting Progress, 967; *cl.* 4, Amendt. 970, 971

**Storey, Mr. S.**, *Sunderland*
Belfast Main Drainage, Consid. *add. cl.* 474
Government of Ireland, 2R. 539
Sale of Intoxicating Liquors on Sunday, Comm. *cl.* 1, 1111

**Stuart, Mr. J.**, *Shoreditch, Hoxton*
Parliamentary Elections (Returning Officers) Act (1875) Amendment, Consid. Schedule, 1612
Sale of Intoxicating Liquors on Sunday, Comm. *cl.* 1, 1111

**Sudeley, Lord**
Friendly Societies Act (1875) Amendment, 2R. 430
Losses by Riot (Compensation), 2R. 1836

*SUPPLY*
Ministerial Statement, The Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Henry H. Fowler) *June* 11, 1498

*SUPPLY*
Considered in Committee *June* 10, 1322—Navy Estimates—Votes 3, 6, 11, 17, Secs. I and II, and 17
Resolutions reported *June* 11
Considered in Committee *June* 11, 1510—£1,000, Gratuity to Lady Gosset; after short debate, Vote agreed to; Civil Services and Revenue Departments, Vote on Account (£6,879,761); Army Estimates, Vote on Account (£5,000,000); Navy Estimates, Vote on Account (£8,000)
Resolutions reported, and, after debate, agreed to *June* 16, 1632

*Sweden and Norway—Political Relations and Internal Condition*
Question, Mr. W. H. Smith; Answer, The Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Mr. Bryce) *May* 27, 194

**Talbot, Mr. J. G.**, *Oxford University*
Public Education (England), Departmental Statement, 1748
Tithe Rent-Charge (Extraordinary) Redemption, Comm. 1433; *cl.* 1, 1578, 1579; Amendt. 1763, 1764

**Tanner, Dr. C.**, *Cork Co., Mid*
Ireland—Poor Law—Inchigeelagh Dispensary District, 1122
Medical Acts Amendment, Comm. *cl.* 7, 605, 610

*Tariff and Customs Act—Sec.* 179
Question, Mr. King; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer (Sir William Harcourt) *May* 25, 30

**Temple, Sir R.**, *Worcester, Evesham*
Hull, Barnsley, and West Riding Junction Railway and Dock, 2R. 1473

**Terms of Removal (Scotland) Bill** (*The Lord Advocate, Mr. Solicitor General for Scotland*)
*c.* Committee; Report *June* 3, 967 [Bill 187]
Considered *June* 4, 1106
Read 3° * *June* 16
*l.* Read 1ª * (*E. of Dalhousie*) *June* 17 (No. 157)
Read 2ª * *June* 18

**Thompson, Sir H. M. Meysey-**, *Lincolnshire, Brigg*
Government of Ireland, 2R. 57, 1060

**Tithe Rent-Charge Amendment Bill** (*Mr. Brookfield, Mr. Farquharson*)
*c.* Report * *June* 7 [Bill 65]

**Tithe Rent-Charge (Extraordinary) Amendment Bill** (*Mr. Norton, Mr. Knatchbull-Hugessen, Mr. Pomfret*)
*c.* Report * *June* 7 [Bill 61]

**Tithe Rent-Charge (Extraordinary) Redemption Bill** (*Mr. Thomas Bolton, Mr. Thorold Rogers, Mr. Borlase, Sir John Lubbock*)
*c.* Report of Select Comm.* *June* 7 [No. 181]
Bill reported * *June* 7 [Bill 63]
Order for Committee (*on re-comm.*) read; Moved, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair" *June* 10, 1433; after short debate, Moved, "That the Debate be now adjourned" (*Mr. Stanley Leighton*); Question put; A. 32, N. 153; M. 121 (D. L. 126)
Main Question, "That Mr. Speaker, &c." put, and agreed to; Committee—R.P.
Committee (*on re-comm.*)—R.P. *June* 11, 1573
Committee (*on re-comm.*): Report; Considered; read 3° *June* 17, 1756 [Bill 264]
*l.* Read 1ª * (*Lord Sudeley*) *June* 18 (No. 174)

TOMLINSON, Mr. W. E. M., *Preston*
Losses by Riot (Compensation), Comm. *cl.* 3, Amendt. 420; *cl.* 4, Amendt. 421
Parliamentary Elections (Returning Officers) Act (1875) Amendment, Consid. *add. cl.* 1438, 1444, 1455

TOTTENHAM, Mr. A. L., *Winchester*
Ireland—Crime and Outrage—Riots at Sligo, 1851

*Trade and Commerce*
Question, Mr. Howard Vincent; Answer, The Secretary to the Board of Trade (Mr. C. T. D. Acland) *June* 7, 1127
*Action of H.M. Diplomatic and Consular Representatives—Indian and Colonial Chambers of Commerce*, Questions, Mr. Howard Vincent; Answers, The Under Secretary of State for the Colonies (Mr. Osborne Morgan), The Under Secretary of State for India (Mr. Stafford Howard) *June* 1, 662
*Colonial Statistical Tables*, Question, Mr. Octavius Morgan; Answer, The Secretary to the Board of Trade (Mr. C. T. D. Acland) *June* 3, 827
*Commercial Relations between the United States and the West Indies*, Question, Mr. Baden-Powell; Answer, The Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Mr. Bryce) *June* 18, 1843
*Commercial Treaties with Foreign States—The British Colonies — The Most Favoured Nation Clause*, Question, Lord Claud Hamilton; Answer, The Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Mr. Bryce) *June* 4, 1013; — *Notice of Withdrawal*, Question, Lord Claud Hamilton; Answer, The Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Mr. Bryce) *June* 4, 1014

*Trade and Commerce*—cont.
*Turkey—Exactions at Salonica*, Question, Mr. James Hutton; Answer, The Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Mr. Bryce) *June* 17, 1714

*Trades Unions Act*, 1871—*The Return*
Question, Mr. Bazley White; Answer, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Childers) *June* 17, 1711

**Tramways Order in Council (Ireland) Bill** [H.L.] (*The Lord FitzGerald*)
*l.* Presented; read 1ª * *May* 31 (No. 132)
Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2ª" *June* 4, 997
Amendt. to leave out ("now,") add ("this day six months") (*The Earl of Belmore*); after short debate, on Question that ("now,") &c.? resolved in the affirmative; Bill read 2ª
Question, The Earl of Belmore; Answer, The Lord President of the Council (Earl Spencer); Observations, Lord Halsbury, The Lord Chancellor (Lord Herschell) *June* 8, 1251
Committee * *June* 18

**Tramways Provisional Orders (No. 1) Bill** (*Mr. Charles Acland, Mr. Mundella*)
*c.* Report * *June* 18 [Bill 195]

**Tramways Provisional Orders (No. 2) Bill** (*Mr. Charles Acland, Mr. Mundella*)
*c.* Read 2° * *May* 25 [Bill 208]

**Tramways Provisional Orders (No. 3) Bill** (*Mr. Charles Acland, Mr. Mundella*)
*c.* Read 2° * *June* 1 [Bill 213]

TREASURY—First Lord (*see* GLADSTONE, Right Hon. W. E.)

TREASURY—Lord of (*see* GOWER, Mr. G. G. L.)

TREASURY—Lord of (*see* REED, Sir E. J.)

TREASURY — Financial Secretary to (*see* FOWLER, Mr. Henry H.)

TREASURY—Secretary to (*see* MORLEY, Mr. A.)

*Treaty of Berlin—Article LXI.—Armenia*
Question, Mr. Otter; Answer, The Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Mr. Bryce) *June* 7, 1139

**Trees (Ireland) Bill**
*l.* Commons Reasons for disagreeing to some of the Amendts. made by the Lords, and Commons Amendts. to Lords Amendts., considered: Certain of the Amendts. not in- [*cont.*

*Trees (Ireland) Bill*—cont.
sisted on; a consequential Amendt. made; one Amendt. to which the Commons disagree insisted on; Commons Amendts. agreed to, with an Amendt.: A Committee appointed to prepare a Reason to be offered to the Commons for the Lords insisting on one of their Amendts.; the Committee to meet forthwith; Report from the Committee of the Reason prepared by them, read, and agreed to; and Bill returned to the Commons with the Amendts. and Reason *May* 25
*c.* Moved, "That the consideration of Lords Reasons and Amendts. be put off for six months" (*Mr. Gilhooly*); Question put, and agreed to *June* 11, 1619

TREVELYAN, Rt. Hon. G. O., *Hawick, &c.*
Government of Ireland, 2R. 87, 92, 93, 97, 98, 99, 100, 109

TROTTER, Mr. H. J., *Colchester*
Government of Ireland, 2R. 1026

TUITE, Mr. J., *Westmeath, N.*
Supply—Civil Services and Revenue Departments, 1527, 1528

**Turnpike Roads (South Wales) Bill** (*Mr. Maitland, Mr. Thomas Price, Mr. Warmington*)
*c.* Ordered; read 1° * *June* 4 [Bill 260]
Read 2° *June* 10, 1433
Committee *; Report; read 3° *June* 11
*l.* Read 1ª * (*Lord Sudeley*) *June* 17 (No. 161)
Read 2ª * *June* 18

TWEEDDALE, Marquess of
Contagious Diseases (Animals), 2R. 304; Comm. *cl.* 9, 1003
Hillhead and Kelvinside (Annexation to Glasgow), 2R. Amendt. 623

TYLER, Sir H. W., *Great Yarmouth*
Government of Ireland, 2R. 506, 507
Navy—H.M.S. "Collingwood" — Bursting of the 43-ton Gun, 203, 205, 1846
War Department—The 43-ton Guns, 496

**Ulster Canal and Tyrone Navigation Bill** (*Mr. John Morley, Mr. Henry H. Fowler*)
*c.* Ordered, That the Order [13th May] That the Select Committee on the Ulster Canal and Tyrone Navigation Bill do consist of Nine Members, Five to be nominated by the House, and Four by the Committee of Selection, be read and discharged
Ordered, That the Select Committee do consist of Eleven Members, Seven to be nominated by the House, and Four by the Committee of Selection
Ordered, That Mr. Healy and Mr. Sexton be added to the Committee (*Mr. Henry H. Fowler*) *May* 25, 151

**Unclaimed Deposits Bill** (*Mr. Edmund Robertson, Dr. Clark, Mr. Watt*)
*c.* Bill withdrawn * *June* 10 [Bill 77]

*United States, The*
*Canada and the United States — The Fishery Disputes*, Question, Sir Frederick Stanley; Answer, The Under Secretary of State for the Colonies (Mr. Osborne Morgan) *June* 7, 1134; Question, Mr. Gourley; Answer, The Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Mr. Bryce) *June* 18, 1846
*Loss of Life at Sea—Regulations of the United States*, Question, Mr. Howard Vincent; Answer, The Secretary to the Board of Trade (Mr. C. T. D. Acland) *June* 10, 1294

*Vaccination in the Island of Rügen*
Question, Mr. Arthur O'Connor; Answer, The Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Mr. Bryce) *June* 3, 844

VANDERBYL, Mr. P., *Portsmouth*
Navy Estimates—Dockyards and Naval Yards at Home and Abroad, 1359

*Venezuela—Seizure of the Ships "Henrietta" and "Josephine"—Claims of British Subjects*
Question, Mr. Kimber; Answer, The Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Mr. Bryce) *June* 3, 839

VERNEY, Captain E. H., *Bucks, N., Buckingham*
Intoxicating Liquors (Sale to Children), Comm. *cl.* 1, 1660, 1661, 1662
Navy Estimates—Dockyards and Naval Yards at Home and Abroad, 1421

VINCENT, Mr. C. E. H., *Sheffield, Central*
Dominion of Canada—Extradition Act, 1877, 307
"Imperial Federation, Naval and Military"—Captain Colomb's Lecture, 1015, 1016
Loss of Life at Sea—Regulations of the United States, 1294
Trade and Commerce, 1127, 1128;—Reports and Suggestions from Indian and Colonial Chambers of Commerce, 662, 663

*Wales (South)—Inspector of Mines*
Questions, Mr. Kenyon, Mr. W. Abraham (Glamorgan, Rhondda); Answers, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Childers) *June* 10, 1298

WAR DEPARTMENT—Secretary of State (*see* CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN, Right Hon. H.)

WAR DEPARTMENT—Under Secretary of State (*see* SANDHURST, Lord)

WAR DEPARTMENT—Financial Secretary to (*see* GLADSTONE, Mr. H. J.)

**Waring, Colonel T.**, *Down, N.*
Registration of Voters (Ireland), 2R. 790

**Warmington, Mr. C. M.**, *Monmouth, W.*
Married Women (Maintenance in Case of Desertion), Comm. *cl.* 1, Amendt. 1671, 1672; *add. cl. ib*
Parliamentary Elections (Returning Officers) Act (1875) Amendment, Consid. Schedule, 1591

**Water Provisional Orders Bill**
(*Mr. Charles Acland, Mr. Mundella*)
c. Report * *May* 28 [Bill 207]
Read 3° * *May* 31
l. Read 1ª * (*Lord Sudeley*) *June* 1 (No. 137)
Read 2ª * *June* 8

**Watkin, Sir E. W.**, *Hythe*
War Office—Charges against "The Ordnance Department," 831

**Watson, Lord**
Conveyancing (Scotland) Acts Amendment, 1R. 1679
Crofters (Scotland) (No. 2), Comm. *cl.* 6, 170
Hillhead and Kelvinside (Annexation to Glasgow), 2R. 630

*WAYS AND MEANS*
*Excise*
*Duty on Beer—The Farmers*, Question, Mr. Stanley Leighton; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer (Sir William Harcourt) *June* 10, 1296
*Rice, &c. used in Brewing*, Question, Colonel Hamilton; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer (Sir William Harcourt) *May* 25, 29
*Inland Revenue*
*Inland Revenue Department—Salaries*, Question, Mr. Pickersgill; Answer, The Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Henry H. Fowler) *June* 1, 665
*Superannuation of an Excise Officer*, Questions, Colonel Sandys; Answers, The Chancellor of the Exchequer (Sir William Harcourt) *June* 3, 842; *June* 7, 1128

*WAYS AND MEANS*
Considered in Committee *June* 1, 782
Resolved, That, on a day to be fixed by the Commissioners of the Treasury, the Duties of Customs now payable on Wine shall cease, and in lieu thereof there shall be charged and paid the duties following (that is to say):—

| | | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Wine not exceeding 30 degrees of proof spirit | the gallon | 1 | 0 |
| Wine exceeding 20, but not exceeding 42, degrees of proof spirit | the gallon | 2 | 6 |
| And for every degree, or part of a degree, beyond the highest above charged, an additional duty | the gallon | 0 | 3 |

[cont.

Ways and Means—*cont.*
The word "degree" does not include fractions of the next higher degree
"Wine" includes lees of wine (*Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer*)
[See titles *Spain—The Commercial Convention* and *Customs Bill*]
Considered in Committee *June* 11
Resolved, That, towards making good the Supply granted to Her Majesty, for the service of the year ending on the 31st day of March 1887, the sum of £26,993,652 be granted out of the Consolidated Fund of the United Kingdom
Resolution reported *June* 16
[See title *Consolidated Fund (Appropriation) Bill*]

**Webster, Sir R. E.**, *Isle of Wight*
Government of Ireland, 2R. 398, 414
Intoxicating Liquors (Sale to Children), Comm. 1557; *cl.* 1, 1660; Amendt. 1661; *cl.* 4, 1663
Law of Evidence Amendment, 2R. 1871
Parliament — Adjournment of the House, Ministerial Statement, 1321
Parliamentary Elections (Returning Officers) Act (1875) Amendment, Consid. Schedule, 1579, 1581; Amendt. 1582, 1584, 1585, 1586, 1593, 1594, 1595, 1597, 1598, 1599, 1601, 1602, 1603, 1604, 1606, 1614
Salmon and Freshwater Fisheries, Comm. 1567
Tithe Rent-Charge (Extraordinary) Redemption, Comm. *cl.* 3, 1774, 1776; *cl.* 9, 1784

**Wemyss, Earl of**
Army (Auxiliary Forces)—Volunteer Inspections in Hyde Park, 1119
Crofters (Scotland) (No. 2), 3R. Amendt. 659, 660, 661
Navy — H.M.S. "Colossus" — The 43-ton Gun, 445
Sale of Intoxicating Liquors on Sunday (Durham), 3R. Amendt. 9, 10, 14, 15

**West Indian Incumbered Estates Bill**
[H.L.] (*Mr. Osborne Morgan*)
c. Read 1° * *May* 25 [Bill 233]
Read 2°, after short debate *May* 28, 422
Committee *; Report; read 3° *May* 31

**Westlake, Mr. J.**, *Essex, Romford*
Government of Ireland, 2R. 67, 69
Public Health Acts (Improvement Expenses), Comm. *cl.* 12, Amendt. 138
Shop Hours Regulation, Consid. *cl.* 9, Amendt. 1866

*Westminster Abbey—Restoration*
Question, Mr. W. H. Smith; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer (Sir William Harcourt) *May* 31, 496

**Westminster Abbey Restoration Bill**
(*Mr. Secretary Childers, Mr. Henry H. Fowler*)
c. Ordered; read 1° * *June* 11 [Bill 284]
Read 2°, after short debate *June* 16, 1673

[cont.

*Westminster Abbey Restoration Bill*—cont.
Committee*; Report *June* 17
Considered*; read 3° *June* 18
*l.* Read 1ª* (*Lord Sudeley*) *June* 19 (No. 183)

White, Mr. J. B., *Gravesend*
Trades Unions Act, 1871—The Return, 1711

Whitley, Mr. E. *Liverpool, Everton*
High Court of Justice (Chancery Division)—Distribution of Business, 1140
Medical Acts Amendment, Comm. *cl.* 7, 602

Will, Mr. J. S., *Montrose, &c.*
Registration of Voters (Ireland), 2R. 801

Williams, Mr. J. Carvell, *Nottingham, S.*
General Election, 1885—Returns of Election Expenses, 1717
Losses by Riot (Compensation), Comm. *add. cl.* 422
Marriages (Hours of Solemnization) Act, 1886, 1291
Mauritius—Sir John Pope Hennessy, 1849
Parliament — Adjournment of the House, Ministerial Statement, 1318
Parliamentary Elections (Returning Officers) Act (1875) Amendment, Consid. Schedule, 1600
Public Health Acts (Improvement Expenses), Comm. *cl.* 13, Amendt. 140, 141, 142; Consid. *cl.* 10, 979
Returning Officers' Charges (Scotland), Consid. 1648
Shop Hours Regulation, Consid. *cl.* 4, 1815, 1816
Westminster Abbey Restoration, 2R. 1674

Williams, Mr. Powell J., *Birmingham, S.*
Local Taxation—County Rate—Incidence of Payment by Towns having Quarter Sessions, 662

Wilson, Mr. C. H., *Hull, W.*
Hull, Barnsley, and West Riding Junction Railway and Dock, 2R. 1478, 1479
Navy Estimates—Dockyards and Naval Yards at Home and Abroad, 1375

Wilson, Mr. J., *Durham, Houghton-le-Spring*
Army—War Department—The Dockyards—Discharge of Workmen at Woolwich, 1852
Mines Regulation Act — Hours of Work of Women, 826, 1124

Wilson, Mr. J., *Edinburgh, Central*
Arms (Ireland), Comm. *cl.* 2, 270
Conveyancing Acts (Scotland) Amendment, 3R. 1564
Public Education (Scotland), Departmental Statement, 1756
Returning Officers' Charges (Scotland), Consid. Schedule 1, 1637
Shop Hours Regulation, Comm. on Re-comm. 1799; Consid. *cl.* 4, 1809, 1813

Winterbotham, Mr. A. B., *Gloucester, Cirencester*
Government of Ireland, 2R. 884, 886, 892, 941

Wodehouse, Mr. E. R., *Bath*
Government of Ireland, 2R. 907

Wolverton, Lord (Postmaster General)
Post Office (Ireland)—Mail Service between Londonderry and Dublin, 448

Women's Suffrage Bill [H.L.]
(*The Lord Denman*)
*l.* 2R. put off, after short debate *June* 8, 1249 (No. 10)

Woodall, Mr. W. (Surveyor General of Ordnance), *Hanley*
Army Estimates—Army Services, 1530

Woodhead, Mr. J., *York, W.R., Spen Valley*
Terms of Removal (Scotland), Comm. *cl.* 4, 971

*Works, Office of—The Consulting Surveyor*
Question, General Sir William Crossman; Answer, Mr. Leveson Gower (A Lord of the Treasury) *June* 3, 829

Wortley, Mr. C. B. S., *Sheffield, Hallam*
Freshwater Fisheries, Comm., Report, Re-comm. 611
Intoxicating Liquors (Sale to Children), Comm. 1658; *cl.* 1, 1659
Jurors' Detention, Comm. *cl.* 1, 612
Parliament—Business of the House—Precedence of Committees of Supply and Ways and Means, and Money Bills, 1494
Parliamentary Elections (Returning Officers) Act (1875) Amendment, Consid. *add. cl.* 1442, 1447, 1448, 1453, 1455, 1458, 1462; Schedule, 1582, 1612
Public Health Acts (Improvement Expenses), Comm. *add. cl.* 146; Schedule, 150
Supply—Gratuity to Lady Gosset, 1511

END OF VOLUME CCCVI., AND FIFTH VOLUME OF SESSION 1886.

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